THE MANDAEANS
OF
IRAN AND IRAQ

THEIR CULTS, CUSTOMS, MAGIC LEGENDS, AND FOLKLORE

E. S. DROWER
('E. S. STEVENS')

With an Introduction by
JORUNN JACOBSEN BUCKLEY

GORGIAS PRESS
2002

This edition reprinted by Gorgias Press LLC by arrangement with Oxford University Press. First published by Oxford University Press in 1937.

Second Edition, copyright © 2002 by Gorgias Press LLC.

All rights reserved under International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions. Published in the United States of America by Gorgias Press LLC, New Jersey.

ISBN 1-931956-49-9

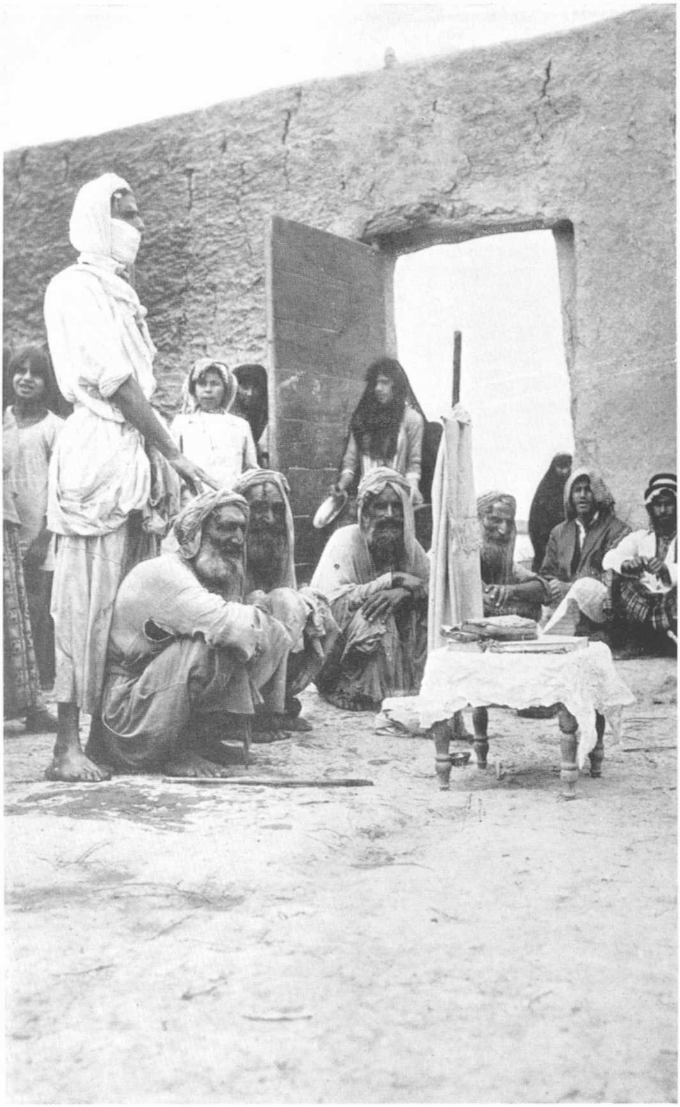
GORGIAS PRESS
46 Orris Ave., Piscataway, NJ 08854 USA
www.gorgiaspress.com

Printed in the United States of America

GORGIAS REPRINT SERIES

Volume 35

The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran



Final blessing (Litlata)

SACRAMENTS

FOREWORD

JORUNN JACOBSEN BUCKLEY

It is cause for celebration that this classic will be available again. Lady E. S. Drower (1879-1972) was the primary specialist on the Mandaeans, and the only fieldwork scholar to have spent decades among them. No doubt, she would have been happy to know that a renaissance seems to be afoot in Mandaean studies. The first international Mandaean conference was held at Harvard University, Cambridge, U.S.A, 13-15 of June, 1999, under the auspices of ARAM Society for Syrian-Mesopotamian Studies. The next ARAM conference is in July 2002, at Oxford University, England. More local events, many of them organized by Mandaeans themselves, continue to be held in various places. Mandaean websites proliferate, facilitating contacts between community members world-wide. New publishing ventures in Mandaean studies are underway or already a reality, among them the planned English version of the Mandaean text, *The Ginza*, a collaborative effort between Mandaeans and scholars of the religion. Other books, by scholars such as E. Lupieri, S. Gündüz, and myself, among the more recent ones, are indebted, to various extents, to previous works by K. Rudolph, R. Macuch, and, of course, Drower herself.

Despite the somber predictions voiced by Drower and others, decades ago, Mandaeism is not extinct, and neither has the scholarly world forgotten the religion. Political realities and emigration do pose difficulties for the Mandaeans, but the people are resilient. Entirely precise estimates of the current Mandaean population are impossible to obtain, but they range from a total of ca. 100,000 to 140,000, with the largest percentage of religionists living in Iraq.

Older Mandaeans still remember Lady Drower with fondness, and for many scholars, students and aficionados her book *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* remains the work that brings the people alive. No anthropologist has conducted fieldwork among the Mandaeans, not even in recent decades, and therefore Drower remains a singular figure. Her numerous editions and translations of Mandaean texts into English continue to be indispensable to anyone involved in Mandaean studies. The film, *Mandaean Ceremony*, made by Drower with the help of a friend, Mrs. Liz Shearman, in southern Iraq in 1954, presents invaluable images of Mandaean ritual life in Qalat Saleh during the period when Drower's trusted Mandaean "brother-in-Truth," the priest Sheikh Negm, headed his flock in that village. For a long time, the film was rarely accessible, extant only in two copies in 16 mm format, but it is now possible to locate it in the public domain, in video format. In recent years, additional films and videos of Mandaean rituals have been made by various individuals or organizations.

Drower's interest in exotic cultures asserted itself early in her life: she befriended gypsies in England and compiled her own dictionary of their Romany language. Later on, in the Near East, she traveled among and studied groups such as Yezidis, Bahais, and Mandaeans. Her novels and travel accounts were bestsellers in England. Some years after the First World War, Drower's studies of the Mandaeans began in earnest, and she started her large collection of note cards resulting, ultimately, in the monumental *A Mandaic Dictionary*, a co-work with Prof. Rudolf Macuch. During the early phases, various other scholars were considered as possible candidates for collaboration on the Dictionary. During a tense moment in Iraq in 1941, the box with the cards disappeared, but Drower managed to retrieve it, after spreading the word that the box did not contain valuable jewels. But for her, it certainly did.

Drower's correspondences with scholars such as Cyrus Gordon, Macuch, and Hans Jonas stretched over decades. The letters provide exciting insights into the world of Mandaean and Aramaic studies from the late 1930s to the 1960s. For years, Drower and Gordon worked together, corresponding on details in Mandaic grammar and vocabulary, especially regarding *The Book of the Zodiac*, which was Drower's first published translation of a Mandaean text.

Being no traditional scholar, Drower had to labor diligently in order of establish her credentials among academics. Her literary scholarly output is enormous, and she worked well into her eighties. Honorary doctorates were bestowed on her from Oxford University and from the University of Uppsala, Sweden. The great honor of the Lidzbarski gold medal, for distinguished studies in the Aramaic field, fell to her in 1964, at the 26th International Congress of Orientalists. Unfortunately, she was not able to be present for the occasion, which was in New Dehli. Congratulations poured in from various part of the world, including a letter from the "Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais at Oxford."

Keeping up a large correspondence with publishers, colleagues and friends, Drower could be humorously sharp in her (private) ripostes to less-than-sincere accolades. Among her scholarly papers is a letter to her from the famous theologian, Prof. Rudolf Bultmann. In November, 1960, Bultmann thanks Drower for having sent him her latest published book, her edition and translation of the Mandaean composite text *The Thousand and Twelve Questions*. Bultmann regrets that he has not read the book yet, but it seems promising and he looks forward to finding the time to study it. On the bottom of the sheet, Drower has written, by hand, her response, "Has obviously not read more than the introduction! I'll rub his nose in the S.A.!" (She is referring to her next book, *The Secret Adam*.)

Some of her fieldwork received no welcome in scholarly circles. To Drower's sorrow and regret, she was unable to publish her accounts of traditional Jewish life in the Middle East as she witnessed the culture in the years between the two World Wars. Certain British scholars ("Israeli enthusiasts," as she terms them) seem to have blocked her, because her accounts did not fit with the ideology of the West-ward oriented national ideology of Israel after its establishment in 1948. Perceptive readers of Drower's 1956 book, *Water into Wine*, *A Study of a Ritual Idiom in the Middle East*, will have noted, no doubt with puzzlement, that in the Introduction, the author thanks Jewish scholars for their help with the Jewish section of her book and that she speaks about her fieldwork in Judaism. But no sustained treatment of Jewish rituals appears in *Water into Wine*, for Drower was forced to omit the section. The piece had to wait until 1989, when it saw the light of day in my edition of Drower's material in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*, vol. 6, eds. J. Neusner and E. Frerichs. (The chapter includes an Editor's Foreword, with revealing details from Drower's correspondence about the futile battle to publish the work in her lifetime.)

Among the Mandaeans, Drower found her "home," so to speak, with friendships enduring over decades, correspondences continuing for years, and gifts exchanged via mail between England and Iraq. Sheikh Negm helped her to acquire the more than fifty Mandaean texts now housed as the Drower collection (= D. C.) at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. And her old tape recorder, with tapes of spoken Mandaic, still, lies securely (I hope) in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. A number of the D. C. texts remain untranslated, but Drower did publish as much as she could. Any scholar venturing into the Semitic Reading Room in the Bodleian Library in respectful search of Mandaean original texts will be awed by the very beauty and dignity of these materials. It is the largest collection of Mandaean documents in the West. Several Mandaean texts that do not belong to the D. C. collection also exist in the Bodleian, where they tend to rest for years without human touch.

In what one may call an "afterword," a Mandaean text traditionally carries the name of the priestly scribe who transcribed the text. One never knows the name of the original author of a text, but the scribe always adds his own name, that of his teacher and of his priestly lineage, and the precise time and place in which the copying work was completed. When Drower published *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* in 1937, it may not have been common to identify "native" people depicted in photographs. Now, however, one wishes that names were attached to all photos of people, perhaps especially those of priests, whether posing for the event or officiating at rituals. Thanks to the help offered by a Mandaean friend, the well-known poet Lamea Abbas Amara (living in San Diego, California), the following identifications of people depicted in this book have been attempted:

Plate 1 a, which designates the men as being of priestly caste (from left to right): Amara (Lamea Abbas Amara's grandfather on her father's side); Sheikh Zahroon, son of Sheikh Mohi; Sheikh Jawdat (whom Drower befriended; he is Lamea Abbas Amara's grandfather on her mother's side, and he died in 1941): Sheikh Mohi (the brother of Sheikh Jawdat); a lawyer named Khoja; Zihrun (whom Drower *does* identify) and his son, Aziz.

Three of these men, those whose names are prefixed by the title "Sheikh," are priests. It is worth noting that, according to tradition, Sheikh Mohi, after his death, was capable of stilling a rising flood in the river al-Aqiqa in southern Iraq. Mandaeans, even Muslims (after fruitless appeals to their own saintly men), called on Sheikh Mohi's name to avert a catastrophe, and such was his power that nature obeyed it.

The priest in Plate 2a and in Plate 27b is Sheikh Abdullah, son of Sheikh Sam. Sheikh Abdullah was a Mandaean leader in Baghdad (he died in 1981). His brother, Sheikh Farraj, shown in Plate 23b, was known as a maker of talismans (he made one for Drower's daughter, Peggy, and this little document is in the Bodleian). Living Mandaeans may be able to make additional identifications of the people depicted in *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*.

In the spring of 1971, less than a year before she passed away, I met Lady Drower. I will not forget her kind and keen interest in me as a student of Mandaeism. She said that it was a long time since she had met a young person interested in the religion. Surrounded by her books, an old-fashioned, green librarian's visor on her head, she sat in bed, still trying to keep her mind on her unending scholarly projects. But her job was essentially done. She remains an inspiration to me and to many others. To those who eagerly and hopefully ask, "Can I become a Mandaean? Is it possible to become a convert to the religion?" – the answer remains: no. But one may certainly study the religion, and this book offers the first step.

TO

DR. MOSES GASTER

‘The conclusion is, that in the study of ancient religions we must begin, not with myth, but with ritual and traditional usage.’

ROBERTSON SMITH

PREFACE TO THE NEW EDITION

A NEW edition of Lady Drower's *Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* is a welcome event, not only as evidence of the interest now being shown by European scholars in these curious people, but also on account of the book's intrinsic importance as a unique work of research; for it is the record, illustrated by photographs, of fourteen years during which the author was in friendly and frequent contact with the Mandaeans, a sect which, according to its own tradition and in the opinion of some Western scholars also, is in its earliest phase almost co-eval with Christianity.

Contact with the Mandaeans and study of their language and literature was continued during the further quarter of a century since the book was written, with the inevitable result that some of her views about the sect suffered changes. The former resulted in a dictionary which, with the co-operation of Dr. R. Macuch, is about to be published; the latter has been developed in later books, publications and translations. Nevertheless, her original careful reports and photographs of ceremonies which she herself objectively observed are of the greatest importance to scholars, for priestly commentaries show these rites to have been meticulously preserved over many centuries.

The book was not, therefore, rewritten although words (such as *qinta* for *kinta* box-altar) were subsequently discovered to be misspelt. As for theology and cosmology, which priests are forbidden by their vows to discuss with laymen, the author was dependent upon the information supplied by intelligent Mandaeans, amongst them some of priestly birth. Their accounts were based upon the confused and contradictory myths enshrined in such works as the *Ginza Rba* and *Drašia ḏ-Yahia*. She had long suspected a more rational and secret teaching because certain scrolls (some are mentioned on p. 28 of this book) are forbidden to the laity, and when writing '*The Mandaeans*' she found them inaccessible also to herself.

These, and some of the secret teaching which survives, have since then been acquired and manuscripts added to the Drower Collection in the Bodleian Library. Their 'gnosis within a gnosis' is analysed in her short book '*The Secret Adam*'. Such subsequent discoveries in no way impair the value of her original firsthand observations of the only surviving gnostic sect in the world.

Oxford G. R. DRIVER

PREFATORY NOTE

I HAVE been assisted in the publication of this book by two learned bodies: the Royal Asiatic Society and the Hibbert Trustees. My first thanks, therefore, are due to them for their generous help. To the President of the former, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., I am peculiarly indebted for his great kindness in reading the manuscript and in bringing my book to the notice of his Council.

Thanks are also due to the following:

1. To the British School of Archaeology in Egypt for permission to reprint part of my article on 'The Cult-Hut of the Mandaeans' which appeared in *Ancient Egypt and the Far East*, Part I, June 1934.

2. To the British School of Archaeology in Iraq for permission to reprint part of an article on 'Mandaean Writings' which appeared in *Iraq*, vol. i, Part 2, November 1934 (Oxford University Press).

3. To various ministers and officials of the Iraq Government for their never-failing courtesy and assistance.

4. To Mr. Spencer Curtis Brown for much kind advice about publication.

5. To friends to whom I am indebted for suggestions, corrections, and help; amongst them, Miss Dinoo Bastavala; Mr. M. P. Kharegat; Herr Ing. Georg Popper, who helped me to procure books of reference inaccessible in Iraq and is responsible for the excellent plans of the *mandi*; to the Rev. Professor A. Guillaume, the late Professors Scheftelowitz and Burkitt, and above all, to Dr. Moses Gaster. Without the constant encouragement and interest of the last-named friend this book might never have reached completion. Special thanks are also due to Colonel D. M. F. Hoysted, C.B.E., D.S.O., Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, for the patience and kindness he has shown to me throughout, to the Rev. W. H. Drummond, D.D., LL.D., the Secretary of the Hibbert Trust, and lastly, to my daughter,

Miss M. S. Drower, for her competent assistance and advice.

I should prolong the list, for many friends and strangers have either given me help or good counsel. Lack of space alone forbids their enumeration. The tale of gratitude, however, would be incomplete were I to omit to set down my obligation to the Mandaeans themselves, both laymen and priests. As the instruction of the latter was sometimes given *sub rosa* I will not particularize, but amongst the laymen I thank my old and valued friend Hirmiz bar Anhar for many happy hours. May he live long to produce his beautiful engravings on silver and to enjoy the light of S̲h̲amis̲h̲ and the breath of Ayar Rba!

I am conscious that the transliteration of Mandaean leaves much to be desired. Vowels, in general, are pronounced as in Italian, though *i* may vary from the *i* as pronounced in 'Lido', to the French *é* and the English *e* in 'met'. *a* is sometimes short (for instance in *manda* where the first syllable is pronounced as in English), and sometimes very broad, as in *mat̲h̲a* (pronounced *mawt̲h̲a*). Prayers and formulae are given sometimes as written, sometimes as pronounced. Consistency is difficult, and I am aware that I have not achieved it. The book, however, is not addressed to the philologist or linguist.

E. S. D.

BAGHDAD
August, 1937

CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES xi
GLOSSARY xiii
INTRODUCTION xv
ABBREVIATIONS xxvi

BOOK I

I. THE MANDAEANS (OR ṢUBBA) OF IRAQ AND IRAN . 1
II. MANDAEAN RELIGIOUS LITERATURE 20
III. RITUAL DRESS AND INSIGNIA 30
IV. LAY LIFE 41
V. MARRIAGE 59
VI. COSMOGONY, ASTROLOGY, AND HOLY-DAYS . 73
VII. BAPTISM 100
VIII. THE *MANDA* OR CULT-HUT 124
IX. THE PRIESTHOOD: CONSECRATION OF THE PRIEST, OR *TARMIDA* 146
X. THE PRIESTHOOD (*cont.*): THE HIGH PRIEST OR *GANZIBRA* 169
XI. DEATH AND RITES FOR THE SOULS OF THE DEAD . 178
XII. EATING FOR THE DEAD 204
XIII. THE PARSI RITUAL MEALS 225
XIV. THE MANDAEAN ALPHABET 240
APPENDIX. THE '*ASUTH MALKA*' 245

BOOK II. LEGENDS, MAGIC, AND FOLK-LORE

NOTE 249
I. LEGENDS OF CREATION, THE FLOOD, ETC. . .
  A. CREATION 251
  B. CREATION AND THE FLOOD 251
  C. THE CREATION OF MAN 257
  D. AND E. THE FLOOD 258
  F. THE MANDAEAN NATION 259
  G. ANOTHER VERSION OF THE RED SEA STORY . 264
II. OF ABRAHAM AND YURBA 265

III. HOW HIBIL ZIWA FETCHED RUHA FROM THE DARKNESS 269
IV. THE STORY OF QIQEL AND THE DEATH OF YAHYA 273
V. NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S DAUGHTER . . . 282
VI. SUN STORIES 288
VII. THE BRIDGE AT SHUSTER 289
VIII. THE FIRE-WORSHIPPER AND ADAM BUL FARAJ . 292
IX. HOW DANA NUK VISITED THE SEVENTH HEAVEN . 300
X. THE MILLENNIUM 308
XI. CONCERNING THE MOUNTAIN OF THE MADDAI AND HOW THE TURKS CAME TO TAKE IT . . 309
XII. HOW THE MANDAI AND THEIR *GANZIBRA* LEFT THE MOUNTAIN FOR A BETTER COUNTRY . . 319
XIII. THE CHILD CONCEIVED ON THE 29TH NIGHT OF THE MOON 326
XIV. THE *KANSHI uZAHLA* 330
XV. THE HAUNTINGS 333
XVI. THE PLAGUE IN SHUSTER 341
XVII. THE STONE-THROWING 345
XVIII. THE KAFTĀR 349
XIX. BIBI'S SONS AND THEIR STRANGE ADVENTURE 350
XX. SHAIKH ZIBID 353
XXI. OF BEHOLDING EVENTS IN TRANCE . . 358
XXII. HOW EVIL SPIRITS ABUSE THE DEAD, ETC. . 359
XXIII. MEN WHO HAVE RETURNED FROM DEATH, ETC. 363
XXIV. OF THE POWER TO SEE SPIRITS . . . 366
XXV. THE SĪMURGH: THE TRUE HISTORY OF RUSTAM AND HIS SON 369
XXVI. HIRMIZ SHĀH 385
XXVII. THE MAN WHO SOUGHT TO SEE SIN, THE MOON . 389
XXVIII. THE SĪMURGH AND HIRMIZ SHĀH . . 393
SOME BOOKS MENTIONED OR QUOTED . . . 400
INDEX 405

LIST OF PLATES

Sacraments. Final blessing . . . . *Frontispiece*

1. *a.* Mandaeans of priestly caste. *b.* Hirmiz bar Anhar in his silver shop in Baghdad . . . . . . *Facing p.* 2

2. *a.* Priest wearing *rasta*. *b.* Old woman wearing *rasta* . 32

3. *a.* Looping up the *sadra*. *b.* Placing myrtle wreath on head . 34

4. Slaughter of a Chicken. *a.* The preliminary *rahmi*. *b.* Ablution of *margna*. *c.* The slaughter of a chicken . . . 48

5. *a.* Reed-hut village. *b.* Ṣubbi boat-builders pitching a boat . 52

6. Marriage. *a.* The Wedding Procession. The bride. *b.* The rites inside the *andiruna* 64

7. Marriage. *a.* Bringing the clothes. *b.* Bridegroom holding ganzibra's *naṣifa* 66

8. Marriage. *a.* The bridegroom eating half the *ṣa*. *b.* Bride and bridegroom after marriage 68

9. *a.* Rapidly disappearing Mandaean graves. *b.* *Mandelta* built by a priest 80

10. Baptism. *a.* *Ris̲h̲ama*. *b.* Preliminary prayer in the *yardna* . 102

11. *a.* Ritual apparatus. *b.* Consecration of myrtle wreath . 106

12. *a.* Consecration of the banner. *b.* The banner ready for use 108

13. Baptism. *a.* The triple submersion. *b.* Dipping the forehead 110

14. Baptism. *a.* Baptism of infant. *b.* Mixing dough for the *piht̲h̲a* 112

15. Ceremonial washing of pots 114

16. Baptism. *a.* The first *kushṭa*. *b.* The blessing in the water . 116

17. Sacraments. *a.* The signing with sesame. *b.* Giving the *piht̲h̲a* 118

18. Sacraments. *a.* Giving the *mambuha*. *b.* The *kus̲h̲ṭa* . 120

19. *a.* The *Mandi,* Litlata. *b.* The *Mandi,* Qalʿat Salih . . 124

20. Reed guest-house, framework showing *s̲h̲ebāb* and *aḥtār* . 126

21. *a.* *Jemāli* type hut. *b.* *Mandi* at Litlata . . . 128

22. Yearly Consecration of Cult-hut. *a.* The lustration of façade. *b.* The cleansed *mandi* 132

23. Consecration of Cult-hut. *a.* Sacrifice of the dove. *b.* Pounding of the dates and sesame 134

24. Consecration of Cult-hut. *a.* The slaughter of the sheep. *b.* In foreground, a priest bakes meat. In background, the ganzibra prays silently before sacrificing the dove 136

25. *a*. *Zidqa brik̲h̲a* before baptism of polluted priest. *b*. and *c*. Triple baptism of polluted priest . . . *Facing p.* 176
26. *a*. *Lofani* in a private house. *b*. *Panja*. Sacrifice of sheep for *lofani* 204
27. *a*. *Lofani*: the breaking of bread. *b*. Slaughter of sheep for *zidqa brik̲h̲a* 206
28. *a*. *Zidqa brik̲h̲a*. Preparations. *b*. Kneading dough for the *faṭiri* 208
29. *a*. The *ṣa*. *b*. The *ahaba ḏ mania* 216

Note. Geographical names are printed without diacritical signs.

GLOSSARY OF WORDS COMMONLY OCCURRING IN THIS BOOK

Note. Pronounce like Italian.

Ahaba d̲ Mania (pronounced *Hava d̲ Mani*). The Giving of Garments. A form of *zidqa brik̲h̲a* for those who have died not wearing the ritual garment.
Andiruna. A ritual hut built for marriage rites and the consecration of a priest.
Anhura. (Thus pronounced, but more often written *nhura*). Light.
Bimanda = *bit manda.* The cult-hut.
Brihi. Fire-saucer.
Burzinqa. Turban.
Buṯ̲h̲a (plur. *buṯ̲h̲a* or *bawaṯ̲h̲a*). Petition, prayer, section in book of devotions.
Deywa (plur. *Deyvi*). Written *daiwa.* A *div*, evil spirit.
Drabs̲h̲a (pron. *dravs̲h̲a, drafs̲h̲a*). A banner, standard. Also a ray of light.
Duk̲h̲rana. Mention, remembrance by mentioning.
eHs̲h̲uk̲h̲a. See *Hs̲h̲uk̲h̲a.*
Faṭira (plur. *faṭiria,* pronounced *faṭiri*). The round unleavened sacred bread at the ritual meals for the dead. The word also means 'departed'. Cf. J. 1155.
Ganzibra (pron. *ganzivra, ganzowra*). Plural, *ganzibria* (pron. *ganzivri*). Head-priest. (Cf. *ganzavara* O.Pers. = treasurer).
Gdada. White cloth to insulate contamination or protect from contamination.
Hallali. A ritually and racially pure Mandaean.
Hamra. Water in which white grapes or sultanas have been pressed out.
Hawan. Mortar.
Hava d̲ Mani. See *Ahaba d̲ Mania.*
Himiana. Ritual girdle.
Hs̲h̲uk̲h̲a (pron. *eHs̲h̲uk̲h̲a*). Darkness.
Ingirṯ̲h̲a (*'ngirta*). Letter, message in portable form.
Jemāli (Arabic). A reed hut with a pent roof.
Kangana. A clay ring used as a stand or seat.
Kapṯ̲h̲a (pron. *kepṯ̲h̲a*). Small ritual drinking bowl.
Kinṯ̲h̲a, a clay box-stand.
Klila. (Myrtle) wreath.
Ksuya. See *Sadra.*
Kus̲h̲ṭa. Right, troth, the ritual clasp of the right hand.
Kūk̲h̲ (Arabic). Hut.
Lofani. Communion, ritual meal for the dead eaten by laymen.
Malka (pron. *Melka*). King, spirit of power.
Malwas̲h̲a. Zodiac religious name.
Mambuha, or *Mambug̲h̲a.* Sacramental water.

Manda. Learning, knowledge, gnosis (علم). When pronounced *mandi*, the sacred enclosure, containing pool and cult-hut is meant.

Mandelta. A triple betyl.

Margna. The ritual staff.

Mshunia Kushṭa. The ideal and ethereal double of the Earth.

Masiqta (pron. *masekhtha*). Mass for the dead, a ritual to assist the soul to rise from material worlds into the worlds of light. Might be translated 'raising-up'.

Melka. See *Malka.*

Miṣra (plur. *miṣria,* pron. *miṣri*). A furrow to shut out pollution and enclose purified areas.

Naṣifa. Stole-like strip of white cloth or muslim.

Nhura (*Anhura*). Light.

Niara. Bowl or dish.

Paisaq (pron. *peysaq*). Priest debarred from all priestly duties but that of performing marriage rites for women not virgin.

Pandama. The cloth which covers the lower part of the face during some parts of ritual, or at a funeral.

Panja. Colloquial for *Parwanaia,* q.v. 'The Five (days)' (Persian).

Parwanaia. The five intercalary days.

Pihtha (pron. *pehtha*). The sacramental wafer.

Qanina. Bottle for sacramental water.

Qauqa. A terra-cotta cube for holding incense.

Rabai (written *Rbai,* pron. *rabbey*). A rabbi, master, initiating priest or head-priest.

Rahmia (pron. *rahmi*). Devotions, prescribed preliminary prayers.

Rasta. The ritual dress.

Raṭna. Modern Mandaean colloquial dialect.

Rishama. The minor daily and preliminary ritual ablutions.

Ṣa. A roll or scroll of bread used in ritual meals for the dead. Apparently represents the phallus.

Ṣabbi (plur. *Ṣabba*). See *Ṣubbi.*

Sadra. The sacred shirt.

Ṣarīfaḥ (Arabic). Reed hut.

Sharwala. Drawers, leggings.

Shganda. An acolyte (literally, 'messenger').

Shwalia. Candidate for priesthood. Pronounced as written with final 'a'.

Ṣubbi (plur. *Ṣubba*). Mandaean, one who immerses.

Skandola. The magic signet-ring.

Ṭabutha. The sacred food at ritual meals.

Tarmida. Priest.

Ṭura. Mountain.

ʿUthra (plur. *ʿuthria,* pron. *ʿuthri*). A good spirit.

Yalufa (plur. *yalufia,* pron. *yalufi*). A literate person.

Yardna. Running water, river, a pool of flowing water.

Zrazta. Scroll on which a protective charm is written.

Zidqa brikha (pron. *zedqa brikha*). A ritual meal for the dead.

INTRODUCTION

In the following pages an attempt is made to relate what the author has seen, heard, and observed of the Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran. Observations were made over a number of years and furnish a considerable body of new evidence as to their customs, beliefs, cults, and magic. This evidence, we submit, is useful, not only to the student of anthropology, folk-lore, and ethnology, but to students of the history of religions, for the Mandaeans are what the doctor calls a case of arrested development. Their cults, which are regarded by them as more sacred than their books, and older, have been tenaciously retained; their ritual, in all its detail, most carefully preserved by a priesthood who regard a slip in procedure as a deadly sin. Segregated since the coming of Islam from those amongst whom they dwell by peculiarities of cult, custom, language, and religion, they have kept intact and inviolate the heritage which they had from their fathers.

The evidence so far laid before scholars has been almost entirely confined to some of the Mandaean religious literature. This aroused much premature controversy amongst theologians as to the value of Mandaean traditions to students of the New Testament, especially where the Fourth Gospel is in question. I hope that the information given here may go far to solve such problems. As regards study of the Mandaeans at first-hand, the fleeting observations of travellers and casual observers have been superficial, for they are a shy and secretive people, and do not readily disclose their beliefs or explain their cults. Petermann's three months in the marshes of Lower Iraq represent the only effort at scientific study at first hand, while Siouffi, whose account represents the greater part of what is known about the community apart from its books, never saw a rite with his own eyes, but was entirely dependent on the report of a renegade Ṣubbi. Both these observers remained on the surface and did not penetrate deeply into the spirit of the people or arrive at the inner meaning of the cults.

As for Arab observers, from the earliest time they were dependent upon hearsay, and their reports can only be accepted as such. The same may be said about the earliest account we have about the Mandaeans, that of the Syriac writer Bar Konai (in the Scholion, A.D. 792), who writes as a controversialist, ready to belittle a heretic sect. This writer does, however, give us clues which go far to disprove his own account of the Mandaeans, which I shall discuss later.

The evidence of Arab authors is, for the most part, concerned with the Ḥarrānian Ṣābians, a people with whom primitive pagan usages seem to have lingered until late into the Moslem era. They were said, by a Christian writer, to have adopted the name Ṣābians in order to profit by the tolerance offered by Islam to the 'people of a book', the true 'Ṣābians' or Ṣabba, of the marshes of Lower Iraq. In the mass of hearsay which Arab authors bring forward there is, however, a good deal to indicate that the Ḥarrānians had points of common belief with the orthodox Mandaeans, and that the learned Ṣābians of the Caliph's capital chose to assume Neoplatonic terms in speaking of their religion in order to lend an air of scholarship and philosophy to their tenets. Magianism was still alive and hated, and any semblance of relationship with Persian beliefs was to be avoided. The existence of the name Zahrun amongst these court philosophers may be adduced as a proof of their identity with the Mandaeans, for Zahrun is one of the Mandaean spirits of light who, together with S͟hamis͟h (S͟hamas͟h), ride in the sun-vessel across the sky. It was easy for them to camouflage the Mazdean name Hormuz,[1] Hirmiz, Hirmiṣ (Ahura-Mazda) into the name Hermes, and proclaim that the Egyptian Hermes was one of their 'prophets'. Al-Bīrūnī, a Persian himself, when not quoting from other Arab authors about the Ḥarrānians, gives a just estimate of their beliefs (p. 187):

> 'All, however, we know of them is that they profess monotheism and describe God as exempt from anything that is bad, using in

their description the *Via Negationis*, not the *Via Positionis*. E.g. they say "he is indeterminate, he is invisible, he does *not* wrong, he is *not* injust". They call him by the *Nomina Pulcherrima*, but only metaphorically, since a real description of him is excluded according to them. The rule of the universe they attribute to the celestial globe and its bodies, which they consider as living, speaking, hearing, and seeing beings. And the fires they hold in great consideration.'

He states that Zoroaster 'belonged to the sect of the Ḥarrānians'.

He mentions three prayers—at sunrise, noon, and sunset.

'Their prayer is preceded by purification and washing. They also wash themselves after a pollution. They do not circumcise themselves, not being ordered to do so, as they maintain. Most of their regulations about women and their penal law are similar to those of the Muslims, whilst others, relating to pollution caused by touching dead bodies, &c., are similar to those of the Thora.' (p. 188, Sachau's translation.)

Al-Bīrūnī (writing at the beginning of the eleventh century A.D.) is positive about the 'real Ṣābians', who are, he says (p. 188) 'the remnants of the Jewish tribes who remained in Babylonia when the other tribes left it for Jerusalem in the days of Cyrus and Artaxerxes. These remaining tribes . . . adopted a system mixed up of Magism and Judaism.'

Chwolson, in his monumental book about the Ṣābians, was at pains to show that the Ḥarrānians could not have had real religious union with the Mandaeans, because the former openly 'worshipped' the planets, while the latter held planet-worship in abhorrence. I must here examine that statement.

Recently, an Arab author who had been a student for some time in Lower Iraq wrote an article in an Egyptian periodical about the Ṣubba, or Mandaeans, in which he described them as star-worshippers. Indignation broke out amongst the Mandaean priesthood, for it was the old accusation of paganism, so imperilling to Moslem toleration. Legal proceedings were taken against the author, and a *ganzibra*, or head-priest, was dispatched to Baghdad armed with the Ginza Rba, the Great Treasure, to translate before witnesses passages in the holy writ denouncing the worship of planets. (It is improbable that he would have brought holy books such as the Diwan Abathur into court, nor would some passages in the Drasha d Yahya have helped his cause.)

In truth, the Mandaeans do not adore the heavenly bodies. But they believe that stars and planets contain animating principles, spirits subservient and obedient to Melka d Nhura (the King of Light), and that the lives of men are governed by their influences. With these controlling spirits are their doubles of darkness. In the sun-boat stands the beneficent Shamish with symbols of fertility and vegetation, but with him is his baleful aspect, Adona,[2] as well as guardian spirits of light. The Mandaeans invoke spirits of light only, not those of darkness.

The fact that all priests are at the same time astrologers leads inevitably to contradictions. Those who read this book will see how easy it is to misjudge the matter. In the union of function, the Mandaean priests inherit the traditions of the country. The *baru* and *ashipu* priests of ancient Babylonia had functions and rituals close to those in use amongst the Mandaean priesthood of to-day,[3] and the name of the Magian priests was so closely associated with their skill in incantation and astrology that their name has become incorporated in the word 'magic'.

Similarly many Mandaean priests, in spite of the Ginza's prohibition of such practices, derive part of their income from the writing of amulets, and from sorcery, when legitimate fees are insufficient for their needs.

The most important material here assembled is, I think it will be acknowledged, the account of the various Mandaean ritual meals. Inclined at first to see in these relics of Marcionite Christianity or of the gnostic rituals of Bardaiṣan, I perceived later that the Mandaean rituals are closer to Mazdean sources than has hitherto been suspected. Resemblances between the Mandaean, Nestorian Christian, and Parsi rituals are strong, but, as the ideas which underlie the Mandaean and Parsi rites are identical whereas those of Christianity have travelled wide, I submit that the Mandaean cults are nearer in essentials to some Iranian original than they are to primitive Christianity, although the latter, there is no doubt, may have been intimately related to Iranian models at its inception in Judaea or Galilee.

Ritual eating for the dead, or the belief that the dead derive benefit from foods ritually consumed in their name is, of course, a belief which goes back into primitive times, and is found not only amongst the Sumerians and Babylonians, but amongst many simple peoples. In my notes, however, I have confined myself to references to such practices in the Middle East alone, past and present.

The great alluvial plains of the Tigris and Euphrates lie between the Far East and Near East and in constant contact with both. From earliest times, highroads have run from the uplands of Iran, from the steppes of Asia, from the deserts of Arabia, from the plains of India, through what is now modern Iraq, to the Mediterranean seaboard. From the first its inhabitants have been subject to influences from all quarters of the civilized globe and ruled by race after race. There could be no better forcing-ground for syncretistic thought. Babylonia and the kingdoms of Persia and Media offered natural conditions favourable to the growth of religious conceptions compromising between ancient traditions and cults, and ideas which had travelled from the old civilization of China by way of the Vedic philosophers of India—ideas which spiritualized, revived, and inspired man's belief in the immortality of the soul, its origin in the Divine Being, and the existence of beneficent ancestral spirits. Moreover, in the five centuries before Christ, there was a steady infiltration of Jewish, Egyptian, Phoenician, and Greek influences into Babylonia. Before the Captivities, Jewish communities of traders and bankers established themselves in the land of the two rivers, while mercenaries and merchants passed to and fro between the Far East and the seaboards of Egypt, Phoenicia, and Greece.

The soldier and the merchant, though they contributed as intermediaries in the exchange of ideas, could never, however, have been more than passive 'carriers' of religious thought. In Mandaean legends, as well as in those of India and Persia, one finds perpetual reference to wandering *darāwīs͟h*, religious wanderers who, like Hirmiz S͟hāh in the Mandaean story, like Gautama the Buddha in India, or, in medieval times, Guru Nānak, set out in search of intellectual and spiritual peace. Speculation in the West is mostly conducted from a chair: the adventurer into the realms of thought goes no farther than the laboratory or the study. In the East, seekers after truth were peripatetic: their intellectual vagabondage was physical as well. It is certain that where the merchant penetrated, religious wanderers followed; travelling philosophers, ranging from China to India, Baluchistan, and Persia, and from Persia and Iraq to the Mediterranean, using the passes of Kurdistan and the waterways of Iraq. The Oriental loves metaphysical argument and seeks it: the higher his type, the more addicted he is to this form of mental exercise, and the readier to listen to the opinions of a guest. The result, a leaven of unorthodoxy amongst the intellectual, eventually spread to the masses, first, possibly, as secret heresies, and then as new forms of religion.

Here lies the importance of the Mandaeans. Extremely tenacious, while adopting the new at some far distant syncretistic period, they also conserved the old so religiously and faithfully that one can disentangle the threads here and there, and point to this as Babylonian, to that as Mazdean, to this as belonging to a time when animal flesh was forbidden, to that as suggesting a phase when zealous reformers endeavoured to purge out some ancient and inherent beliefs.

At such a period as the last-named, the scattered religious writings of the Mandaeans were gathered together and edited. One may surmise that the editors and collectors were refugees, sophisticated priests who, returning to peaceful communities in Lower Iraq, were scandalized at their incorrigible paganism. The emended writings breathe reform and denunciation.

The core or nucleus, of the Mandaean religion, through all vicissitudes and changes, is the ancient worship of the principles of life and fertility. The Great Life is a personification of the creative and sustaining force of the universe, but the personification is slight, and spoken of always in the impersonal plural, it remains mystery and abstraction. The symbol of the Great Life is 'living water', that is flowing water, or *yardna*.[4] This is entirely natural in a land where all life, human, animal, and vegetable, clings to the banks of the two great rivers Tigris and Euphrates. It follows that one of the central rites is immersion in flowing water. The second great vivifying power is light, which is represented by personifications of light (Melka ḏ Nhura and the battalions of *melki* or light spirits), who bestow such light-gifts as health, strength, virtue, and justice. In the ethical system of the Mandaeans, as in that of the Zoroastrians, cleanliness, health of body, and ritual obedience must be accompanied by purity of mind, health of conscience, and obedience to moral laws. This dual application was characteristic of the cults of Anu and Ea in Sumerian times and Bel and Ea in Babylonian times, so that, if Mandaean thought originated or ripened under Iranian and Far Eastern influences, it had roots in a soil where similar ideals were already familiar and where ablution cults and fertility rites had long been in practice.

The third great essential of the religion is the belief in the immortality of the soul, and its close relationship with the souls of its ancestors, immediate and divine. Ritual meals are eaten in proxy for the dead; and the souls of the dead, strengthened and helped, give assistance and comfort to the souls of the living.

It remains, in this introduction, to say something about my methods in collecting the material here assembled. I first came into contact with the Ṣubba in 1923, but did not read the translated holy books until 1931. This led me to the study of the language and then to that of untranslated manuscripts. Manifestly ill-equipped for the latter task, I here make apologies for possible inaccuracy in rendering. I have august precedent for mistakes, for

Lidzbarski himself, who has furnished us with the finest translations of the major holy books, has fallen into error here and there when it comes to rendering passages dealing with cults. All his fine mastery of Semitic languages could not tell him what only a knowledge of the cults themselves, and familiarity with local conditions, can explain.

I found it necessary not only to witness cults and ceremonies several times before arriving at a relatively proper estimate or accurate observation, but to learn from priests the ritual used at them. Some ceremonies, indeed, I have been unable to witness, but wherever this is the case, I have asked so many persons about the procedure that I hope a more or less correct impression has resulted. Incomplete and faulty as my survey is, however, it is better than none, and, as circumstance may intervene at any time to prevent my further continuance in the country, I offer it as it is.

When collecting information, I rely on memory as little as possible, making notes at the moment of observation and writing down sentences as I hear them. Legends were taken down verbatim, if I may so term the mixture of English and Arabic in which they were scribbled. In cases where I was unable to find the *mot juste*, I wrote the Arabic phonetically, and if unable to follow the narrator, I checked him, and elicited the meaning of what he had said. I am no Arabic scholar, but the vocabulary employed by the common people in Iraq is a limited one and after fifteen or sixteen years' residence in the country, I have acquired a working knowledge of the colloquial speech. All instruction, and all the legends, were given to me in Arabic, with an occasional Mandaean word, for the *raṭna* (spoken Mandaean) is falling into disuse in Iraq, and Arabic is spoken generally by Mandaeans all over the country.

I made many visits to the various Mandaean centres; in Iraq to Al-ʿAmārah, Q̣alʿat Sāliḥ, Naṣoriyah, Sūq-esh-Shuyūkh, and Ḥalfayah; in Persia to Muḥammerah and Ahwāz (the Persian Naṣoriyah, as the Mandaeans call it), for only in the larger communities can the ceremonies and cults be seen with ease. All these places are a full day, or two days, from Baghdad by rail and car. Had good fortune placed me nearer, this book would be better informed.

NOTES

1. Hirmiz is still a popular name with the Ṣubba, and Hormuzd with Nestorian and Chaldean Christians.

2. *Adona*: 'Lord'. In an illustration to the Diwan Abathur (reproduced on p. 77), Adona is identified with Shamish (Babylonian, Shamash, the sun-god). The mast of the sun-boat, with its flaming standard, is held on the right by a figure with sprigs of foliage for hair, beneath which is written: 'This is the likeness of Shamish, Adona is his name.' In the Drasha d Yahya and Haran Gawaitha the mistaken 'Adonai' ('my lord') is used, and this form was used by a narrator describing the sun-boat (p. 77).

3. *Baru and ashipu priests.* See Campbell Thompson's *Semitic Magic*, pp. xxi ff. As with the Mandaeans, disease, pollution, transgression against taboo, and breaking of social laws necessitated purifications received at the hands of a priest. The *baru* and *ashipu* priests of Babylonian and neo-Babylonian times, like Mandaean priests, wore white. The *baru* priest was ordered to sanctify himself, put on a clean garment, and prepare a sacrament of sweet bread from wheaten flour, salt, and water, following a procedure not dissimilar in its essentials from that of the Mandaean priest when he prepares the sacramental bread, or *pihtha*.

Zimmern translates a fragment giving directions for the purification of a king by an *ashipu* priest:

> The king shall pour . . . in the vessel
> And thus speak, 'May these . . .
> May my evil deeds and my . . . be taken from me,
> That I may be clean and live before Shamash.'
> As soon as thou hast done this, the king shall wash in water,
> Put on a clean garment, wash his hands clean, &c.

(*Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu*, p. 127).

Like the Mandaean *tarmida*, the *baru* priest had a novitiate and an initiation. Shamash was his especial patron, and the cult of the sun-god demanded purity and ablutions so exacting that the *baru* priests, like the *tarmidi*, formed a special caste.

These priests attributed their origin, says Zimmern (*Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager*, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, p. 116), to a certain En-me-dur-an-ki, king of Sippar, in which city there was an especial cult of the sun-god. Zimmern identifies this king with Enoch, seventh forefather of man in the seven-branched genealogy of Genesis. Similarly, Mandaean priests count Anush ('Annush, Enoch) the first priest.

Further, the *ashipu*'s functions as white magician resemble those of the Mandaean priest, whose duties still include exorcism of evil spirits and disease, the writing of horoscopes, and of charms and amulets.

To refer again to Enoch (the word means 'man' and he seems to be, like Adam, a personification of the human principle) the association is preserved to-day in a curious manner. The Arabs have given Enoch the name 'Idrīs' (in reference to his character as teacher—root *drs*), and it is a habit in Baghdad to pay visits to his reputed tomb, called Sayyid Idrīs, which lies in a village near Baghdad, on *Sundays*, and particularly on Easter Sunday. The pilgrims are Moslems, not Christians.

4. *Yardna.* Mandaeans say that this means 'river' or 'flowing water' and has no reference to the river Jordan in Palestine. By Mandaeans, both Jordan and Nile are called the Ardana or Ardan, and I have heard the term Ardan applied to the Nile by an Iraqi Jew. In *raṭna* the word is used to designate any river, and usually in preference to the word *nahra*, which word is probably borrowed from the Arabic *nahr*, a river. (The root *nhr* shows how closely the meanings 'light' and 'water' are related in the Semitic mind. In Mandaic we get *nahra*, river, and *nhura* light; in Arabic *nahr*, river and *nahār*, day; in Hebrew *nāhār*, river and *n*^{e}*hārā*, daylight; and in Babylonian *na-a-ru* river, and *nu-u-ru*, daylight.)

A Mandaean says, in ordinary conversation, *yardna ṭufana ahvet* or *yardna brahaṭi* for 'the river is in flood'; indeed, the word is used when there is no question of ritual meaning.

Herodotus (book iii, pp. 416–17, Rawlinson's translation) wrote '. . . for I do not allow that there is any river, to which the barbarians give the name of Eridanus emptying itself into the northern sea, whence (as the tale goes) amber is procured . . . for in the first place Eridanus is manifestly not a barbarian word at all, but a Greek name, invented by some poet or other.'

To this Canon Rawlinson wrote a footnote relevant to the Jordan question: 'Here Herodotus is over-cautious, and rejects as fable what we can see to be truth. The amber district upon the northern sea is the coast of the Baltic about the Gulf of Dantzig. . . . The very name Eridanus lingers there in the Rhodaune, the small stream which washes the west side of the town of Dantzig. It is possible that in early times the name attached rather to the Vistula than to the Rhodaune. For the word Eridanus (= Rhodanus) seems to have been applied, by the early inhabitants of Europe, especially to great and strong-running rivers. The Italian Eridanus (the Po), the Transalpine Rhodanus (the Rhone), and the still more northern Rhenus (the Rhine), a name in which we may recognize a similar contraction to that which has now changed Rhodanus into Rhone, are all streams of this character.' He goes on to include Jordan as a possible derivation.

By a curious coincidence *Ard* appears temptingly in the name of the river genius, or river, Ardvîsûra, which according to Parsi tradition empties itself into the sea Vourukas̱ha, but *Ardvi* means 'lofty'. Sir J. J. Modi has an interesting note in his paper on the Mandaeans in the *Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 23 (Bombay, 1932): 'The Ardviçura is identified by some scholars with the Oxus and the Vourukasha with the Caspian. The Jordan is to the Mandaeans what the Ardviçura is to the

Parsis. The Mandaeans believed that the Jordan, a terrestrial river, "descended from the celestial world by way of the mountains". The same is the case with the river Ardviçura. It also latterly began to be associated with the high heavens and to be believed as coming down through the Hukairya mountains. The name Ardviçura, though originally the name of a particular river, came to be identified with any collection of natural, running or flowing waters. It is usual to hear Parsis saying of their going to the banks of a river or the shore of a sea as going to Avan Ardviçura.... A Parsi says his Ardviçura Niyâish or Ardviçura Yasht before any collection of natural, flowing living water, whether the great Indian Ocean or the Arabian Sea, whether a river or a lake, whether a streamlet or a well.'

In Syriac ܒܝܪ is a 'fount or well', and in Arabic the word ورد with its meaning of 'coming to water' must be connected with the same root-signification.

It is interesting to note that the Mandaeans derive all rivers and waters from a prototype, a white, pure river rising in a mountain named Karimla. This prototype is the Frash Ziwa, or Frat-Ziwa, the Light-Euphrates, not the Jordan.

ABBREVIATIONS

BDM. W. Brandt's *Die Mandäer, ihre Entwickelung und geschichtliche Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1897).

BM. British Museum.

Ch. Ṣ. Dr. D. Chwolson's *Die Ssabier und Ssabismus* (St. Petersburg, 1856).

D.C. Drower collection: Mandaean documents in the possession of the author.

GR. *Der Ginza, übersetzt u. erklärt* von Mark Lidzbarski (Göttingen, 1925).

J. M. Jastrow's *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (Berlin, Verlag Choreb, 1296).

JB. *Das Johannisbuch der Mandäer*, hrsg. von Mark Lidzbarski (Töpelmann, Giessen, 1915).

JGF. Sir J. G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (various editions).

JJM. Sir Jīvanjī J. Modi's *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees* (British India Press, 1922).

KRC. *The Journal of the K. R. Cama Institute*, No. 23, 1932.

OT. Old Testament.

N. Theodor Nöldeke's *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle, 1895).

P-S. *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* founded on the *Thesaurus Syriacus* of R. Payne-Smith D.D., edited by J. Payne-Smith (Clarendon Press, 1903).

Q. *Mandäische Liturgien, mitgeteilt, übersetzt,* &c. Mark Lidzbarski (Sitzber. d. Preuß. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Bd. 17, no. 1, Berlin, 1920).

BOOK I

I

THE MANDAEANS (OR ṢUBBA) OF IRAQ AND IRAN

It is a peculiarity of the various communities and religions classed together as 'minorities' in modern Iraq that, for the most part, they 'keep to themselves', associating only with co-religionists and rarely marrying an outsider. Especially is this true of the Jews, the Yazīdīs, and the Ṣubba. Though the last group are only a handful of people, surrounded by neighbours of other faiths, they never mingle with them or admit them to intimacy; while a Ṣubbi who marries outside his race and creed automatically leaves it.

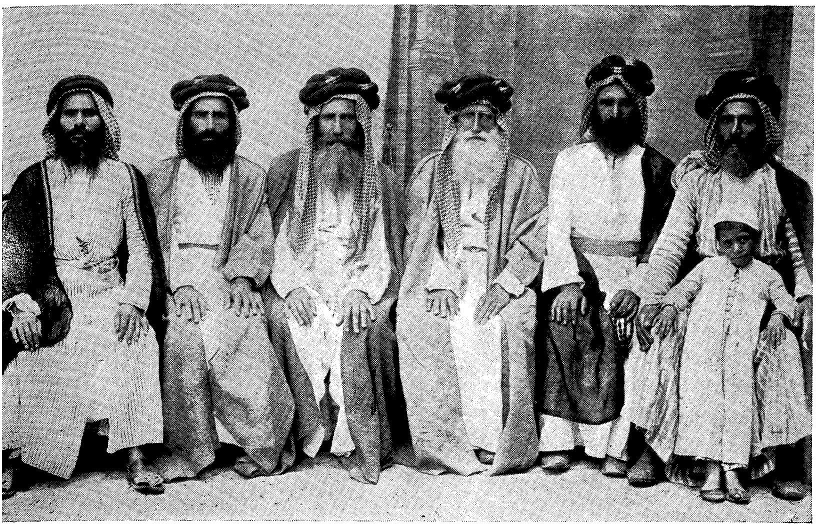
The appellation 'Ṣubba' (singular Ṣubbi)[1] is a colloquial form which this people accept as referring to their principal cult, immersion; but the more formal name of their race and religion, used by themselves, is Mandai, or Mandaeans.

In Arabic literature they appear as صابئة or الصابيون, and there can be little doubt that they are also identical with the Mug͟htasila[2] amongst whom, according to the *Fihrist*, Mānī, the founder of Manichaeism, was born. Arab authors have sometimes confounded the Mandaeans with the Majūs, or Magians, and not without reason, since the cults are similar. Travellers in the East were wont to refer to them as 'Christians of St. John', and Europeans who have come to Iraq since the Great War know them as 'the Amarah silverworkers'.

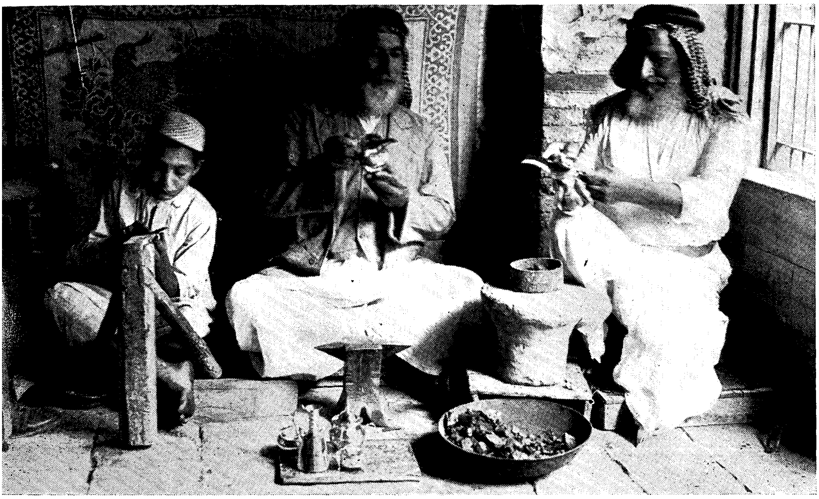
As the community is small and peace-loving, with no political aspirations, it has no place in history beyond the occasional mention of its existence, and the record that some of the most brilliant scholars of the early Moslem Caliphate were of its way of thought. To-day, the principal centres of the Ṣubba are in Southern Iraq, in the marsh districts and on the lower reaches of the Euphrates and Tigris; in the towns of Amarah, Nasoriyah, Basrah, at the junction of the two rivers at Qurnah, at Qalʿat Salih, Halfayah, and Suq-ash-Shuyukh. Groups of them are found in the more northerly towns of Iraq: Kut, Baghdad, Diwaniyah, Kirkuk, and Mosul all have Ṣubbi communities of varying size. The skill of the Ṣubba as craftsmen takes them far afield, and Ṣubbi silver-shops exist in Beyrut, Damascus, and Alexandria. In Persia the Mandaeans were once numerous in the province of Khuzistan, but their numbers have diminished, and the settlements in Muhammerah and Ahwaz along the banks of the Karun river are not so prosperous or so healthy as those in Iraq.

The racial characteristics of these people are, as regards the better classes, marked, and they can be distinguished by their unusual physical type. I have said 'better classes', and by that I mean Mandaeans who come of priestly families, who are strict as to unblemished pedigree, and look for perfect health when they take a wife. The priestly families have two distinct types, one wiry, tanned, and black-eyed; the other tall, white-skinned, or slightly bronzed, and with a proportion of blue eyes to dark of about three persons in twelve. The poorer Mandaeans of the marsh districts and Southern Persia are darker-skinned and smaller-bodied than the priestly caste, who are almost invariably of good physique. As a rule, Mandaean features are strong and handsome, the nose big, curved, and long.

During the British occupation and the early days of the mandate, as one walked between the Ṣubbi silver-shops in River Street, Baghdad, one sometimes saw a board announcing the proprietor to be a 'St. John Christian', but these, now that Iraq has a national government, have disappeared. Like the followers of other secret religions, the Mandaeans, when talking to people of another faith, accentuate small points of resemblance between their beliefs and those of their hearers. To inquirers they will say, 'John is our prophet like Jesus' (or 'Muḥammad', as the case may be) 'is yours'. I soon found that John the



a. Mandaeans of priestly caste. The end figure (right) is the late silversmith, Zahrun



b. Hirmiz bar Anhar (right) in his silver shop in Baghdad

Baptist (Yuhana, or Yahya Yuhana) could not with accuracy be described as 'their prophet'; indeed, at one time I was tempted to believe that he was an importation from the Christians. I became gradually convinced, however, that he was not a mere accretion, and that he had real connexion with the original Naṣurai, which was an early name given to the sect. Mandaeans do not pretend that either their religion or baptismal cult originated with John; the most that is claimed for him is that he was a great teacher, performing baptisms in the exercise of his function as priest, and that certain changes, such as the diminution of prayer-times from five to three a day, were due to him. According to Mandaean teaching, he was a Naṣurai; that is, an adept in the faith, skilled in the white magic of the priests and concerned largely with the healing of men's bodies as well as their souls.[3] By virtue of his *naṣirutha*, iron could not cut him, nor fire burn him, nor water drown him, claims made to-day by the Rifāʿi *darāwīsh*.

Jesus too, according to Mandaean theologians, was a Naṣurai, but he was a rebel, a heretic, who led men astray, betrayed secret doctrines, and made religion easier (i.e. flouted the difficult and elaborate rules about purification).

The references to Christ (Yshu Mshiha) are, in fact, entirely polemical, and for the most part refer to the practices of Byzantine Christianity which awake horror in Mandaeans, such as the use of 'cut-off' (i.e. not flowing) water for baptism, and the celibacy of monks and nuns.[4] The Haran Gawaitha (D.C. 9) mentions the establishment of Christian communities on Mount Sinai. In the cults, Jesus and John are both unmentioned.[5] Siouffi's story that John's name is pronounced at baptism is a fiction. In no ritual is he mentioned or invoked, unless I except the *dukhrana*, when lists of spirits of light, holy men, and the righteous dead from the earliest times to the present are read; but in these lists he has no especial honour.

The explanation of the term 'Christian of St. John' lies therefore, not in the relation of either Christ or John to the sect, but partly in the fact that John is a useful name to produce to Christians, and has often been cited to induce their toleration, and partly in the obvious connexion between the word 'Naṣurai' and the Arabic word for Christians—Naṣāra. I am not going to enter here into the controversy which arose when Lidzbarski pointed out the philological difficulties which prevent *Ναζωραῖος* נאצוראיא meaning 'a man from Nazareth'. So strong was his belief that it did not, that he suggested that the evangelists placed the childhood of Jesus at Nazareth to explain the tradition that he was a 'Naṣurai'. His arguments are set forth in *Mandäische Liturgien*, xvi ff., and in the introduction to his translation of the Ginza Rba (GR., p. ix). I refer the reader to these.

In Mandaean manuscripts and legends, however, the word Naṣurai is generally used in the sense indicated above, namely, 'one skilled in religious matters and white magic', while the Christians are usually called *mshihiia*, that is to say, 'followers of the Messiah', or *kristianaia*, 'Christians'. Magic rolls bear the inscription, 'this is written from the *naṣirutha* (i.e. priestly craft) of So-and-So'. Of John it is written in the Haran Gawaitha:

> 'When he was seven years old, Anush 'Uthra[6] came and wrote the ABC (*a ba ga*) for him, until, when he was twenty-two years old, he had learnt all the priestly-craft (*naṣirutha*).'

In later manuscripts Naṣurai are often mentioned as if they were of higher grade than laymen, e.g. 'Naṣurai *and* Mandai', while nowadays I hear the word sometimes applied to a priest who is especially literate, or reputed skilful in white magic. 'Ah, he is a *real* Naṣurai!'

What is the root-meaning? Lidzbarski thinks it akin to 'observe', and deduces that the Naṣurai were 'observers'. Another Orientalist suggests that it may be analogous to the Syriac root *nṣr* meaning (P-S.) 'to chirp, twitter (as a bird), utter broken sounds (as a magician), to chant, sing praises'.

Both these suggested root-meanings agree with Mandaean conceptions. The Naṣurai was an observer of stars and omens, of constellations, and of auspices. A Mandaean priest in Ahwaz, speaking of the secret knowledge transmitted from priest to priest, vaunted this secret knowledge.

> 'If a raven croaks in a certain *burj* (astrological house) I understand what it says, also the meaning when the fire crackles or the door creaks. When the sky is cloudy and there are shapes in the sky resembling a mare or a sheep, I can read their significance and message. When the moon (*gumra*) is darkened by an eclipse, I understand the portent: when a dust-cloud arises, black, red, or white, I read the signs, and all this according to the hours and the aspects.'

The second meaning also answers to the functions and nature of the Naṣurai. No exorcism, no ceremony, no religious act is considered efficacious without a formula. Words have magic power. The mere utterance of a name will compel its owner to be at the service of the utterer, or at least, will summon his presence. Prayers, except when profoundly secret and pronounced 'in the heart', are spoken aloud. In short, the Mandaean of to-day, like his predecessors in the land of S͟humer long ago, believes in incantation.

The last name, *Mandai*, or Mandaeans, brings me to the question of the origin of these people. I discussed it originally in an article on the Mandi (cult-hut) in *Ancient Egypt and the East* (June 1934), and the theory there tentatively proffered has lately received strengthening evidence from the Haran Gawait͟ha, (D.C. 9) a most interesting manuscript which, after years of effort, I succeeded in purchasing. Here, at last, I found what I had been looking for, definite information about the Ṭura d̲ Madai (Mountain of the Maddai or Mandai), which figures in Mandaean tradition and legend.

The manuscript is broken, the beginning is missing, and it bears marks of shameless editing. Owing to this last, it is difficult to date it from internal evidence. Unlike the 18th book of the Ginza (rt.), it assigns 4,000 years to Arab rule before the advent of the "lying Messiah", but, like the Ginza, says that "the mud brick in the wall" will proclaim him. Bar K͟hūni in his 'Scholion' (A.D. 792) repeats the same legend.

On the other hand, *tarmida* is used in its ancient sense of 'disciple'. It is written after the Arab invasion, but the attacks on Islam are not so venomous as those on the Yahuṭaiia, which word is used throughout as meaning both 'Chaldeans' and 'Jews'. (In Legend VI the narrator called Nebuchadnezzar 'the king of the Jews'.)

The roll purports to be a history and prophecy combined, and is looked upon with the utmost reverence by the Mandaeans, though on account of its dangerously polemical character it has been always kept secret.

It starts in the middle of a sentence:

> 'The interior of the Haran (i.e. Harran) admitted them, that city which has Naṣurai in it, so that there should not be a road (passage?) for the kings of the Yahuṭaiia (Chaldeans). Over them (the Naṣurai) was King Ardban. And they severed themselves from the sign of the Seven and entered the mountain of the Madai, a place where they were free from domination of all races. And they built *mandis* (*mandia*) and dwelt in the call of the Life and in the strength of the high King of Light.'

The birth of Jesus is narrated briefly, and—

> 'He perverted the words of the Light and changed them to darkness and converted those who were mine and perverted all the cults (*'bidatha*). . . . He and his brother established themselves on Mount Sinai and took unto themselves all nations and brought the people unto themselves and were called Christians (*krastinaiia*) and were called after Nazareth (*Niṣrath mdinta*).'

Nazareth is identified with the city of Qum!

The miraculous birth of John (Yahya Yuhana) follows (the account differs from that in the Drasha d Yahya), and the story of his rearing in the 'white mountain' Parwan, of his baptism, education, and initiation into priesthood in the Mountain of the Madai. Later in the document the Mountain of the Madai is located, *mitqiria Haran Gawaitha*, 'which is called the Inner Harran'. A curious gloss, possibly interpolated, since it breaks the current of narration, says:

> 'The Madai are not counted as belonging to Ruha[7] and her seven Sons because there are amongst them (those) of Hibil Ziwa.'

John is brought to Jerusalem, where, apparently, there was a community from the Mountain of the Madai:

> 'And Anush 'Uthra brought him and came with him to the city of Jerusalem, amongst the community (*kinta d kanat*) founded by Ruha. All of them belonged to her and to her sons except those from the Mountain of the Madai.'

There is no account of John's baptism of Christ (as in the Drasha d Yahya), or of John's baptism of Manda-d-Hiia: indeed, the expression 'Manda-d-Hiia' is not used throughout. John is represented as teacher, baptist, and healer: 'he taught disciples (*tarmid tarmidia*)', and 'set the broken going upon their legs'.

Sixty years after his death, the manuscript relates, there was a persecution of Naṣurai in Jerusalem, 'so that there did not escape of the disciples and Naṣurai a man'. The escape of a remnant is indicated. The Jews in their turn were harried, and many of them driven 'by a flail' to a place called Suf Zaba ('stream of reeds') later glossed as 'Baṣra'. This migration is embroidered by the 'historian' with detail from the ancient flight from Egypt, as he describes a miraculous passage through the waters (of the marshes? Suf Zaba is evidently here the reedy marsh region of the Basrah district). No pursuing host is mentioned.

With the help of Ruha, the 'Yahuṭaiia' (here Chaldeans) built a strong new city with seven walls, 'each more magnificent than its fellow'. This city ('Baghdad') is destroyed utterly later by the powers of light, aided by the 'Madai' and seven guards (*naṭria*) from 'Mount Parwan'. A descendant of King Ardban is set up in 'Baghdad', and his rule established over the four corners of the world. Satraps are set up over the provinces, and these all have Mandaean names. This rule is thoroughly approved of by the Powers of Light.

Next comes a description of the destruction of Jerusalem by the powers of light.

> 'He (Anush 'Uthra) went and burnt and destroyed the city of Jerusalem and killed the Beni Israel (*bnia Sriil*) and the priests (*kahnia*) of Jerusalem and made it like mounds of ruins (*akwath tilia d habarawatha*).'

The period of prosperity in Babylonia is followed by divisions, many races, tongues and wars. The Hardabaiia (or *harba baiia*, "seeking war"?) take the power from the descendants of Ardban and their king rules "360 years", till the Arab era.

The writer, however, is less concerned with invaders and rulers, such as the Hardabaiia, than with a split within the ranks of the Naṣuraiia themselves. He chronicles a large settlement of Naṣuraiia at Ṭīb (i.e. the well-watered lowlands between the marshes of the Amarah Liwa and the Jebel Hamrin), and describes how, eighty-six years before the Moslem invasion, one Qiqel, a *ris̲h̲ ʿama* (religious chief) of the Naṣurai, was deluded by Ruha disguised as a spirit of light, so that he, together with his priests and many others, fell away from the true faith and wrote 'writings' inspired by the powers of darkness. That this was still a powerful heresy appears from the exhortations of the writer to avoid contact with these schismatics and to burn and destroy their works.

After this, the coming of the Arabs appears a minor disaster. Muḥammad is sometimes termed 'Son of Harm, the Arab', and sometimes 'Muḥammad, son of ʿAbdallah'.

The writer relates how one 'Anus̲h̲ son of Danqa' 'from the mountains of Arsaiia' (*mn ṭura d̲ Arsaiia*—*ṭura* is used for mountainous country as well as 'mount') approached the Arab king (*malka*) and explained to him that the Mandaeans had valuable and holy writings and an ancient religion. Thus he won protection for his co-religionists.

Here ends the relation of the past, and prophecy for the future begins—ending with the ultimate confusion of the Arabs, the reign of the false Messiah, the eventual return of Anus̲h̲ ʿUt̲h̲ra, and then, a final débâcle before the end of the world under the dominion of 'Amamit, daughter of Qin'.

The importance of the document lies in the implication that the Naṣurai are identical with the Parthians, since the latter correspond most nearly with the *bnia d̲ bnia d̲ Ardban Malka*, who came from the Ṭura d̲ Madai. That this was a mountainous country and stretched to Harran is clearly indicated, also, that not all the 'Madai' were Naṣurai. Noteworthy also is the fact that the expression 'Manda d̲ Hiia' does not occur, nor the expression 'Mandai' for Mandaeans. It may be argued that 'Madai' refers to the Mandaeans, but in that case, Mandaean cannot mean 'gnostic' but refers to nationality.[8]

I had long been concerned with this question of origins. When I questioned the priests and got the answer 'We came from the North', I did not attach much literal value to the answer, for dwellers in the Middle East cannot distinguish between religion and race, and the divine ancestors naturally resided in the north, the seat of the gods.[9]

But there seemed something more than this in their refusal to acknowledge Lower Iraq as the original home of the race. There is an arrogance, almost worthy of the present 'Nordic' propaganda, about the following, culled from the seventh fragment of the eleventh book of the Ginza Rba:

> 'All the world calls the north a highland and the south a lowland. For the worlds of darkness lie in the lowlands of the South. . . . Whoso dwelleth in the North is light of colour but those who live in the lowlands are black and their appearance is ugly like demons.'

Pinned down to detail, the Mandaean priests produced a hotch potch of legend and tradition, but the Mountain of the Maddai always figured in their accounts. When I pressed for information as to its whereabouts, answers differed. Some thought it must be identical with Ms̲h̲unia Kus̲h̲ṭa, that ideal world which corresponds to our own. Others were more precise. 'It is, I think, in Iran, for Madia is in Iran.' One priest ventured, 'Some say the Ṭura d̲ Maddai is in Turkestan, and I have heard that the Arabs call it Jebel Ṭai'. Significant was the remark of another Ṣubbi when speaking of baptism: 'the Ṣubba of old time were with the Persians in a place where there were springs which were hot in winter and cold in summer.' The Mountain of the Mandai described in one of the legends has an equable climate and hot springs. Less direct evidence is furnished by the references, so common in the texts, to 'black water' which 'burns like fire'. This can be nothing else but the black oil seepages and outcrops of burning oil and gas so common in oil-bearing districts.

Oddly enough, the priests do not place the creation of man in the north. Adam, the First Man, they say, was in Serandib (Ceylon). Still more inexplicable is the assertion that the Egyptians were co-religionists, and that the original ancestors of the Mandaean race went from Egypt to the Ṭura d̲ Madai. Yearly, a ritual meal is eaten in memory of the Egyptian hosts who perished in the waters when following the wicked Jews. This story must come through some Israelitish source, and one is inclined to wonder if that portion of the Israelites who were taken captive by Sargon were in truth settled near the Caspian, converted to Mazdaism, and merged into the people of the district, as some have suggested.

However, legend, tradition, and the Haran Gawait̲h̲a point all in one direction, namely, that at one time a community whose beliefs approximated to those held by the Mandaeans, inhabited a mountainous country to the north, that this country stood in some relation to Harran, that a sect in Jerusalem which afterwards emigrated to the south were of the same faith, and that Maddai or Mandai originally had no reference to religion. Further, it appears not only from the narrative of the Haran Gawait̲h̲a but, as I shall show in this book, from all the cults and the ideas which underlie them, that the faith held by all these people was in fact closely related to Mazdaism, or to early Zoroastrianism, as well as to some ancient Babylonian cults.

I now approach, with some diffidence, a series of philological and historical coincidences. What does 'Madai' or 'Mandai' mean? In the extract from the Haran Gawait̲h̲a quoted above, the expression 'they built *mandis* and dwelt' is used. To-day, the ordinary cult-hut, called in the literary language *mas̲h̲k̲h̲ana* (dwelling), is known in *raṭna* (colloquial modern Mandaean) as the 'mandi'. In the roll 'S̲h̲arh d̲ Parwanaia' (D.C. 24) the cult-hut is called the *manda*. Priests explain, 'the word is Persian and means a dwelling'. The word occurs again in a compound form in the term *mandilta* (*mand-ilta*), the name of the curious triple betyl erected in the courtyard of a house where a member of the family has died, the meaning here being obviously 'dwelling-of-the-spirit', or 'dwelling-of-the-god'. (See pp. 181–184.)

Now on the strength of similarities of religious phraseology in Syriac and Aramaic, 'Manda d̲ Hiia' has hitherto been translated 'knowledge of life', i.e. gnosis; and by analogy, 'Mandai' as 'gnostics'. As Professor Pallis has already pointed out, the form would be an imported one. The word for 'knowledge' in Mandaean literature is *madita*, *yadut̲h̲a*, *madda* or *madiht̲h̲a*, and nowhere is the *n* imported into any form of the verb *'ada*, 'to know'. Why is this? Moreover, when separated from the name 'Manda d̲ Hiia' the translation as 'knowledge' or 'gnosis' becomes a little strained, as in the sentence:

> 'Thou (Manda d̲ Hiia) art . . . the great Tree which is all *mandia*' (plural).'

The Tree is a common religious symbol in Mandaean books for Divine Life, and the souls of Mandaeans are not seldom represented as birds, taking refuge in the shelter of a Vine, or Tree, against the tempests of the world. Here, to translate the word *mandia* by 'dwellings' or 'shelters' would make sense.

There was actually a district known as Manda in late Babylonian times; Winckler, in *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, 1889, p. 112, places this 'Manda', 'am kaspischen Meere und östlich davon'. Nevertheless, the whereabouts of the province is not certain. About 553 B.C. (see the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. iii, p. 220), the god Marduk, appearing to Nabonidus in a dream, bade him restore the ancient and famous moon-temple of Harran. The king urged that it was still in the hands of the Umman-Manda, and asked how could a Babylonian king—

> 'interfere with their share of the spoil obtained by Cyaxares? The god answered that the Umman-Manda were dead or scattered, for

in the third year of Nabonidus, Cyrus, the king of Anzan, had defeated them, carried Ishtumegu (Astyages) into captivity and had spoiled their city of Ecbatana.'

Ecbatana is the modern Hamadan. Winckler surmises that the Umman-Manda were possibly a Median tribe. R. W. Rogers, in his *A History of Ancient Persia* (p. 12), ventures to equate the Manda with the Madai, or Medes. Delattre (*Le Peuple et l'empire des Mèdes*, 1883, p. 195), says:

> 'Dans l'inscription babylonienne qui porte son nom, Cyrus, déjà maître de toute l'Asie occidentale, divise les peuples qui lui obéissent en trois groupes, les peuples de Qûti ou Guti, les peuples de Tsalmat-qaqqadi, et les peuples de Manda. Les Qûti étaient les peuples de l'Arménie, les peuples de Tsalmat-qaqqadi étaient la masse des nations soumises aux empires essentiellement sémitiques de Ninive et de Babylone. Les peuples de Manda étaient les sujets des rois Mèdes. Nabonide donne à Astyage le titre de "roi des hommes de Manda". La dénomination de "hommes de Manda" est appliquée par Asarhaddon aux Gimirriens (Cimmériens, peuple de Gomer, voisin de la Mer Noire), auxquels la Bible attribue les affinités avec les Mèdes, et qui aidèrent ceux-ci à ruiner l'empire de Ninive. De cet ensemble, est-il permis de conclure que le nom de "peuple de Manda" était une qualification ethnique désignant les peuples aryens voisins du Caucase, comme les Cimmériens, ainsi que les peuples de l'Iran?'

The word *manda* occurs in several Iranian dialects, or languages in which Iranian words occur; for instance, in northern India the word *maṇḍī* means a 'covered-in market' or 'bazaar'. In Gujarati there is the word *maṇḍap* or *maṇḍava*, meaning a 'shed' or 'temple', derived from the Sanskrit *maṇḍapa* with the same meaning. The Todas of the Nilgiris in southern India, who have a tradition of migration from the Caspian, call their village, or group of thatched huts with a dairy for the sacred buffaloes, a *mand*. *Ma-da* occurs in Sumerian as meaning 'land, or settlement' (philologists are undecided as to whether Semitic *matu* is related to it or not. Does Mada lead us back to the Medes?).

Philology is a quicksand for all who are not philologists, and I do not venture, therefore, to do more than ask those who are qualified, if it is, or is not, possible that the word *mada* or *manda* originally had the meaning of 'a settlement', 'dwelling-place', or 'shelter', and indicated a building or collection of buildings in contrast to the temporary erections of wandering tribes.

Were this so, Manda-d̠-hiia would mean something equivalent to 'House-of-the-Life', or 'Indwelling-of-Life' and would be a personification (once again) of the group-spirit of Man, whose body is the tenement of the soul. Or, as was suggested by Lidzbarski in the case of another Mandaean light-being,[10] he might be a personification of race. I can only leave it to others to unravel the tangled mass of clues which I have here laid before them.

Against the theory that the Mandaeans came from the north, as Professor Burkitt points out, is their language.

Nöldeke stated Mandaean to be a Babylonian dialect:

> 'Mandaean is closely related to the ordinary dialect of the Babylonian Talmud. Both the dialects are neighbours, geographically speaking... actually, we may assume that the language of the Babylonian Talmud was that used in Upper, and Mandaean that used in Lower Babylonia.' (N., pp. xxv ff.)

Elsewhere he wrote:

> 'Close relationship between Mandaean and the Talmudic language is apparent throughout the grammar: the Mandaean, however, appears to be a later form than the Talmudic, but not throughout, for the Mandaean texts are purer linguistically and not so mixed with foreign elements, and represent the Aramaic speech of Babylon better than the Talmud. Had the Arabs preserved for us something more than a few accidentally introduced words of the dialect of the Iraqi Nabataeans, (i.e. the Aramaic-speaking inhabitants of Babylonia), we should again find the main features of Mandaitic and Talmudic, and far more clearly than is now possible.' (N., p. xxvi.)

The lack of gutturals in Mandaean, the frequent confusion between *s* and *ṣ*, *s* and *z*, *k* and *q* are paralleled to some extent in the old Babylonian language, but the fact that *one h* is made to do duty for the hard and soft Semitic *h* does seem to indicate that the tongue was at one time foreign to the people who spoke it, or that there were considerable Aryan (if one dare use so abused a word), or non-Semitic elements. There is, in fact, a soft *h*, but as it is used exclusively and only for the third person suffix, and pronounced *i* or *a*, according to gender and number, it cannot be counted in.

Leaving the doubtful question of origins, and turning to the history of the race in Iraq, the Ṣābians are mentioned three times in the Qur'ān in conjunction with Jews and Christians, as people of a recognized religion. I have referred already to the Arab sources of information gathered by Chwolson in his monumental work. He gives a full account of the brilliant Ṣābian scholars of the Baghdad Court. Greek learning first became accessible to Europe through Arab translations of the classics, and amongst the first translators into Arabic were Ḥarrānian Ṣābians at the Caliph's capital city. Physicians, astrologers, philosophers, and poets, the Ṣābians were an adornment to Arab civilization and helped to found its fame.

These Ḥarrānians may have secured for their brethren of the marshes, a simpler and more primitive people, some degree of toleration and fair treatment. Throughout the Middle Ages, however, the glimpses that one gets of the Mandaeans show them harassed by persecution. One disaster in the fourteenth century left such a mark on their memories that they still speak of it to-day. I came on a record of it at the end of a magic roll that I examined recently, and the same account is set in the *tarikh* at the end of a codex in Shaikh Dukhayil's possession. It tells of a frightful slaughter of Mandaeans in the Jazīrah when Sultān Muḥsin ibn Mahdī was ruler in Amarah and his son Feyyādh governor in Shuster. The cause was a woman, a Ṣubbiyaḥ, who, going down to the river on the first day of the New Year, at a time when all Mandaeans keep within doors (see pp. 85–86) was seized by Arabs from a fleet of boats lying in the river. Fighting ensued, and war against the Ṣubba was proclaimed. Priests, men, women, and children were massacred and the community remained broken and priestless for years.

'If oppressed (persecuted), then say: We belong to you. But do not confess him in your hearts, or deny the voice of your Master, the high King of Light, for to the lying Messiah the hidden is not revealed.' (GR. rt. 28, 16.)

Such precepts from the Ginza Rba must, in the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese had a trading station in Basrah, have resulted in the Mandaean being taken for a peculiarly pernicious heretic. Urged by their clergy, the Portuguese authorities persuaded the Pasha to compel 'Christians of St. John' to come to church. Means were taken to convert them by force; some were pressed into the Portuguese army. In the early seventeenth century a number of Mandaeans were Portuguese mercenaries.

In recent times the Turks showed more tolerance, for, as war and the shedding of blood are against Mandaean tenets, the Ṣubba were permitted to pay fines instead of serving in the Ottoman Army. It remains to be seen what will happen when Iraq brings conscription into force. The position is no longer the same, however. The hold of the religion has become so feeble that I met recently a young Ṣubbi officer who had served in the campaign against the Assyrians, and several Ṣubbi youths are cadets.

Indeed, modern methods, modern ways, nationalistic education, cinemas, cars, and all that make up the new Iraq, threaten the existence of this already dwindling community. In Government schools, boys conform to a pattern in dress, manners, and thought. Mandaean boys (including those of priestly caste) take to European dress and wear the *sidārah̤* cap,[11] and, when they return to their homes, neglect and slight the precepts of the priests. In the stress of school, or later business or office life, ceremonial ablutions are seldom performed, while sons of priests cut their hair and shave, and so become ineligible for priesthood (see Chapter IX). One by one, as priestly perquisites diminish and incomes lessen, the calling becomes unpopular. If these conditions persist, the priesthood will gradually die out, and without priests to baptize, marry, and bury them, the Mandaeans as a sect must disappear. There is a further drain on the community in the shape of apostates. Ṣubbiyaḥ girls marry outside the faith and adopt their husbands' creeds, and youths forsake a religion so incompatible with worldly advantage and town life. In big towns the publicity of the river-side makes the prescribed ablutions and baptisms all but impossible.

According to the last census (April 1932) the number of Ṣubba in Iraq[12] is given as 4,805. I incline to think this an understatement, which will be revised when we get the results of the new census recently taken by the Iraqi Government. Under the mandate, communities like those at Amarah and Qalʿat Salih took on a new prosperity, and independent Iraq promises protection and tolerance. The danger to the flock lies within the fold rather than from wolves without.

NOTES ON CHAPTER I

1. *Ṣubba* or *Ṣabba*; singular *Ṣubbi* or *Ṣabbi*. A colloquial Arabic word allied to the Mandaean *ṣba* and Syriac ܨܒܥ: 'to plunge in, submerge'. In Mandaean there is a tendency in the case of a weak third-root letter to replace it by a doubled second root-letter. There is, however, no Mandaean root *ṣbb*. A parallel occurs in the colloquial Iraqi Arabic verb *ṭabb*, 'to penetrate, go down into', allied to the Mandaean *ṭba* with the same meaning.

Mandaean *ṣba* is also used for 'plunge into a dye-bath'. This dual meaning has its reflection in the Mandaean belief that *maṣbuta*, or ritual immersion, results in a change of colour: a person goes in metaphorically black and emerges white; he goes in polluted and comes out purified and clad in light. Arabic-speaking Mandaeans use the Arabic *iṣtabag͟h* ('souse or dye') when speaking of baptism, not the Christian *ʿamad* ('to baptize').

The Mandaean verbal noun *maṣbuta*, 'baptism', is pronounced *maṣwetta*.

The exact meaning of the *faʿil* form of the root *ṣba* employed in Arabic literature is discussed by Chwolson (Ch. Ṣ, bk. i, chap. i), also by Professor Svend Aage Pallis in his *Mandaean Bibliography*, pp. 19 ff.

2. *Mug͟htasila*, i.e. 'those who wash themselves'. The seat of this sect was in the marshy districts of Lower Iraq, and I can find nothing in the account given in *Al-Fihrist* which is not descriptive of some aspects of Mandaeanism.

3. Cf. Matt., chap. xi, vv. 3, 4, and 5: 'Now when John heard in prison the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples, and said unto him, Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another? Jesus answered and said unto them, Go and shew John again those things which ye do hear and

see: The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached unto them.'

4. *The Naṣurai and celibacy.* In direct contradiction to these tenets, Mandaean legend often represents the Naṣurai as living in celibate communities, resembling strongly those of the celibate Essenes, as described by Josephus and Philo. Josephus says, however (vol. iv, p. 156): 'There is also another order of Essenes, who agree with the rest as to their way of living and customs and laws, but differ from them as regards marriage. For they think that those who do not marry cut off the principal part of human life, which is the continuance of mankind.'

Similarly, the Manichaean 'Ṣiddiqs' were a vegetarian, celibate order of priests, whilst laymen were allowed both to marry and to eat meat.

In both Semitic and Iranian religions there is an internal conflict of ideas. Whilst, on the one hand, sexual intercourse and contact with women in a state of impurity brought defilement, on the other, tribal instinct and the worship of the principle of Life bade men 'be fruitful and multiply'. Oriental Jews, as well as Mandaeans, regard the bachelor as a sinner against Life. The unmarried, by both sects, are supposed to be liable to commerce with liliths and demons, and from such unhallowed unions evil spirits harmful to mankind are born—a conception also prevalent in ancient Babylonia.

The Ginza Rba (GR., p. 153) says of Christians: '. . . they become monks and nuns and hold back their seed one from the other, the women from the men and the men from the women. . . . They lay fasting on their mouths and put white garments far from their bodies. . . . Then liliths go to them and receive seeds from them, and so (evil) spirits and goblins proceed from them which plague mankind.' (See also Dr. Campbell Thompson's *Semitic Magic*, pp. 68 ff.).

The Zoroastrians enjoined marriage and the procreation of children: 'According to the Vendidad (iv. 47) Ahura Mazda says: O Spitama Zarathushtra! Indeed I thus recommend here unto thee a man with a wife above a Magava (i.e. unmarried man) who grows up (unmarried), a man with a family above one without any family, a man with children above one who is without children.' JJM, p. 14.

Siouffi (p. 97) speaks of a form of Mandaean celibacy and says that a man who wishes to be perfect, and forsake the world utterly, will have death prayers read over him and will live like a dead man in his own house, apart from his wife. Siouffi probably mistook the temporary seclusion of the novice and the priest becoming a ganzibra for a permanent celibacy. It is an example of the danger of preconceived ideas that, in early dealing with the Mandaeans, I followed his error through having read his book.

Mandaeans deny vehemently any such practice, and assert that only during preparation for priesthood and the ganzivrate does a man separate from his wife, except at the times when she is impure. All forms of celibacy, indeed of extreme asceticism, are abhorrent to them. Brandt and Lidzbarski seem to have accepted Siouffi's statement without verification.

5. Except a punning polemical reference to the Ms̲h̲iha in the prayers for the minor ablution.

6. *Anus̲h̲ ʿ Ut̲h̲ra.* A spirit of Life: a personification of the divine principle in man. Anus̲h̲ = 'Man', ʿUt̲h̲ra = 'heavenly being'. Cf. the exactly parallel 'Gabriel'—Gabra = 'Man', -el is a suffix denoting divinity or heavenly origin.

7. *Ruha and her Seven Sons.* The Breath of Physical Life and her sons the seven planets. For her connexion with Hibil Ziwa (a light spirit) see Book II, pp. 252, 256 and Legend III.

8. But *Madai* does not necessarily mean 'Medes', for 'Medes' is written '*Madaiia*'. In a long, interesting, and often-copied magic roll (D.C. 13 and 15) bearing indications of early authorship, there are references to Medes, Persians, and Romans couched in unfriendly terms:

'*Asirna ums̲h̲abidna S̲h̲amis̲h̲ malka d̲ alahia d̲ ziwh̲ dnia lkulhun mdiniat̲h̲a at̲h̲a kbis̲h̲lia malkut̲h̲ pars umadaiia bs̲h̲um razia d̲ abhun . . . asirna ums̲h̲abidna Sin mara rama nhura uhs̲h̲uk̲h̲a aziq mn qudamaihun d̲ malkawat̲h̲a d̲ ruhmaiia auilia masira asirna ums̲h̲abidna kbus̲h̲lia ruhmaiia umadaiia bs̲h̲uma Blaṭina Anbilaṭ uRuiaiil.*'

(I bind and grasp S̲h̲amis̲h̲, king of all gods, whose brilliance is shed upon all cities. Come and tread down the kingdom of the Persians and the Medes in the name of the seven mysteries of their father. . . . I bind and grasp Sin, lofty lord of light and darkness. Discomfit before them those who bring in the dominion[s] of the Romans. Firmly I tie and secure them. Overthrow the Romans and the Medes in the name of Blaṭina Anbilaṭ [*Blaṭ* = 'bolted, made fast'] and Ruiaiil.) Both my texts are corrupt.

9. *The North.* The north is the source of light, instruction, and healing: in prayer, as in death, the Mandaean faces the Polar Star. If he wishes to think deeply, he faces the north, and sleeps with his head south, so as to rise in the right direction. Natural phenomena foster his belief; the north wind of Iraq is healthful, whereas the south wind is enervating. The rivers which bring life to the dusty plains flow from the north. If climatic conditions are responsible for this choice of the north as a Qiblah (direction which a worshipper faces when praying), the Babylonians, inhabiting the same country, had the same reasons for praying towards the north.

The Zoroastrians and modern Parsis faced south at prayer. Sir J. J. Modi says: 'This is due to the fact that the ancient Iranians, the ancestors of the Parsis, had a natural hatred for the north, from which side proceeded all kinds of dangers and evils, whether climatic, physical or mental. . . . The winds from the northern cold regions brought sickness and death in Persia. Again the marauders from Mazenderan, Gilan, and other adjoining regions in the north brought destruction and death. . . . On the other hand, the south was considered a very auspicious side. The winds from the south were healthy and invigorating.' (JJM., pp. 56–7.)

Nevertheless, the Parsis place a dead body so that the head lies south and the feet north—exactly as the Mandaeans do (JJM., p. 56).

The Ḥarrānian Ṣābians, like the ancient Persians, faced south when performing their devotions.

There are indications in the Old Testament that the original Qiblah of the Jews was the north. It was in later times, possibly under Iranian influences, that the Rabbis made the north the home of evil spirits.

The Essenes faced the rising sun at prayer, perhaps because dawn was the symbol of the resurrection; and this is probably the reason why Christians face to the east in prayer.

The S̲h̲īʿa *fellaḥīn* of Iraq still consider the north the seat of Paradise. My golf-caddy recently, referring to the relief brought by the north-west wind said 'Paradise (*Jennaḥ*) is in the North, and Hell (*Jehannam*) in the South'.

10. *Nbaṭ*—of the Nabataeans.

11. A felt forage-cap introduced by the Iraqi Government as a national head-dress.

12. Thévenot, in 1663, gave an estimate of the Mandaean population as 3,279 souls. In 1672 the Jesuit missionary, P. F. Ignatius a Jesu, stated that there were 2,500 Mandaean families in Mesopotamia, and that there were colonies of them in Muscat, Goa, and Ceylon. Petermann, after a stay in Suq-ash-Shuyukh in the year 1860, gave 1,500 as an estimate. Siouffi, in 1880, computed the number of Mandaeans as 4,000, of which 1,500 were men and boys.

The Iraqi census of April 1932 gives the following figures: Mosul, 15; Kirkuk, 7; Baghdad, 244; Kut, 51; Diwaniyah, 39; Dulaim, 8; Basrah, 738; Amarah, 1,972; Muntafiq, 1,731.

The census of June 1935 gives the following figures: Basrah, 783 souls; Baghdad, 125; Dulaim, 5; Diyalah, 13; Diwaniyah 31; Amarah, 3,014; Kirkuk, 26; Kut, 84; Muntafiq (marshes), 1,329; Mosul, 22: Total 5,432.

The Mandaean priest in Ahwaz told me that the total of 'souls' in that city was 200.

Note. Mr. Henry Field's forthcoming book *The Anthropology of Iraq* (Field Museum of Natural History: Anthr. Mem., Vol. VI, Chicago, 1937), gives a statistical, anthropometrical, and anthropological survey of the Mandaeans in Iraq.

II

MANDAEAN RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

THE religious writings of the Mandaeans have never been printed. Down through the centuries, priestly scribes who derived part of their income from such labours copied them by hand for pious Mandaeans who believed the possession of holy books ensured for them protection from evil in this world and the next. Few laymen could, or can, read or write Mandaean; literacy is mostly confined to the priestly class. Laymen have complained to me, 'The priests will not teach us to read or write (Mandaean)'. The reason is a practical one: if laymen knew these arts, the priest's prestige would suffer; moreover, writing of talismans and charms would cease to be a priestly monopoly.

At what date the doctrine, rituals, cosmogonies, prayers, and hymns were collected and edited is a question not easily settled. Their authorship and the date at which each fragment, possibly originally memorized, was committed to writing is even more problematic. Even such a book as the Ginza Rba cannot be regarded as homogeneous, for it is a collection of fragments which are often flatly contradictory and belong to different strata of dogmatic teaching. Most of them, from internal evidence,[1] seem to have been committed to writing either in Sasanian times or after the Arab conquest. Historical references are few, and the only approach to a chronicle is contained in the eighteenth book, which gives a list of Parthian[2] and Sasanian kings. The list ends with 'K̲h̲osrau, son of Hurmiz', and this prophecy:

> 'after the Persian kings there will be Arabian kings. They will reign seventy-one years.'

This indicates that this particular fragment was written during the first century of Arab conquest, since the author would scarcely have penned an already disproved prediction. Nöldeke points out that Greek loan-words, numerous in Syrian and Palestinian dialects, are few in Mandaean writings, and that, while many Hebrew and especially Jewish-Aramaic expressions are borrowed:

> 'viel geringer an Zahl sind die Wörter, welche dem Sprachgebrauch der christlichen Syrer entlehnt sind, und zwar werden sie fast alle direct zur Bezeichnung christlicher Dinge, durchweg in höhnendem Sinn gebraucht.' (N., p. xxix.)

So varied are the fragments which form such books as the Ginza Rba and the Drasha d Yahya that evidence which may date one fragment cannot be used to date another. Mandaeans have nothing to compare with the Gospels which, in their claim to recount the life and teachings of Jesus, have a certain unity, or of Manichaean books containing the actual doctrines of Mānī. The Mandaean religion has no 'founder', indeed, from the critical standpoint, few religions can be said to have 'founders' or to be 'new'.

During the period 500 B.C. to A.D. 500, when syncretistic tendencies were active and many religious teachers bent on adapting old formulae and ancient rites to fresh conceptions, an operation hastened by conquest, free intercommunication, and occasional interchange of populations, one would expect to find amongst the widely diffused Aramaic-speaking peoples a common fund not only of religious ideas but of religious phrases. Hence it is difficult to determine priority when identical phrases are found in the religious literatures of the epoch, or to base precise conclusions upon such evidence alone.

Whatever date may eventually be ascribed to the various fragments, it is likely that scribes constantly omitted, or edited, passages which they considered harmful or heretical. The effect produced upon the reader of Mandaean holy books is a belief that, even at the time when the earliest fragments were collected, an always fluid religion had already reached a stage at which earlier teachings had become obscure and little understood. Glosses have become incorporated with the text: obvious interpolations and expurgations are evident, in short, to build theories as to Mandaean origins upon the writings alone, is to set a house upon shifting sands.

The fact that by slow degrees I have been allowed by the Mandaeans themselves to see, and eventually to handle, Mandaean books and rolls in Iraq, is a proof of the special kindness and toleration which Mandaean friends in Iraq have shown to me. From the first, the Ginza Rba was freely produced, and so was the Drasha d Yahya. Other codices and rolls were produced reluctantly and only with great secrecy, after years of friendship; not because they are regarded as less holy, but because they contain mysteries which should not be shown to alien eyes. Such rolls as the Diwan Abathur (D.C. 8), the Alf Trisar Shiala (D.C. 6), the astrological codex (the Sfar Malwasha) are not readily displayed. When it comes to buying documents, or copying them, obstacles are many. Such transactions with the Gentile are looked upon as shameful, and trickery and evasion are resorted to in order to defeat the would-be purchaser, even in the case of an accepted friend, such as myself. I avoid the purchase of modern copies, and the way of the seeker after older manuscripts is thorny indeed.

The majority of the manuscripts I have handled in Iraq are not old, although I possess a sixteenth-century copy of the Tafsir Paghra (D.C. 6). I am told that no Mandaean manuscript older than the sixteenth century exists in European libraries, indeed, no European library has even a representative collection.

During times of stress and danger, the Mandaeans 'buried the books', and this has been done, according to them, many times. One reason for the rarity of ancient copies comes from the fact that the majority of Mandaeans live in reed huts. In winter, fires are kindled within the inflammable buildings, with the result that conflagrations in reed-built villages are common. I have been shown copies of rolls with blackened edges, the owner assuring me that when his hut was destroyed by fire, the holy writ had been miraculously preserved. This is possible—the whole structure blazes up in a moment and is quickly reduced to ashes, whereas thick rolls, or books, wrapped in white cloths and kept in a box, often a metal box, may be dragged out of the embers all but unhurt. Tradition says that the holy doctrines were never written on parchment (since slaying is a destruction of life, the skins of animals are unclean), but on papyrus, metal, and stone. I have seen a Sidra d Nishmatha (Book of Souls), written on lead. It may or may not have been ancient, for the reason for using metal sheets is that they can be purified by immersion in running water before use. Formerly, say the priests, all writings used in ritual were lustrated in this manner. (See p. 132.) A pious priest in Litlata is preparing a Sidra d Nishmatha of copper sheets inlaid with silver.

Rolls are wrapped about with white cloth or muslin and codices bound in white cloth. An orthodox priest was much scandalized to see that I had bound a copy of the Drasha d Yahya in leather, a fault which I have never since committed. The ink is made by the priests themselves and is black and shiny. Nearly every priest has his own recipe for making *diuta* (ink), which is kept in the form of dry crystals and diluted with water for use. A typical recipe is as follows:

> 'Mix glue with river water, let it melt, then evaporate for six days. On the seventh, pound it with powdered charcoal in the proportion of one *mithkal* of charcoal to 25 of glue, for four or five days. Mix with water to a smooth paste, and after evaporation it will form crystals. These, mixed with river-water (*yardna*) form ink. The Asuth Malka [see appendix] should be read over it.'

I omitted to ask if the glue was fish-glue. If so, it would not be unclean, for fish are creatures of the element of purity and life and no ritual is used for netting or killing them. Other priests use gall-nut or soot from fish-oil, i.e. melted fish-fat. Scented herbs and flowers should, I am told, be added, but no animal substance may be used as an ingredient. The pen is a reed, split and sharpened; the paper is the best that can be obtained. The cost of transcribing a Ginza, according to a priest, is about £4 10*s*. to a modern purchaser.

Writing is in itself a magic act (see chapter on the alphabet), conferring merit on the writer. Books are sometimes represented as personified, with a spirit that can be invoked in magic (see p. 300).

The largest of the codices is the Ginza Rba (Great Treasure) (D.C. 22), also called the Sidra Rba (Great Book), or Book of Adam. It was translated as early as 1813 by a Swede, Matthew Norberg, and translations and commentaries have appeared at intervals since, culminating with the late Professor Mark Lidzbarski's fine version in German published in 1925. This was preceded by his translation of the Drasha d Yahya in 1915, and some of the liturgies and hymns in 1920, amongst them the Sidra d Nishmatha (Book of Souls: the baptism ritual), some Masiqta prayers, wedding ritual and hymns, and a translation of a roll in the Bodleian Library dated 936 of the Hijra. Some of the prayers in this volume are from manuscripts in Paris, notably from De Morgan's collection.

The ritual for ordaining priests (Sharh d Traṣa d Tagha d Shishlam Rba), a copy of which is in the British Museum, and that for the reconsecration of the cult-hut, have not, I believe, been translated, nor does the latter, to my knowledge, exist in European collections. Amongst unpublished manuscripts in my own collection is the first section of the Alf Trisar Shiala, the Tafsir Paghra, the Diwan Haran Gawaitha, the Diwan d Nahrawatha (D.C. 7), a number of magic rolls including the Parsha Harshia (D.C. 12), and the Pishra d Ainia (D.C. 21), and the long *zraztia* of Hibil Ziwa and Pthahil, (D.C. 13 and 15), prayers and rituals in a codex containing a priest's collection of the same, (D.C. 3), and some ritual rolls.

To enumerate Mandaean holy books, they are:

1. The *Ginza Rba*. A large codex containing many fragments, the subject-matter cosmogonies, accounts of creation, prayers, legends, &c. The second or left part of this book, which deals exclusively with the dead, is written upside down. (D.C. 22.)
2. The *Drasha d Yahya*. Another collection of fragments, of which only one deals with John. (A codex.)

3. The *Sidra d Nishmatha.* The baptism ritual together with that of the baptismal sacraments. (A codex.) (D.C. 2 and D.C. 3.)
4. The *Sfar* (pronounced *Asfar*) *Malwasha.* (An astrological codex.).
5. The *Tafsir Paghra.* A roll concerning the inner meaning of the ritual meals and the constitution of the soul, &c. This is commonly supposed to be one of the five sections of 6. (D.C. 6.)
6. The *Alf Trisar Shiala* (1,012 Questions). Supposed to be in five parts. The first part deals with ritual faults and their expiation, explanations of rituals, &c. A roll. (D.C. 6.)
7. The *'Iniania* (Responses, Devotions). With this book is often incorporated the ritual for the minor ablution (*Rishama*), the *Shalshutha*, and some of the *masiqta* prayers. (A codex.) (D.C. 3 and D.C. 1.)
8. The various *taraṣa* or consecration rituals, which exist separately, e.g. of the priest (see above), of the *mandi*, of the *ganzibra*, &c. All in roll form. (D.C. 24.)
9. The *Diwan*s, all in roll form. I refer to these below. Said to be twenty-four in number.
10. The magic rolls, called *qmahia*, or *zraztia* (Mandaean *qma*, 'to tie on', and *zrz*, 'to be armed against').

Mandaean magic writings, except the inscriptions found on bowls, have never received, in my opinion, the attention which they deserve. With regard to the latter, it is an age-old Mandaean custom in times of plague and sickness to bury by the threshold or by the grave of a person carried off by disease two bowls, one inverted above the other, within which are inscribed exorcisms of disease spirits, spirits of darkness, liliths, &c., curses on those who ill-wish and bring misfortune, and invocations of spirits of light and life. The magic rolls are completely in the same spirit and idiom, and have been copied and re-copied for centuries (often without comprehension, since many magic names and spirits mentioned have disappeared from orthodox religion and are not found in the holy books). These small rolls are looked upon as protections against disease, misfortune, and the evil eye and do not cost as much as the holy books. They are often pagan in tone, and occasionally one finds beings treated as demons and evil in orthodox writings, reappearing in magic rolls as beneficent beings, though usually with the angel or deity suffix *ʿil* or *-iil* or *-ʿiil*. For instance the Seven (planets) and the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac), execrated in many of the holy writings, may be treated as allies and friends. I have a magic roll, a love charm (D.C. 10), addressed to Libat (Dlibat, Ishtar), which begins, frankly, 'In the name of Libat, mistress of gods and men'. Antagonistic references to the planets and signs of the Zodiac also appear, sometimes in the same phylactery; in fact, orthodox religious convention and older charms and exorcisms blend together into a most suggestive whole.

The magic roll is of two kinds. The larger is not easily carried on the person. It is usually called a *qmaha*. The smaller, for which the word *zrazta* is usual though not invariable, is written minutely on a long strip of paper from 2 to 3 inches wide, tightly rolled and inserted into a small gold or silver case so that it may be suspended round the neck from a string or chain. This kind of roll is often of great length, 7 or 8 yards being not uncommon, and a thin paper is used. The magic documents display the timorous disposition of their owners, fearful of malice, disease, and oppression. Long and bitter are the curses poured on the heads of enemies, slanderers, and those of other beliefs, while diseases are often personified and treated as if they were demons. The astrological name of the person for whose protection the roll has been written recurs throughout together with invocations of the powers of light and life for himself, his family, his possessions, and his trade. The first few and last lines are usually the letters of the alphabet which, as remarked before, have protective powers. Then follow short formulae, such as 'My lord be praised!', 'Pure of heart, pure of mouth!' All have the well-worn 'In the name of the Great Life! Health and purity, strength and stability, speech and hearing, joy of heart and a forgiver of sins may there be for N. son, or daughter, of N. (the astrological names)'[3]. In holy books and rites, the mother's name, not the father's, is mentioned. The conventional 'and Life is victorious', which is the usual ending of sections or fragments in all writings, is employed, and this is followed by the letters *S———a*, separated, as I indicate, by a long line. *Amin amin sala* is sometimes the terminal, so that *S———a* may stand for *sala*.

John the Baptist is unmentioned in the magic rolls; Anush appears in company with Hibil and Shitil, but Anush 'Uthra is rare. Yawar Ziwa[4] and Simat Hiia (mentioned together) are the two light and life powers most frequently invoked. Simat Hiia[5] is a female life spirit and is looked on as the mother of all that has breath. She is spoken of sometimes as the female 'countenance' of one of the great light spirits, sometimes of Shamish, thus tending to indicate a possible identification of Yawar Ziwa with that planet. In the Diwan Abathur she is placed with Bihram and Hibil, and labelled 'daughter of Yushamin, spouse of Pthahil'. As Pthahil is associated with death, belongs to a somewhat lower spirit circle, and is sometimes represented as rebellious to the world of light, this is a curious juxtaposition. She is evidently a fertility deity, for in the same Diwan her throne is labelled, 'This is her throne: Leafy is its name'. Her name means 'Treasure of Life'. Hibil Ziwa, and less often Manda d Hiia, appear in the roles of warrior, deliverer and instructor. In some magic texts one of these two, or a nameless spirit of light, speaks in the first person, describing how he left his companions of light, stormed the dwellings of the gods (*alahia*), angels (*malakhia*), astartes, and other powers of darkness, stole their mysteries and learnt their names. The distinction between *malkia* who are usually kindly, and *malakhia* who are malevolent, should be noted. For further description of the magic rolls, which occasionally reveal a beauty of phrase and poetical feeling astonishing when one remembers the low estate and narrow surroundings of this little race of craftsmen and priests, I refer readers to my article on 'Mandaean Writings' in *Iraq* (vol. i, part 2, November 1934).

The Diwans, said to be twenty-four in number, are large rolls, sometimes illustrated. Whether the twenty-four exist, for it would be typical to give the number 24 as a sun-number regardless of fact, I am unable to say. The priests show them with reluctance, especially the two illustrated Diwans, which contain unorthodox elements. They are extremely interesting, however, as throwing light on cult, belief, and language. I now possess both.

The first (D.C. 7), the Diwan Nahrawat̲h̲a (nearly 6 yards long and 13 inches wide), is a fanciful chart, with explanatory text, of the rivers of the world, making all flow down from the Fraṭ-Ziwa (the Light Euphrates), which rises in the Ṭura Karimla.[6] It also gives illustrations of earthly trees, plants, and reeds, and of some heavenly beings. The Jordan does not appear in it, but mention is made of *yardinia urahaṭia*, i.e. 'Flowing rivers and torrents'.

The second, Diwan Abat̲h̲ur (D.C. 8), is an elaborately illustrated roll close on 9 yards long and 13 inches wide. Before I possessed it myself I induced its owner to make a copy of it for a friend, and the pictures were copied with really remarkable accuracy, though mistakes were made in the text. Some of the illustrations appear in this volume, and for others, and a description of the text, which deals with the progress of the soul after death through the *maṭarat̲h̲a*, or houses of purification, its arrival at the scales of Abat̲h̲ur Muzania, and its transit in a ship of light into the worlds of light, I must again refer those interested to the article in *Iraq*.

Of the unillustrated Diwans, I possess the Diwan Haran Gawait̲h̲a, described in an earlier chapter. The Diwan Malkut̲h̲a 'lait̲h̲a and the Diwan Alma 'laya have been mentioned to me by Mandaeans, but I have not yet succeeded in examining copies. They are regarded as very sacred: if these two are missing from the *andiruna* at the consecration of a priest, the consecration becomes invalid.

Other manuscripts which I know to exist but have yet to see are the Alma Ris̲h̲aia Rba; the Alma Ris̲h̲aia Zoṭa; the Zihrun Raza Kasia; the Q̣adaha Rba; and the Dmut̲h̲a

Kus̲h̲ṭa. They may be late: they cannot be worthless, and one never knows when one may come upon treasure. Enough has been said to show that untranslated documents have yet to be examined before we arrive at more definite conclusions about the Mandaeans and that, in any case, the evidence of the literature can be, at most, merely contributory, and in no way final.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. 'Die erhaltenen Schriften sind wohl alle in Babylonien entstanden, die Hauptmasse in vorislamischer Zeit, doch dauerte die schriftstellerische Tätigkeit bis tief in den Islam fort' (GR., p. xii).

2. Amongst these Ardban figures again. (Artabanus? For kings of this name see N. C. Debevoise: "A Political History of Parthia", University of Chicago Press, forthcoming.)

3. In both cases the astrological name is used. Mandaeans are given an astrological name for religious and magic uses as well as a worldly name. See pp. 81–82.

4. *Yawar Ziwa*. Lidzbarski thinks the word Yawar derived from the Persian, with the meaning 'helper, assistant'. I submit that it may rather be connected with the verb ࡏࡅࡓ, ࡉࡅࡓ *'wr, ywr*, 'to be dazzlingly, blindingly bright', since ' is interchangeable with *y* in Mandaean. Cf. '*tiarut̲h̲a* = 'to be brilliant: = *tiarut̲h̲a* = 'brilliance', *niurun* = 'they are dazzled, blinded'. Nöldeke gives examples of this meaning of brilliance.

5. Cf. 'the female countenance of Baal' as an epithet for the mother-goddess Tanit on Carthaginian inscriptions. See Legend XXIX, and the fragment in her name (JB.).

6. *Ṭura Karimla*. Lidzbarski translates (Q. 203) Karimla in the *rahmia* prayers for Wednesday: (The Mountain Kaṛimla I ascended') and in the Ginza Rba (three various passages) as Carmel. Mandaeans deny that the mountain is Carmel.

III

RITUAL DRESS AND INSIGNIA

THE ritual dress or *rasta*, which is called *'uṣtlia* in the texts, must be worn on all religious occasions, such as baptism, marriage, and death, and as reference will be made to it continually, it shall be described in an early chapter.

It is a white dress,[1] symbolical of the dress of light in which the pure soul is clad, and all Mandaeans, laymen as well as priests, must possess one. The complete *rasta* of the layman consists of five pieces and that of the priests of seven, according to the priests of Qal'at Salih; according to those of Amarah, the lay Mandaean wears seven pieces and the priest nine. It is a matter of reckoning: the Amarah Mandaeans count the *sadra* with its *das̲h̲a* and the drawers and pull-string (*takka*) at the waist, as four pieces, the Qal'at Salih purists as two. I will proclaim myself of the Amarah school and enumerate the pieces as follows:

1. The shirt, called *ksuya* or *sadra*. It should measure 6 *d̲h̲ra*s for a living person. (The *d̲h̲ra* is the length of the forearm from elbow to finger-tip.) For a dying man, 7 or 8 are required. It is of white cotton cloth, made or bought in the required length.
2. The *das̲h̲a*, or *deys̲h̲a*, a small patch-piece of the same, stitched to the outer side of the right breast of the shirt like a pocket.
3. The *s̲h̲arwala* or drawers. These are long and loose and made like Indian drawers.
4. The *takka*, or *takta*, the pull-string of the *s̲h̲arwala* at the waist. One end of the string is left unsewn. In tying, the unsewn end must go over the sewn, and when tied, the sewn (completed) end hangs to the right.
5. The *burzinqa*, or turban. This is a strip of white muslin about a *d̲h̲ra* wide, twisted three times round the head. One end is left hanging down over the left shoulder. This end is called the *rug̲h̲za*, and when brought across the lower part of the face so as to cover nostrils and mouth, then up over the top of the

head and tucked in at the right side, it becomes a *pandama*. The *pandama* is only used by priests, or by *hallalia* at a funeral (see p. 183) and its object is to prevent spittle or breath from polluting sacred objects, elements and rites, or, in the second case, to prevent the corruption of death from entering the mouth and nose.

In the case of a woman, whose *rasta* is otherwise the same as that of a man, the *burzinqa* is draped shawl-wise over the head and is called *shiala*.

6. The *naṣifa* or *gabuʿa*. A long narrow strip of cloth or muslin. It is worn like a Christian stole, but in such a way that the left side is considerably shorter than the right. When, during the *rahmi* (preliminary, consecrating prayers) the *naṣifa* is placed above the head, and held together under the chin, it is called a *kinzala*. It is afterwards replaced in the original position. Its practical use when the *pandama* is worn (see last paragraph) and during baptism will be explained below. With the priest, it should be about a *dhra* wide, but for the layman it can be much narrower.
7. The *himiana* or belt. This is tubular, woven of sixty woollen threads, and its tying has a ritual meaning. The girdle is held in front of the body, crossed at the back, tied in a double tie in front, and the ends tucked in at each side of the waist into the belt itself. It has a tasselled end, unsewn, called the *karkusha*, and a bound and sewn end, the *arwa*. The latter must be passed over the *karkusha* in tying, and when the knot is complete the *karkusha* falls on the left and the *arwa* on the right. In tying, the layman pronounces these words:

   Himiana ʿtriṣ
   Btrin ṭabia (pron. *Bi trén ṭavi*)
   Btrin gaṭria

   ‘I consecrate the girdle
   With two virtues
   With two knots.’
8. Priests only. The *tagha* or crown; a tubular fillet of white silk or cotton. Its making is described on pp. 150–151.
9. Priests only. The *Shom* (written *Shum*) *Yawar*, a gold ring worn on the little finger of the right hand. This ring bears the inscription, *Shum Yawar Ziwa*.

Before passing on to the other seal-ring, and the rest of the insignia of the priest, such as the staff, I must say something further about the above, and the manner of their wearing and their use.

If any part of the priest's vestment (or insignia) becomes disarranged, injured, polluted, or lost, he must undergo prescribed purifications. If, for instance, the *pandama* slips aside during a baptism, his ministrations are invalid, and he cannot carry out his priestly duties again until a *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, or ritual eating for the dead (see Chapter XII), has been read over him, and he has been baptized by seven priests for seven days. In addition, he must pray 81 *rahmis*. As soon as the priest has dressed himself in his *rasta*, he must touch every part of it in consecration, reassuring himself that it is in place. The *tag̲h̲a* and *klila* (myrtle wreath, see p. 35), however, receive a separate consecration and are not put on at first. The priest says (I give pronunciation):

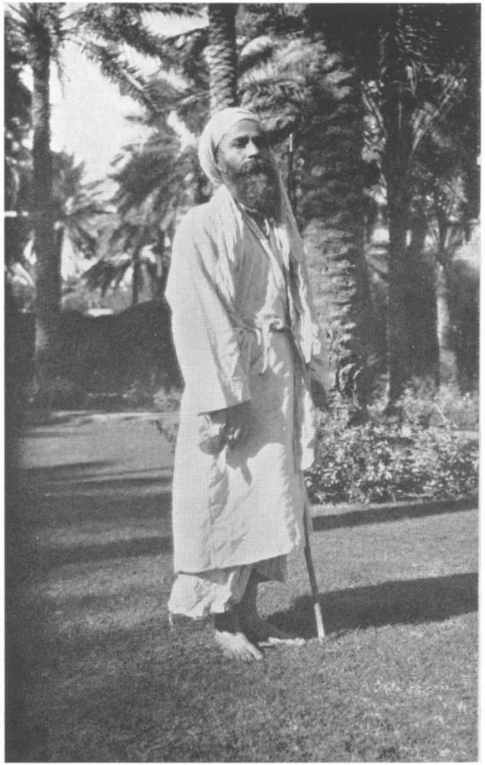
S̲h̲arwaley itreṣ
Himiana itreṣ bi trén ṭavi bi trén gaṭri
Das̲h̲a byamīney, *qam qummey*,
Rughzey, *naṣīfey*
Marg̲h̲na bsmaley, *tag̲h̲a byamīney*,
Uisak̲h̲t̲h̲a (*ʿsaqta*) *byamīney.*
Kus̲h̲ṭa asiak̲h̲ utrīṣey.

'I consecrate (lit. set up) my leggings;
I consecrate the girdle with two virtues, with two knots;
The *das̲h̲a* (pouch) on my right; standing upright,
My *rug̲h̲za*, my stole,
My staff on my left (arm), my *tag̲h̲a* on my right,' (the *tag̲h̲a* is slipped over the right arm until its consecration)
'And my ring on my right (hand).
Righteousness make thee whole' (he addresses his *rasta*) 'and establish me.'

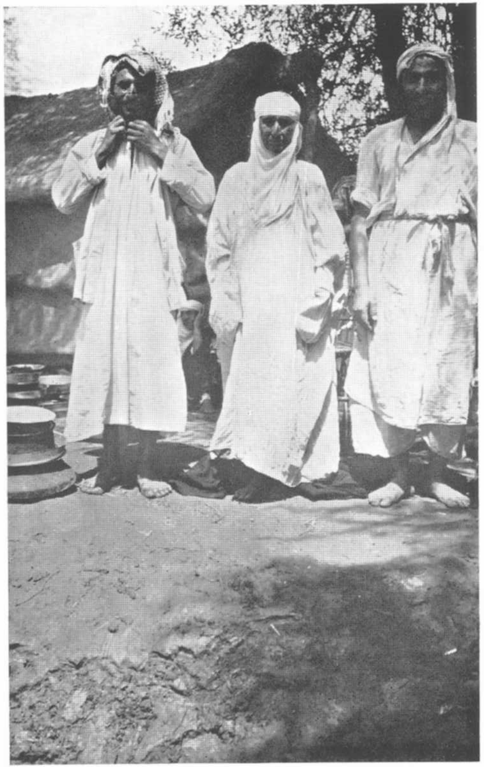
Though ritually clean, the *rasta*, except when new, is seldom white, for it is stained by the muddy water of the river, and may not be washed with soap. It is the greatest misfortune for a person to die in his lay clothes, for his soul cannot reach Abat̲h̲ur. I describe in a later chapter what means must be taken to remedy this.

The *naṣifa* becomes useful to a layman only at death

PLATE 2



a. Priest wearing *rasta*



b. Old woman (centre) wearing *rasta*

(see Chap. XI). For the priest, it has a definite use. I have already explained that when put on, the right side should hang lower than the left. When the *rahmi* is begun, this right side, which might touch the ground or some polluting object, is pinched together a little at the waist, and this small pinched loop is pushed into the belt. After the *pandama* has been 'closed', i.e. brought across the lower part of the face, the left side of the *naṣifa* is twisted twice round the neck, holding the lower edge of the *pandama* and preventing it from slipping. The end is secured by pushing it thrice in and out of itself. The long right side of the *naṣifa* is thrown back over the right shoulder, so forming a loop which reaches the waist, and the end, carried round behind the head, over the left shoulder, and round again to meet the loop, is tied to the latter in a double knot. When the priest first goes into the water he dips his staff in a horizontal position twice beneath the water, then, pushing it through the sling formed by the long right end knotted to the loop, he releases his hold of the staff, which, supported by the *naṣifa* and planted in the mud on the bed of the river, stands upright without danger of falling. This enables the priest to wash both his hands in the river. He presently returns the staff to its position in the crook of the left arm. Another use for the *naṣifa* is in the final *kuṣ̲h̲ṭa* or third hand-clasp after the drinking of the *mambuha* or water of the sacrament (see chapter on Baptism). The priest takes the hand of the baptized person from underneath the muslin of the doubled part of the *naṣifa* at the right side of the body. Careless priests, however, give the third *kuṣ̲h̲ṭa* bare-handed. I have seen it given in both ways, orthodox and unorthodox. Again, when the priest momentarily changes over the staff from the left to the right side, after the above hand-clasp, he holds it with both hands through the muslin of the *naṣifa*. At death, both for layman and priest, the *naṣifa* (or *gabuʿa*) is a new one and longer than usual. A piece of gold and silver or gold and silver threads must be sewn to the right and left side respectively. (See Chapter XI; also p. 178.) At marriage, the bridegroom holds the end of the *ganzibra's naṣifa*. Held like this, it becomes, as it were, a conductor of virtue and protective purity.[2]

The *sadra* must be tucked up into the belt before a priest descends into the river, though the layman goes into the water with his *sadra* hanging free. The left side of the hem is lifted first and drawn through the girdle, then the right, then the centre of the front and lastly the centre of the back hem. (This is done before the *naṣifa* is placed on the head, or the *pandama* 'closed'.)

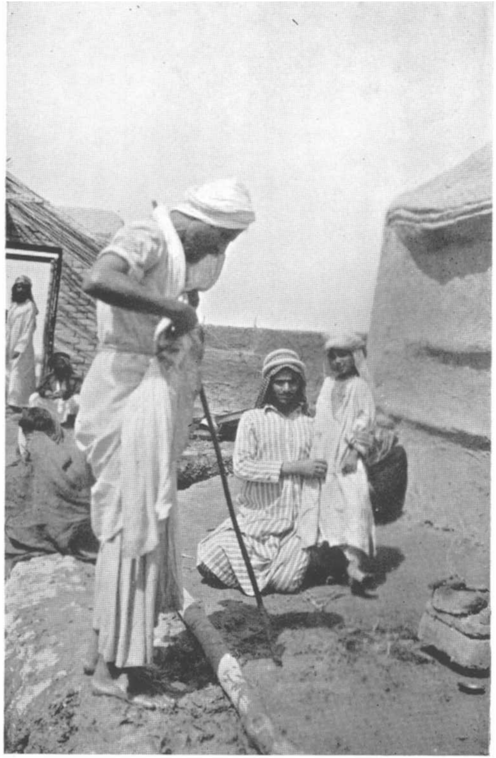
The *himiana* should be worn in the daytime by a devout Mandaean, but not at night; though formerly, if after dark a man wished to cohabit with his wife, he used to tie his girdle and utter the words, 'The Name of Life and the Name of Manda ḏ Hiia is pronounced over thee' before coition. This formality is now neglected. When a man is dying and his new death-*rasta* has been put on, the *himiana* is only partially tied, the final knot being made after dissolution.

The *tag̲h̲a* is the most important part of the priest's insignia and must be put on during the *rahmi* before officiating, with four prayers (*taraṣa*). It represents a crown of light, and is worn on the head beneath the turban. It is the symbol of his function as spiritual and temporal leader. 'Crown (*tag̲h̲a*) and kingliness are set on his head and he is perfected in them', says the Alf Trisar S̲h̲iala. Consecration of a priest is spoken of as 'the setting up of the crown on him', and should the *tag̲h̲a* fall accidentally from the head or hand of a priest during his offices, he becomes a novice and must undergo a form of reconsecration.

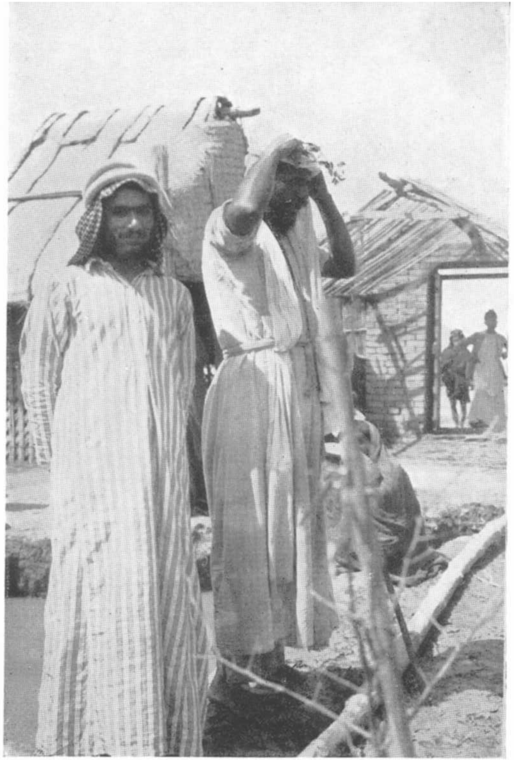
The *S̲h̲om Yawar* is dipped into the life-giving *mis̲h̲a* (oil) during the *masiqta*, but is not used, like the iron *skandola* ring, for sealing, except at the ceremony of the *Ingirt̲h̲a* (see p. 170).

When officiating a priest must always carry a staff of olivewood. According to some priests, willow may be used in case of necessity. While the *rasta* is symbolical of light, the staff (*margna*)[3] is associated with water, and is often spoken of as 'the staff of living water'. At

PLATE 3



a. Looping up the *sadra*



b. Placing myrtle wreath on head

death, a priest's *margna* and S̲h̲om *Yawar* are both buried with him.

The *klila*, wreath, or garland, forms an important adjunct to ritual dress. It is worn by the priest for most of, but not all, his functions, and by the layman after his first triple ablution at full baptism. When the priest performs the *rahmi* before baptism, he begins by making two myrtle wreaths, one for his head, and the other for his staff. To make the wreath, the twig of myrtle, which must be freshly plucked, is stripped of its lower leaves and split as far as the leafy part, then the two divided parts of the stem are intertwisted in such a way that the left half is twisted twice and the right half three times. The twisted stem is bent round and thrust into itself below the leafy part, forming a small circlet about a finger's breadth, or less, across. During the twisting, the wreath must be held on a level with the head, and in such a way that when finished, and held in the hands palm downwards, the woody ends point to the right, or east. When at the end of the consecration and placing of the *tag̲h̲a* on the head, the *klila* is put with it, the turban is lifted, but not removed. The wreath is pushed through the *tag̲h̲a*, the former lying uppermost; and after the turban has been replaced above the two, the leafy end of the *klila* is left showing and hanging over the right temple. The layman's *klila* is made and placed on his head by the priest.

The special prayer for the *klila* is the last of the four referred to above.

Manda created me
'*Ut̲h̲ra*s set me up,
They clothed me with radiancy (*ziwa*)
They covered me with light (*nhura*).
Hazaban placed the wreath on my head,
Mine, N. son of N.,
And on those who descend into the *yardna* and are baptized.
Its wood gleams and its perfume is pleasing,
It fades not, nor is withered
And its leaves fall not
And Life is victorious.

The *klila* for the *margna* is slipped over the little finger until the priest is in the water. There, after its ablution, the staff is 'crowned', i.e. the *klila* is slipped over it and allowed to drift off downstream. A *klila* is also made for the *drabsha* (banner) and sacramental bread during some rites. The person baptized carries the *klila* on the little finger of the right hand until after the immersion, and after the signing and drinking and first *kushṭa* or hand-grasp have been performed in the river, the priest places it below the head-dress, with the leaves falling over the left temple. Some of the uses of the myrtle wreath will appear in the course of later chapters. Tradition says that *marmahuz* was formerly intertwisted with the myrtle, but the Ṣubba do not know now what *marmahuz* is.

A passage in the Alf Trisar Shiala speaks of the *tagha* and *klila* as 'gold' and 'silver', and as *ziwa* (radiancy or active light) and *nhura* (light) respectively.

> 'Gold is the pure mystery of the Father, and silver is the mystery of the Mother. The myrtle wreath (*klila d asa*) is the mystery of the Mother, and Nhur Nhura is her name.'

In other words, the *tagha* represents the fertilizing or active agent, the myrtle the fertilized or receptive agent. It may be noticed, also, that the Mandaean word for myrtle, *asa* (sometimes *as*) also means 'healed', an accentuation of the constant theme that ritual ensures vitality and health of body and soul.

Before leaving the subject of the *rasta*, I should add that Mandaeans are fond of telling me that at one time they always wore white, and that it was a sin to wear a colour. This reflects a belief that at one time the community wore the *rasta* continually.

I must deal now with the other seal-ring, which, though hardly a part of religious dress, is placed on the hand and used during religious ceremonies, thus becoming as it were, legitimized. I refer to the *skandola*. The *Shom Yawar* is of gold and the *skandola* is of iron. The *Shom Yawar* has the name of the great spirit of light inscribed upon it, whereas the representations on the *skandola* are, according to all the priests, those of powers of darkness.

The *skandola* is the talismanic seal-ring, and bears incised representations of the lion, scorpion, bee (or wasp), and serpent. The latter, mouth to tail, forms a frame to the others. It is worn during exorcisms, and by those isolated for uncleanness, such as childbirth, or marriage. The infant's navel is sealed with it; the bridegroom is invested with it by the *ganzibra* at the wedding ceremony; and the tomb is sealed with it at the funeral rites. It is attached by an iron chain to a haftless iron knife called the *skan* (or *sekin*) *dola*. Mandaeans translate this 'dwelling of evil' (*skan d̲ ula*). The snake is said by them to be 'the serpent without hands or feet', i.e. 'Ur, the great earth dragon. It may mean 'life'—*hiia*, for snake (M. *hiwa*: Arabic *ḥayya*) is symbolical of both water and life. The serpent, carved and coloured black, is placed sometimes above Ṣubbi door-lintels as a protection, recalling the large black serpent portrayed beside the door of the Yazīdī temple at Shaikh 'Adi.[4] I have also seen a serpent of blue cotton cloth sewn to a Mandaean wedding-bed canopy.

The lion may be Aria of the Mandaean Zodiac, and the scorpion is probably the Zodiacal Scorpio (Mandaean Arqba). Mandaeans say they are Krun and Hag̲h̲, two of the five lords of the underworld.

Now the scorpion, snake, and lion are found almost invariably in Mithraic bas-reliefs, and the bee is common on Mithraic gems (see Cumont, *Monuments*, &c.). The Mithraic scorpion is usually attached to the genitals of the sacrificed bull; the serpent's attitude and position varies. Sometimes it is shown drinking the blood of the victim. The lion's position varies also; sometimes both the lion and scorpion are represented in conventional form with the Zodiacal circle which not infrequently appears on Mithraic monuments.

Taking into account these Mithraic parallels it may be safe to assume that the Mandaean snake, lion, and scorpion are also Zodiacal, and of Iranian origin. The Mithraic bee differs from the Mandaean, in that it is seen from above. The Mandaean bee somewhat resembles the Egyptian *byt*, the hieroglyph for which is a bee in profile. At the same time it must be noted that neither bull nor dog, so prominent in Mithraic monuments, figure as Mandaean magical symbols. It is worthy of mention that in Khuzistan, (in which province there are Ṣubbi communities), the lion (a sun-symbol) is carved on the tombstones of the S̲h̲īʿa dead. No doubt an orthodox explanation is given.

A priest told me that the *skandola* was the talisman brought back by Hibil Ziwa from the worlds of darkness when he brought Ruha to the upper world. Hirmiz said of the *skandola*:

> 'There are four signs on the *skandola*, the hornet above, the lion in the centre, the scorpion beneath, and the serpent around them with his head lifted towards Awat̲h̲ur (Abat̲h̲ur). The three first, the scorpion, lion, and hornet, take worldly souls, those which have lived in uncleanness, and throw them into the mouth of ʿUr. In the belly of ʿUr there is fire one hour and ice the next. At the end of the world, when it is time for all that is material to dissolve and disappear—and ʿUr with them—the lion and hornet will come to ʿUr and say, "Give back the souls you have eaten"! ʿUr will reply, "There are none. I have none!" They will answer him, "Do not lie! You are about to end your existence. Tell us the truth." Then he will render back the souls which have been punished, and they will go to Awat̲h̲ur.'

When suffering from insomnia I was advised by a friendly Mandaean to sleep with a *S̲h̲om Yawar* on my right hand and a *skandola* on my left.[5]

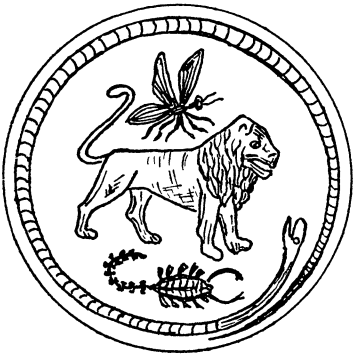


FIG. 1. The Skandola (talismanic seal)

NOTES ON CHAPTER III

1. *The Rasta.* The wearing of white as a natural symbol of purity is universal. The tradition is continuous in Lower Babylonia, the *baru* priests wore white and so, later, did the Magian priests. The white ceremonial robes of the Jewish high-priest were probably due to Egyptian ritual rather than to Babylonian influences, but the white dress of the Essenes is likely to have been part of their ablution and light cult, and derived from Perso-Babylonian circles.

The ceremonial dress of the Parsis, both priests and laymen, is certainly closely related to that of the Mandaeans. The priest's dress is called *jama-pichodi* and consists of 'a flowing white robe, worn over white trousers, a white turban and a white belt'. The white dress worn by lay Parsis at weddings and funerals is said to replace the complete *jama-pichodi* worn in ancient times.

The Parsis call the white shirt of this cult-dress *sadreh* or *sudreh.* A small pocket sewn on the right side of the *sadreh,* called the *gireh-bân* (JJM. 179–84), corresponds in every particular to the *dasha* on the right side of the Mandaean *sadra.* That the Parsis, as well as the Mandaeans, recognize the *kusti* (sacred thread or girdle) as identical with the Mandaean *himiana* is shown by a story told me of a Parsi soldier serving in Iraq during the late war. The man lost his *kusti,* and went to a Mandaean priest in order to get a girdle with the requisite number of 72 threads made for him. The priest acceded to his request, and tied it for him. Wellstead (*Travels to the City of the Caliphs,* p. 316) quotes a similar case. The *kusti* must be untied and retied at the *pâdyâb* or morning ablution of the Parsi, just as the *himiana* must be tied at the *rishama* (see next chapter). Like the *himiana,* the *kusti* is of lamb's wool, tubular and white. The Zoroastrian putting on his *kusti* mentions 'good thoughts, words, and deeds', corresponding to the *ṭabia* spoken of by the Mandaean.

With the Parsis, the turban and *padân* are the insignia of priesthood (JJM. 152–3): 'When that insignia falls off from the head, he is, as it were, deposed from his sacred office. So, his Bareshnum, which qualifies him for that office, is considered to be vitiated and he has to repeat it if he wishes to continue to perform that sacred office.'

The Parsi *padân* is the white cloth which covers the priest's mouth and nose so that his breath shall not pollute the holy fire (JJM. 116). It is tied on with two strings and does not form part of the turban, as with the Mandaeans.

2. Cf. the Parsi *paiwand.* 'To hold a *paiwand* means to be in close contact or touch with each other. This is done when two persons hold a piece of cloth or cotton tape between them' (JJM. 55). The Parsi corpse-bearers hold a *paiwand* between them (see ibid.) when they enter the room in which the corpse is placed, and so do those persons who go to the funeral.

3. *The Margna.* Lidzbarski, pointing out that all the apparatus and many of the terms used in Mandaean rites 'appear to be of foreign origin',

instances the *margna* of olive-wood, though olives are 'extremely scarce' in Mesopotamia. Olive-wood is not hard to come by, as there are olives in the north, and olive-wood is brought in from Persia. The willow occasionally used as a substitute is the *g̲h̲arb* (*Populus Euphratica*, or possibly *Salix Alba*).

The magic power of sticks and staves is constantly referred to in Mandaean legend.

Diogenes of Laerte says of Magian priests, 'they carry a reed-staff'.

A cedar-staff was used in sun-worship by the priests of Sippar: 'The cedar-staff, beloved of the great gods, they gave into his hand' (S̲h̲urpu tablets).

The staff of the Egyptians seems to have had magic uses connected with water. Moses' staff divided the *waters*, brought *water* from a rock and turned into a snake—a reptile symbolical of life and water. The fertility significance of staves is exemplified, possibly, in both fairy's and wizard's wands, and in the king's sceptre.

4. The snake is still much used as a decoration (e.g. on wooden spoons) in Northern ʿIraq, particularly in Erbil, also the dove, which was associated with the serpent in the worship of Is̲h̲tar. Both these themes may have been in continuous use since the days when Is̲h̲tar of Arbela's shrine was a place of pilgrimage. On the votive clay houses found by Dr. Andrae in the Is̲h̲tar temple at Asshur, both snake and dove are modelled in relief.

5. An-Nadīm says of a Ṣābian book called *al-Ḥātifi* that there is to be found therein, together with other magical information:

تماثيل حيوانات تنقش على فصوص الخواتيم تصلح بزعمهم لفنون وشاهدت اكثرها
منقوشا على فصوص خواتيمهم الى هذه الغاية وسالتهم عنها فزعموا انهم يصيبونها
فى قبور موتاهم القديمة يتبركون بها

A̲s̲h̲-S̲h̲ahristāni mentions that the Ṣābians prepared talismanic rings corresponding to the various aspects of the planets, according to their knowledge of astrology.

IV

LAY LIFE

Mandaeans consider celibacy (see note 4, Chap. I) a sin and regard the procreation of children as a religious duty. So strong is this belief that they hold that even the most pious man, if he die unmarried and childless, must, after death, pass through the *maṭaratha* and, after a sojourn in the worlds of light, return to a physical state again and become the father of children. A priest told me that the idea was unorthodox, for the soul, when it has escaped from its prison of flesh, can never again enter a human body. In such a case, he said, the soul, reincarnated in a semi-spiritual body in the ideal world of Mshunia Kushṭa,[1] married there and begot children. In short, if a Mandaean has children, he is sure that, when death approaches, he will be clothed in his death-*rasta*, that the necessary rites for the dying will be performed, and that the ceremonies for his well-being in the next existence will be duly carried out. What these are, I shall explain later.

The soul (*nshimta*), a priest told me, 'descends from the heavenly *yardna* into the body of a child in the womb of its mother when he has been conceived five months. It comes in the likeness of the child which is to be born, and exactly resembles his *dmutha* (double, or likeness) in Mshunia Kushṭa.'

Birth, death, and marriage bring defilement on those who come into contact with them. The woman in childbirth, the bride and bridegroom, and those who have touched the dead, are debarred from contact with their neighbours until they have been purified.

As her hour approaches, a woman near confinement should wash herself and prepare a place for her lying-in, for she must keep apart from the rest of the household. One of the cattle-sheds,[2] or store-sheds, which are in Mandaean houses ranged round the courtyard of the dwelling-house, may be used as a temporary refuge.[3] In reed hut settlements provision is easily made for the event. Within the shelter chosen, a corner is marked off by a semicircle of pebbles, called the *miṣra ad glali*, the intention being to limit the area of pollution. In this corner the woman spreads on the ground something soft or without value, such as old clouts; loose, unflocked cotton; or rice-straw (*buh*). Most important is the sheaf of reeds, or *s̲h̲ebbah̤*, which is brought into the room if she is a house-dweller, so that she may grasp upon it in her pangs. The reason is not merely utilitarian, for the *gaṣbah̤*, or thick marsh reed, is considered sacred and a symbol of fertility.[4] Where reeds are unobtainable, a piece of wood may be used as a substitute. In the reed huts this proceeding becomes a natural one, for the mother crouches before one of the great supporting bundles (*s̲h̲ebāb*) which are the ribs of the edifice, holding the *s̲h̲ebbah̤* with both hands, pressing her forehead against the cool, strong reeds, and presenting her buttocks to the midwife. This grasping of the reed-bundle is not only Mandaean but an ancient practice in the reed-country of Lower Iraq. The midwife receives the precepts of her craft from another midwife, and is careful to observe the rules of isolation.

As soon as the infant has come into the world, the midwife (*jiddah̤*) presses down the blood remaining in the umbilical cord towards the child ('milks it', in their phraseology), then severs the cord, and ties the child's navel with a thread of sheep's wool. No especial condition is laid down as to the knife. The cord, together with the afterbirth, which is called the 'sister', is then removed, and either thrown into the river or buried somewhere at a distance from the house. I asked a priest if this were not polluting to the river. He replied that it was a custom which the Ṣubba had taken from their neighbours, and that just as now it is forbidden to soil living water with faeces or urine, it was formerly considered wrong to defile the river with blood or dead matter, but that this had been neglected and forgotten.[5]

The midwife washes the child with soap and warm water (probably a modern practice, as soap is not always possessed by marsh-dwellers, a plant being used instead), and then rubs its body all over with butter (made by Ṣubba and not Gentiles), mixed with salt. Formerly, it was olive oil and salt, but olive oil is costly and butter cheap. All the rags, cotton, or rice-straw used in the confinement are destroyed; sometimes buried, sometimes thrown into the river. If the weather is cold, water is brought from the river, a little hot water mixed with it, and then thrown over the mother so that she is soused from head to foot. If it is not cold, however, the mother is helped by the *jiddaḥ* down to the river, and completely immerses herself three times. This immersion (the *ṭamas̲h̲a*, see p. 105), with the usual prayers for the major ablution, should take place not later than half an hour after the delivery. The woman changes into dry garments, incense is burnt about her, and the iron seal-ring known as the *skandola* (see preceding chapter) is placed on the little finger of her right hand, the knife attached to it by a chain being placed in her belt. A lamp is lit, and must be kept burning beside the mother day and night for three days.[6] The triple immersion should take place again on the third, seventh, tenth, fifteenth, twentieth, and twenty-eighth day after the birth.

The woman becomes *ṣorta*, that is, 'cut-off', and all contact with her must be avoided. Food is pushed into her corner from without. She eats off a metal plate, which must be changed and put aside for purification after every three days' use. At the time of her baptism all the pots and plates used by her receive ritual ablution at the hands of the priest. For seven days she remains as much as possible within her little semicircle of pebbles, which are changed after the third day for fresh pebbles, and removed after her immersion on the seventh day.

On the third day fresh myrtle leaves are chopped up finely and spread over the navel of the child. According to some informants the powdered leaves are mixed with a little water, according to others, applied dry. The mother usually performs this task. The priest, summoned for the ceremony, takes the *skandola* and presses it upon the navel, saying:

Bshumaihun d hiia rbia asutha uzakutha hathamta uzarazta unṭarta rabtia d shrara nhuilh ldilh Plan br Planitha bhazin ṣurta uraza d Pthahil ushma d hiia ushma d Manda d hiia madkhar ʿlakh.

'In the Name of the Great Life! Health and Purity, sealing and protection' (*zrz*, to arm against), 'and the great safeguard of soundness' (of body and soul) 'be N.'s son of N.' (the Zodiacal name of the child has already been settled with the help of the priest), 'by this image' (the impression of the seal) 'and mystery of Pthahil. And the name of the Life and the name of Manda d Hiia are pronounced on thee!'

The first Sunday after the thirtieth day, if the child is a boy, and after the thirty-second day if it is a girl, the mother should be baptized with her infant. Some insist on forty days and forty-two days. Of the baptism of a woman after childbirth I give a description on pp. 110 ff.

Times are lax, and if the weather is cold and the river chilled by snow, the mother waits until it is warmer. A triple immersion ends the period of her isolation, but until she is baptized her husband should not cohabit with her. As for the child, it is a common practice to wait until he has reached an age of continence, for if he soils or wets during the ceremony, penalties are incurred. Some pious mothers prefer the ceremony performed at once, for should the little one die without baptism, it cannot go to the worlds of light, but must remain in the care of Pthahil. The same fate overtakes illegitimate children. This is not a harsh verdict, for animals graze over the hills of this genius of death, trees and flowers are found there, and the little ones are suckled by the *ʿIlana d mrabia yanqia*, 'the tree which nourishes nurslings'. It has down-drooping branches laden with teat-like fruit, from which the children suck milky nourishment. At the end of the world Habshaba, the personified Sunday, fetches these children and restores them to their mothers in the world of light after baptism in the *yardna* of the heavenly Euphrates.

When an infant is baptized, a *hallali* (a layman of ritual cleanliness, is found who has similar astrological aspects as the child, with the result that his name is of equal numerical value (see Chap. VI, pp. 81–82). This man acts as the *ab* or father of the child. The *hallali* wears his *rasta* (sacred dress) and is first himself baptized by the priest, who is assisted by a *s̲h̲ganda* (acolyte). The priest reads a *rahmi* (form of daily prayer) in the name of the child, and towards the end of these prayers, the infant is clothed in a complete *rasta*, and a *klila* (wreath) of myrtle prepared for it. As soon as the *rahmi* is ended, the *hallali* takes the child, 'asks permission of the *yardna*' in the usual way, and goes down into the water with the child in his right arm, the right hand beneath the buttocks and his left supporting the head. He dips the child's body beneath the water three times (the priest splashing water over its head); then holding the child on his left arm, advances and gives his right hand to the priest for the *kus̲h̲ṭa*. The child is given three sips of water, and is signed with water across the forehead three times from right to left. The *klila* is put on its head, then 'father' and child emerge from the river and go to the *ṭoriana* (clay-table for incense, &c.), where the former pronounces these words:

Asut̲h̲a uzakut̲h̲a nhuilk̲h̲un ya malkia uʿut̲h̲ria umas̲h̲k̲h̲inia uyardinia urhaṭia us̲h̲k̲h̲inat̲h̲a d̲ alma d̲ nhura kulaihun.

'Health and victory (purity) are yours, O *melka*s and *ʿut̲h̲ra*s and dwellers, and flowing waters and streams and all the dwellings of the world of light.'

The child is then handed to the *s̲h̲ganda*, and he returns it to its mother who sits with it facing the north on the usual palm-trunk seat, or on her heels. The priest comes out of the water, prepares the sesame paste, anoints the child's forehead, and follows the usual procedure for the sacrament of bread and water. At the time of giving *kus̲h̲ṭa* he takes the right hand of the child but the *s̲h̲ganda* replies for the child, and at the 'hand-kissing' ceremony the *s̲h̲ganda* again plays the part of the child.

If during the rite the child has soiled or wetted its clothing, the priest continues the ceremony as though nothing had happened, but must afterwards go through a complete baptism at the hands of a *ganzibra* and a priest. The child's baptism is not invalidated, because it sinned unwittingly, and should it die, it is entitled to full burial rites. If it lives and reaches an age of decent behaviour (about 6 or 7), and can speak, the child atones by being baptized in a new *rasta* at the feast of Dehwa Daimana.

It often happens that during this rigorous ordeal the baby dies. As soon as this happens, the proceedings are arrested while the *ganzibra* makes dough of white wheaten flour and models it into a rough image of the dead child. This is clothed with a *rasta*, and the ceremonies are continued from the point at which they left off, with the dummy in the place of the child. The *hallalia*, summoned for the burial, place the dummy with the corpse in the *bania* (reed wrapping for a corpse), and bury it with the child in the grave. The usual *lofani*s and *zidqa brikha* (see Chap. XI) follow. Like all newly baptized children, on the third day after death, the soul of the dead baby flies quickly and unharmed through the Maṭaratha (purgatories, p. 198) and reaches the world of light, for its baptism is regarded as complete, though, on the seventh day, it is safeguarded by a special *lofani* eaten in its name.

The officiating *tarmida* (priest), however, is defiled, and must receive the 'baptism of Shitil', i.e. receive triple baptism and triple sacraments of bread and water at the hands of three priests, one of whom must be a *ganzibra*, for seven days. His baptism is preceded by a *zidqa brikha*, and he must wear a new *rasta*, have a new *margna* (staff), and be invested with a new *tagha* (fillet). During the week he must read three *rahmia* daily. After these ceremonies he is allowed to resume his duties as a priest.

There is a special genius concerned with childbirth who is responsible for the well-being of the infant before it is born and after. In the Drasha d Yahya[7] she is spoken of as a *lilith*, but even there, the term is not used opprobiously, and in general, she is looked upon as a kindly spirit of light. Her name is Zahariʿil and she seems to be related to Ishtar or Venus (Zahara) in the capacity of genius of generation and childbirth. Shaikh Dukhayil identified her with the latter, and also with Simat Hiia. In myth, she is the wife of Hibil Ziwa, who espoused her in the realms of darkness (see pp. 271 ff.).

Every mother must suckle her own child, and it is forbidden to act as foster-mother for hire. Such a provision may be thought curious, but the women of shaikhly Arab families hand over their children at birth to a wet-nurse, lest they spoil their own beauty, or, possibly, so that there may be no obstacle between them and their lords. Poor as the Ṣubbi marsh-dwellers are, they never 'sell their breast-milk' for fear of punishment in the after-life.

The father is responsible for his son's education and keep until the boy has reached his fifteenth, or some say twentieth, year. The child must be educated, disciplined, nourished, and taught his religious duties and ablutions. He must be taught how to put on his *rasta*, how to tie the sacred girdle, and how to perform the *ris̲h̲ama* and *ṭamas̲h̲a* (the minor and major ablutions). Before eating he must wash his hands and arms as far as the elbow, and he must pronounce the name of the Life and of Manda ḏ Hiia over his food. ' "In the Name of the Life and in the name of Manda ḏ Hiia" be pronounced upon thee, O Tabṭa!'—the same formula as that pronounced over the first mouthful of *lofani* or ritual food (p. 188). He is taught that he may not eat meat not ritually slaughtered, that he may not touch blood, or any kind of pollution. He is taught what flesh is permitted, and what is forbidden, and is told that Hibil Ziwa, when Pt̲h̲ahil created the living creatures of the earth, instructed Ādam as to what was lawful for food. Every growing thing that has *seed* is lawful: hence the mushroom is forbidden. All birds of prey and all fish-eating birds are unlawful, also the rook, crow, and a long-legged long-billed marsh bird known as the *zurgi*. The raven, perhaps for the same reason as that which causes its appearance on Mithraic bas-reliefs, is considered a pure bird and may be eaten without blame. The camel, horse, pig, dog, rat, rabbit, hare, and cat are forbidden (not only to the Mandaean but also to his Moslem and Jewish neighbours). Whereas these neighbours, however, are great eaters of beef, which is cheaper than mutton, the

Mandaean considers it a crime to kill either buffalo or ox. The sacredness of the latter animals, especially the bull, to the Life and to the Sun is recalled by the uncompromising veto on their flesh. 'Hiwel Ziwa', said a *ganzibra* to me, 'created these animals for ploughing, for draught, and for the production of milk, and not for food.' At the same time, no especial religious importance is attached to the living cow; no virtue to cattle dung or urine as with the Parsis, and no magic to milk, though a milker should always say 'The name of the Life and the name of Manda d̲ Hiia is mentioned upon thee' before starting to work on the udders. Fish may be eaten, though scaleless varieties are forbidden; they are caught with nets or hooks in the usual fashion.

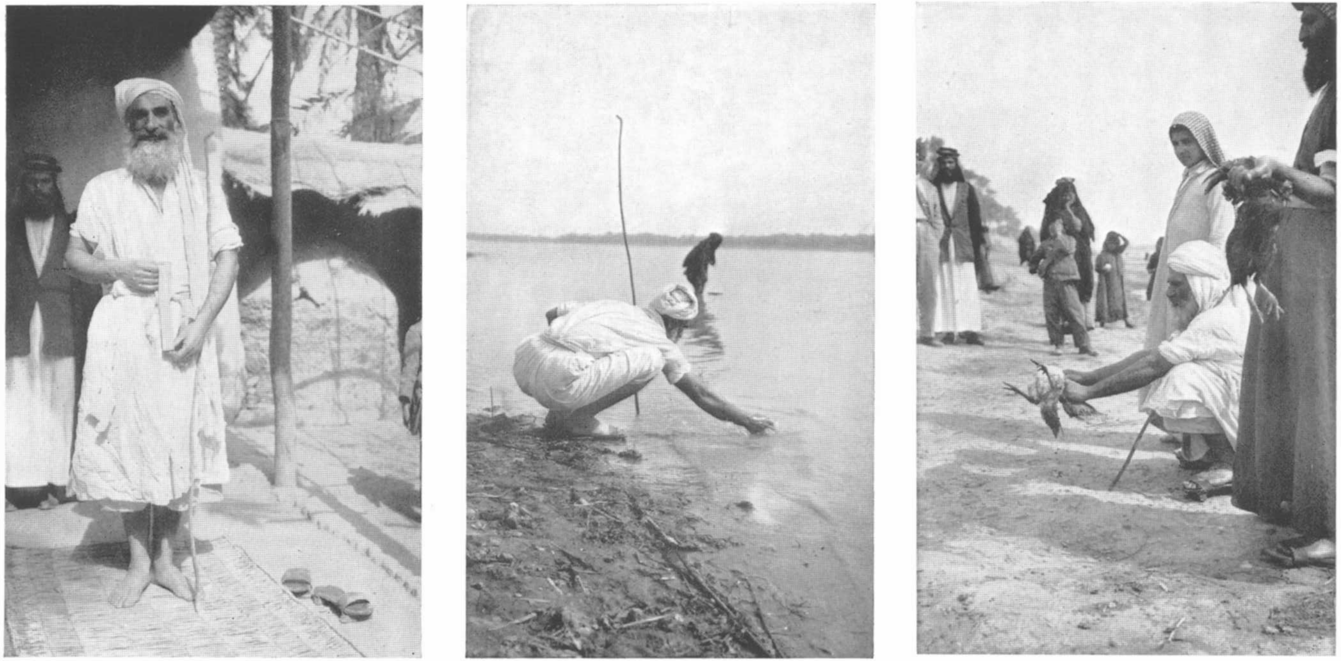
In practice, little meat is eaten, and the attitude towards slaughter is always apologetic.

'To kill, even according to the rites for slaughter, is a sin', said one layman, and several pious Mandaeans have told me that a deeply religious man forswears meat and fish. It will be seen in the legends that the Naṣorai are represented as vegetarians, an Indo-European and Buddhist rather than a Semitic trend of thought. The Ginza gives contradictory views about flesh-eating.[8] All killing and blood-letting is sinful, but flies, vermin, scorpions, and all harmful stinging things (*rashi bishi* in the *raṭna*) may be slain without sin, I was informed. At the same time, the Ṣubba show a lazy tolerance of flies, lice, and similar pests; I think that they scarcely notice their existence.

I might call attention here to the curious fact that the chicken and eggs, although eaten as articles of daily food, never form part of a ritual meal. It is thought, moreover, that a death will occur in the house if an egg is given away after sunset. I give an account elsewhere of the slaughter of a sheep, which, in ritual, does not differ from its slaughter for ordinary food. I will here describe the ordinary slaughter of fowls for the pot.

The slaughterer must be either a *hallali* or a priest. I watched S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Duk̲h̲ayil slaughter a couple of chickens. The proceedings began in the s̲h̲aik̲h̲'s house, with the

PLATE 4



a. The preliminary
rahmi (*rahmia*: devotions)

b. Ablution of *margna*

c. The slaughter of a chicken

SLAUGHTER OF A CHICKEN

rahmi or preliminary prayers, with the consecration of the *rasta*, piece by piece, including the *tag̱ẖa* as described elsewhere. For these prayers, he stood barefoot on a mat in his courtyard facing the north, and carrying his staff (*margna*). He then went down to the river, bearing a small stick and a haftless knife. He explained later that the only reason that the latter was of metal was that it must later be purified by being heated red-hot in a fire.

He first performed the *riṣ̱ẖama* (minor ablution) at the water's edge and then gave his knife, the little stick (which may be of any 'clean' wood), and his staff, their ablutions in the river. Whilst the two former were completely submerged three times, only the end of the *margna* was washed. The usual baptismal formula was spoken over each object (v. p. 104, e.g., *margnai aṣvina bmaṣwetta ḏ Bahram Rba bar rurbi*, etc.). Meanwhile an assistant priest, who did not wear a *rasta*, waded into the river bearing the two fowls, which he ducked three times beneath the surface. No imperfect beast or bird may be sacrificed, and these fowls were whole and healthy. The presence of this assistant, or 'witness', is obligatory at any slaughter to ensure that nothing is scamped or irregular.

S̱ẖaiḵẖ Duḵẖayil now turned his back on the river in order to face the north, and prayed at some length. Then he crouched on his heels, received the wet fowls one by one from the priest, and, holding each so that its head was to the west, he drew the knife several times across the throat, cutting so deeply that the head was almost severed from the body. When using the knife he held the small willow-stick pressed against it, and pronounced the formula for slaughter given on p. 137. The birds did not struggle. He then returned to the river, washed his hands and knife, and allowed the stick to float away downstream. The fowls were carried off to the kitchen, but not permitted to touch any defiling object. Once a beast or bird destined to die has been immersed three times, the utmost care must be taken not to let it touch the ground. Though birds killed for food or cult-meals may be of either sex, it is forbidden to slaughter female beasts.

S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Duk̲h̲ayil returned to his house, stood barefoot on the mat facing the north, as before, and prayed the long de-consecrating prayers necessary before he removed his *tag̲h̲a* and *rasta*. No myrtle is used during the slaughter, for this is above all a symbol of life, and must not be used unless the small stick held with the knife be of myrtle-wood, and in that case, all its green leaves are removed. Any spot of blood which may happen to fall on the priest or bystanders is most carefully washed, with prayers, for blood is defiling.[9]

Vegetables and all foods must be purified by triple immersion in the river, and pots and pans must at certain times be baptized,[10] especially at Panja, when every housewife brings her kitchen utensils of all kinds to receive ritual ablution. She habitually washes her clothes and all household objects in the river, for 'cut-off' water is dead water, and therefore a pollution rather than a purification.[11]

The Mandaeans have some customs which the priests told me were 'irreligious'. When a new house is built, a sheep is killed as *fidwa* (ransom), and its head is buried beneath the threshold. Similarly, when a bride enters the house for the first time, or when a wife enters a new dwelling, one or two birds (doves or cocks) are killed near her foot as she steps over the threshold. I have seen this performed. The bird was killed by a layman, who cut its throat, rubbed the blood on the bare foot of the bride, and then hurled the still struggling corpse into the river. The threshold is of importance, and is protected by charms. Blue beads or pottery are inserted above the door, a snake, symbolical of life, is carved above or by it, or a curious little rag doll sewn over with blue buttons, cowries, gall-nuts, and other charms, is suspended above it. (This doll is also used by Iraqi Jews.) In times of sickness, in the case of suspected evil eye, or sometimes after a death, metal dishes or plaques inscribed with magical formulae are buried underneath the threshold, particularly of reed huts, to prevent evil influences or disease demons from passing in.

In his home a child learns his prayers and his religious duties. 'Baptism, alms, and good deeds make the perfect Mandaean', and these good deeds include scrupulous performance of death rites and observance of the cult of the dead. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are accessible to most Mandaean boys and girls in the Iraqi Government schools, and an increasing number of the school-trained generation go on to the secondary schools and eventually become schoolmasters. Few lay Mandaeans know their own script or holy books; such studies are left to priests, and the number of those who can read, write, and partially understand Mandaean is lessening as the priestly class diminishes. In most of the larger Ṣubbi communities there are Ṣubbi teachers. For instance, at Qal'at Salih, in the Government school for boys there is a Ṣubbi master and in that for girls, a Ṣubbiyaḧ mistress. The latter, a gentle girl with a charming smile, was trained in the Teachers' Training College, Baghdad.

Though school-trained youngsters have the usual ambition, to become Government clerks, and often end in discontented unemployment, a number of Ṣubbi boys follow the trades of their fathers and learn to become silversmiths, ironsmiths, and boat-builders. Ṣubbis provide the Arab bride with the jewellery which is often her sole dowry, and some of this is attractive, especially the great swinging, half-moon *tarāc̲his* or ear-rings of filigree gold set with pearls, turquoises, or rubies. In Baghdad the Ṣubbi silver-shops, congregated together, are small, open booths with box-like show-cases. Their silverware is unlike that of local Iraqi or Jew silversmiths, the latter being coarse and clumsy. The Ṣubbi work is neat and finished, and its principal feature is black inlaid decoration, a process which they keep secret. The design is first scratched on, then filled in with antimony and fired. The decoration takes the form of floral patterns, of scenes from river life, the Arch of Ctesiphon, or Ezra's tomb, and if required the Ṣubbi craftsman will copy a photograph submitted to him by his customer, selecting the essential lines with skill. Sometimes the inlay is coloured.

The boat-builder's craft is an ancient one. The generic term for the shallow, wide boat used in the marshes is *mas̲h̲ḥūf*. It is of simple design, carvel-built, with inner ribs curving up from a centre-piece or backbone, ending in long beaks at prow and stern which are used to nose a way through the rushes and reeds. In order of size, these *mas̲h̲āḥīf* are called the *barges̲h̲*, the *ṭarrādah̤*, and the little fishing *c̲h̲alabiyah̤*. The boats are daubed over on the exterior with pitch, which the boat-builders apply with a rag, smoothing it with a roller. Agricultural implements, ploughs, spades, reaping-hooks and bills, are all Ṣubbi-made, and it is the Ṣubbis also who forge the fish-hooks, and the three-pronged and five-pronged fish-spears for the marsh fishermen.

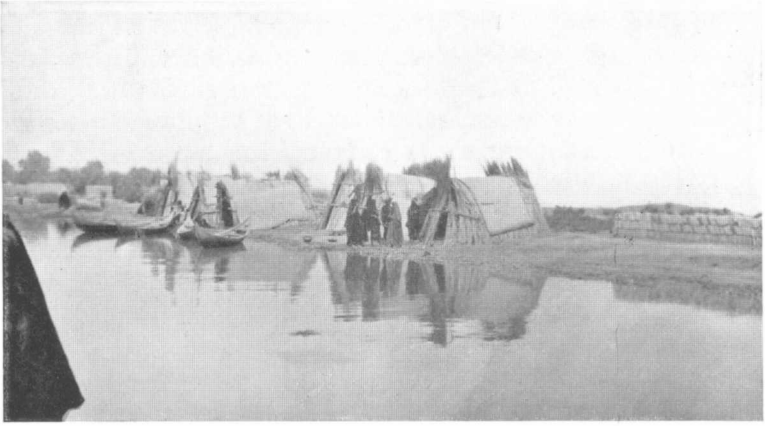
The older generation sees modern changes with misgiving. A perter generation is growing up, not silent before its elders.

'At school we learn that the world is round and moves round the sun', burst in the sons of a *ganzibra* who was telling me that the world is square and fixed. 'Young people nowadays think they know everything,' said their mortified father.

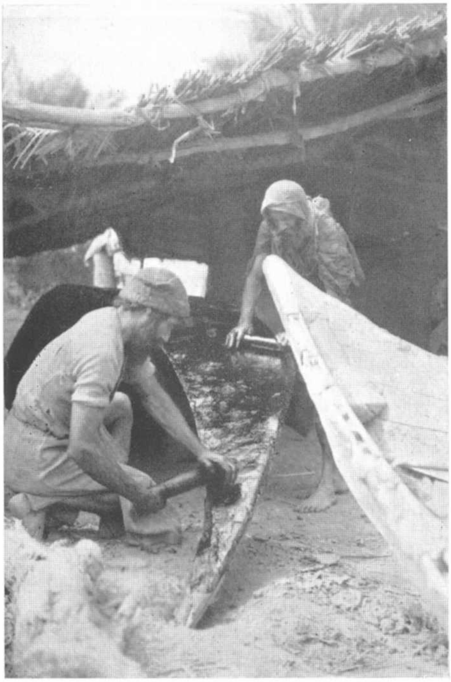
They have a grievance, that no official notice is taken of Mandaean feast-days. Moslem, Jewish, and Christian children are allowed to have holidays on their big feast-days, but the Ṣubbi must plead sickness if he wishes to stay at home for such a day as the first day of the year.

Dancing, play-acting, juggling, and music are forbidden to the puritanical Mandaean. However, I have seen Ṣubbiyah̤ girls sing and dance—the latter with the body-swayings, stomach twitchings, and muscle jerkings characteristic of the country—but only in their own homes on gleeful occasions; and the younger generation, though the pious disapprove, attend the cinema. As a race, they look serene and happy.

Character. Here I must notice a point on which they differ essentially from their neighbours. They possess a genuine love of nature, as will be seen in the Mandaean tales and legends given in this book. An Arab, though he admires beauty in a woman or a horse, sees personal comfort rather than actual loveliness in a natural scene: a tree



a. Reed-hut village



b. Ṣubbi boat-builders pitching a boat

to give him shade, running water at which he may drink, a garden in which he may entertain his friends. But the *darāwīsh* of Mandaean tales behold Nature in a mystic light. They delight in Nature as apart from man. The birds are praying to the Great Life, the stars and the sun chant His praises in harmonies which the pure can hear. This mysticism enters into the actions of daily life. If I give a Mandaean a few flowers, he murmurs as he bends over them (I speak from experience) the beautiful formula 'Perfume of Life, joy of my Lord, Manda of Life!'[12] In spite of an original asceticism that saw in all functions of the body a species of defilement which laid him open to the attacks of evil spirits, the Mandaeans have joy in life, and in marriage, though the latter is protected by elaborate ritual which aims at health and cleanliness. The mortifications, dirtiness, and self-deprivation of Christian asceticism in its medieval stage are unknown to these joyous mystics. All that the Spirit of Life sends is a good gift, to be used with praise. In spite of the sin-conscious tones of the prayers, life is a pleasant thing, and the earth a happy prison. Death does not exist, since the living and the dead constantly meet at the table of the ritual meal.

When the soul flies like a released bird, and after its purification reaches the realm of light, all that is lovely on earth is found there in its perfection. In the Mandaean worlds of light there are no seas of glass, no walls of gold, no cities as in the Jewish Heavenly Jerusalem, no material delights and houris as in the Moslem Paradise. Beauty and purity are found there; heavenly ether,[13] air most pure and clear; streams of living water, fadeless flowers, immortal singing-birds, and trees whose leaves never wither and fall.

I do not wish to paint a one-sided picture of Mandaean character. The Ṣubba have the faults of their neighbours, and share with them a modified appreciation of the value of truth. Some priests, I fear, often think more of their fees than of their flock. Although they believe that a man who dies a violent death suffers long and painful disability in the next world unless he receives costly *masiqatha̲* (masses, or ritual meals for the dead) read in his name, few consent to perform these death rites without the customary fees. 'We must live', is their answer. However, there are fine characters amongst them, and I have the deepest respect for such splendid old men as Shaikh Joda, Shaikh Dukhayil, and Shaikh Rūmī, the *ganzivri* of Amarah, Nasoriyah, and Qalʿat Salih respectively. The flame of a genuine piety glows in the eyes of the dark and temperamental Shaikh Nejm when he expounds Mandaean teaching to his poor little flock at Litlata. It is said that of the wild-looking, poverty-stricken marsh Mandaeans who come to him for baptism, he often expects no offering but thanks.

Mandaean women go unveiled, are free of movement, may own property and inherit it. Polygamy falls hardly upon some of them, although others live on good terms with a fellow wife, especially if the husband is an old man. Their homes are often dirty. The courtyard is shared with the cattle, manure lies in the narrow space, and is carried into the rooms on the feet and in the form of dust. Flies are unnoticed, and the older generation are not ashamed of lice, which they regard as a natural condition of the hair and body. Only schooling can change this habit of thought. They are hard-working, and on the whole healthy and good-looking, though the men are the better-looking, and the old men are often actually beautiful. I have seen a Ṣubbiyah mother and child that looked like a Madonna and holy babe, and the entire race is famous for good looks, so much so that 'as handsome as a Ṣubbi' is a proverb. They marry young, often at the first sign of puberty. But marriage and death are such important subjects that they must have later chapters to themselves.

NOTES ON CHAPTER IV

1. *Mshunia Kushṭa.* The meaning seems to be 'the translated, or removed (i.e. from us) righteous'. Mshunia Kushṭa is the ideal world of the Mandaeans, and peopled by the descendants of Adam Kasia and Hawa Kasia (the hidden, or mystical Adam and Eve); for, as one priest told me, 'of all things there are two, an actual, and its *mabda* (ideal, or arch-type)'. Another explained that each individual on this earth has his double (*dmutha*,

or likeness) in Ms̱ẖunia Kus̱ẖṭa, and at the time of death the earthly individual leaves his earthly body and assumes the more ethereal body of his double. It is in the latter body that the human soul goes through the pains of purification. As for his double in Ms̱ẖunia Kus̱ẖṭa, at the time of the earthly double's dissolution, he quits the ethereal body which he inhabited for a light-body, and, being perfectly pure, he proceeds at once to the worlds of light. When the human soul has completed the cycle of its purification, and the scales of Abaṯẖur Muzania have proved it to be freed of all grossness, it, too, enters the world of light, and the two are united.

Alanpia dmuṯẖ nafiqna
Udmuṯẖai alanpai nafqa
Mithanna umikarkbia
Akwaṯẖ d mn s̱ẖibia aṯẖit.

'I go towards my likeness
And my likeness goes towards me;
He embraces me and holds me close
As if I had come out of prison.'

Beasts, birds, flowers, and indeed the whole physical universe, have a spiritual counterpart in Ms̱ẖunia Kus̱ẖṭa, and its inhabitants are said to marry and have children, but without pollution in the processes. Sometimes they are represented as communicating with their doubles on earth, cf. the Miriai story (JB. 126) in which the sleeping girl is waked and warned by her 'sister in Ms̱ẖunia Kus̱ẖṭa'. See Bk. II, p. 287.

The similarity between the Mandaean soul (*ns̱ẖimta*) and 'likeness' (*dmuṯẖa*) and the *urvân* and *fravas̱ẖi* of the Zoroastrians is striking.

'On the death of a person, his soul (*urvân* or *ravân*) meets with justice according to his merits or demerits. If he has deserved well, he goes to heaven, if not, to hell. His Fravas̱ẖi, which guided him through life as a guiding spirit, parts from his soul and goes to its abode or place among all the Fravas̱ẖis. It is the soul (*urvân*) that meets with good or evil consequences of its actions. The Fravas̱ẖi or the guiding spirit, was pure and perfect, unalloyed and uncontaminated from the beginning and has passed away as such. So it is this pure and perfect spiritual identity, the Fravas̱ẖi, that is the medium, as it were, of the continued relation between the living and the dead' (JJM., p. 423).

'According to the Avesta, all natural objects have their Fravas̱ẖis, but not the objects that have been made from those natural objects. For example the trees have their Fravas̱ẖis, but not the chair or table that has been made from the wood of the tree. God has created the Fravas̱ẖis of these natural objects from the very beginning of creation. Before the creation of the object, there existed the Fravas̱ẖi of that object, perfect, complete, and correct' (JJM., p. 412).

The *dmuṯẖa* seems to be the 'External Soul' (JGF. iii. 351 ff.).

The belief in an ideal, half-human world between the worlds of light and our world is an early one, and persisted into early Christianity, but possibly through Neoplatonism. The Vedic Garden of Yama, the ideal world of the Essenes, and, far later, the Arab *Jazīrat-al-Khadhra*, all belong to the same group-idea. The inhabitants wear white, are perfectly pure, and are often communistic. As in the Isle of Avalon, no harsh wind, or tempest, or extreme of hot and cold mars its equable climate. Josephus (Whiston's translation revised by Shillito vol. iv, p. 155) says of the Essenes: 'They think also, like the sons of the Greeks, that good souls have their habitations beyond the ocean, in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, nor with intense heat, but refreshed by the gentle breathing of the west wind which perpetually blows from the ocean.'

The Mandaeans have varying theories as to the whereabouts of this ideal world. Some maintain that it is in the north, and divided from the actual world by a high and icy mountain. A favourite theory is, 'It hangs between heaven and earth, and is invisible to us. Its inhabitants are purer than we are and our eyes cannot see them.' My old friend Hirmiz bar Anhar remarked once, 'There is a star inhabited by men, the descendants of the Hidden Adam (Adam Kasia), but they are semi-spiritual in nature, and not gross like ourselves. This star is called Merīkh, and is the star of the morning.'

Another description was 'Mshuni (so pronounced) Kushṭa is in the north, beyond the region of snow and ice. It is always light there, and the dwellers in Mshunia Kushṭa can converse with and see the *melki* and *'uthri*.'

Just as Hibil Ziwa is the tutelary spirit of the earth, Shishlam Rba, his *dmutha*, is the guiding spirit of the world of Mshunia Kushṭa.

2. Can it be that a similar usage was the reason for the Nativity in a stable?

3. Parsis also isolate the mother. 'A room or part of a room, generally on the down-floor, is prepared and set apart for the purpose' (JJM., p. 5). Forty days is the time for the separation. 'On delivery, the mother is enjoined to remain apart from others. She is not to come into contact with fire, water, and other furniture of the house, especially wooden furniture and linen articles. Her food is to be served to her on a plate by others. Those who have to come into contact with her have to bathe before they mix with others. . . . At the end of the forty days, which is the period of the confinement, the lady has to purify herself before ordinarily mixing with others. At first she takes an ordinary bath and then goes through what is called 'nân', a contraction of the Sanskrit word 'snân' which is a sacred bath. A priest, generally the family priest, administers that bath with consecrated water. All the bedding and clothes of the woman, used after the forty days of her confinement after delivery, are rejected from ordinary use. They are enjoined to be destroyed . . .' (JJM., pp. 6–7).

4. Hence, perhaps, the origin of the bundle of reeds as the symbol of Ishtar.

5. *Defilement of the water.* Strabo refers to such an idea as peculiar to the Persians: 'the Persians never pollute a river with urine, nor wash, nor

bathe in it; they never throw a dead body nor anything unclean into it' (*The Geography of Strabo* translated by Hamilton and Falconer, 1857, vol. iii, p. 137).

In the Vendîdâd the throwing of impurities into water is prohibited.

Herodotus (bk. i, p. 138, Carey's translation, Bohn's series, 1889) says: '(the Persians) neither make water, nor spit, nor wash their hands in a river, nor defile the stream with urine, nor do they allow anyone else to do so.'

Mandaeans think that a man who urinates into a stream will become subject to skin-disease.

6. 'On the birth of a child, a lamp is lighted and kept burning, for at least three days, in the room where the lady is confined. The Saddar says: "When the child becomes separate from the mother it is necessary to burn a lamp for three nights and days—if they burn a fire it would be better—so that the demons and fiends may not be able to do any damage and harm; because when a child is born, it is extremely delicate for those three days" ' (JJM., p. 6).

7. In the *Dras̲h̲a ḏ Yahya*: "*l arsaiin ḏ baṭinat̲h̲a Zahrʿil lilit̲h̲a s̲h̲rʿia*' 'Zahriel, the lilit̲h̲, stays by the couch of pregnant women.'

8. GR. 20, 125; GR. 9, 31.

9. Also for the Parsis and the Jews. Maimonides says 'the Ṣabians regarded blood as something most unclean, but ate it, nevertheless, because they held it for the food of demons, and believed that, through partaking of it, a man entered into relationship with the demons, so that they visited him and unveiled for him the future.' He says, further, that others could not bring themselves to drink the blood, but collected it in a vessel and ate the flesh of the animal slaughtered, sitting round the blood. Thus they sat in friendly fellowship with the demons who drank the blood and 'then, they imagined, the demon would appear to them in a dream and discover the future to them and instruct them usefully'. (Ch. Ṣ. Bd. ii, 481–2).

The Arabs believe that blood is life-fluid, and that a bath or immersion in blood is healing. This must be the old nomad idea, based on the *fidwa*, or ransom (see note 4, Chap. IX). The Essenes, together with other Jewish sects, seem, on the other hand, to have imbibed, possibly from Iranian-Indian sources, the idea that slaughter was a crime, and that sacrifice of animals was unpleasing to the powers of light and life. The Essenes were vegetarians. It is possible that early Christianity derived its symbolism of a substituted victim, and the symbolism of bread for the flesh of the victim and wine for its blood, from this school of Jewish-Iranian thought.

10. Literally, since the baptismal formula is employed.

11. The immersion of food is not confined to the Mandaeans. A pious S̲h̲īʿa Moslem has a cistern in his courtyard into which he plunges all food before it is cooked, or eaten, so that it may be purified. As the cistern is usually stagnant and foul-smelling, the result is not desirable, and modern

education in Iraq is gradually destroying the custom. The Shāfiʿ practices as regards ablutions (the Kurds are almost all Shāfiʿs) are nearer to the Mandaean.

12. (JB., p. 96) *kul man d narha briha d hiia ushma d hiia la nadkhar ʿlh, bmahu dina dainilh.* ('If a man smell the perfume of the Life and does not pronounce the name of the Life over it, how shall he be judged?')

13. *Ayar-Ziwa.* 'Ether-Brilliance' or 'radiant ether'. This certainly corresponds to the 'most thin air' of the Essene (Josephus, vol. iv, p. 155). With the Mandaeans this rare and purer atmosphere is represented as interpenetrating the thick air round the earth, and giving it vital qualities, just as the heavenly *yardna* is mixed with earthly *yardnia* or rivers, giving them their life-giving and fertilizing powers. This Ether is personified, and is sometimes mentioned as a source of life.

Wireless holds no surprise for a Mandaean. 'You see', said one to me, 'it is Ayar Ziwa who brings the sounds.' Cf. the Parsi Ram-Khvastra, the angel of rarefied air and the Iranian Vayah (Aether).

V

MARRIAGE

'If a man has no wife, there will be no Paradise for him hereafter and no Paradise on earth', a *ganzibra* remarked to me. He himself had two. 'If woman had not been created there would be no sun and no moon, no cultivation and no fire.' 'Children make a man's name great in the next world, and when he is dead, they carry his body to the grave and have *masiqatha* read for him.'

A man may marry as many wives as his means allow, though, actually, pluralists are the exception rather than the rule, and many Mandaeans hold monogamy to be better than polygamy. I have noticed, however, that most priests have had at one time two or more wives. The standard of morals is rigid, though an erring woman is not murdered by her male relatives as commonly happens in Iraq amongst the Moslems. Divorce is not recognized by their religion but if a man finds that his wife is careless about her purifications or has grave moral faults, he applies to the *ganzibra* for a separation. She may marry no one else, and a widow is not expected to remarry, for religion says, 'husband and wife are like heaven and earth', or 'like one soul in two bodies'. Again, practice is kinder than precept. If a widow, or a woman not a virgin, marries, a *paisaq*[1] may read a shortened ceremony over the pair. But the children of such a union are excluded from the priesthood for three generations.

A marriage is arranged by the parents of the young people, and the bride is chosen, not for her wealth, but because she comes of a suitable Mandaean family. Marriages between cousins are usual, and the paternal cousin is preferred to the maternal cousin. The girl should be healthy, especially in priestly families, where physical blemishes mean disqualification from the priesthood, and there must be no taint of alien blood, or past fault. As girls are not secluded, and have the opportunity of seeing their suitors often in the narrow community, it is natural to suppose that they have a voice in the matter, and that if a proposed union is repugnant to the girl it is not insisted upon.

As soon as the match is agreed upon, the dowry (paid over to the bride's father) is settled. To-day, according to a priest, an average dowry amongst the well-to-do is from twenty dinars to thirty dinars, with a pea's weight of saffron. The poor give according to their means. In addition to this, the young man gives the girl clothes and jewellery. The fees to the *ganzibra* and priests amount to about a dinar (one pound sterling) and upwards.

I have witnessed several weddings, and will describe one, filling in details from others. The couple were poor: the girl's father, who had many daughters, was thankful to accept the meagre dowry which was all the suitor could offer. The age of the bridegroom, Ras̲h̲īd, was about thirty: the bride, Ṭuweyra bint Ṣug̲h̲ayyar (Little-Bird daughter of Very-Little-One), was twelve. Of course, throughout the ceremonies, only their *malwas̲h̲a* (astrological) names, Mhattam bar Mumani and S̲h̲arat pat̲h̲ Mudallal, were employed. Ras̲h̲īd was not rich enough to buy gems, he had to be content with a few gauds, and the necessary wedding-rings of red agate and green turquoise. Legend says that when Hibil Ziwa married Zahariʿil he gave her a robe stitched over with precious stones, and placed on her little fingers an emerald and ruby; 'and', say my informants, 'the *melki*, when they take their heavenly spouses, deck them with all manner of dazzling gems'.

The first baptism of the pair must be on a Sunday, and often both baptisms, the first and second, are performed on the same day. But, weddings being forbidden during Panja, the ceremony I am describing was divided into two, the first baptism being on the Sunday, which was the last day of Panja, and the second on the Tuesday following, for the day following Panja is a *mbaṭṭal* day and inauspicious. The day fixed for the wedding must be astrologically auspicious, and the priest who baptizes the pair (he must himself have received two baptisms before doing so) must ascertain that the girl is not near menstruation.

On the Sunday I was sitting in the *mandi* enclosure when the bride approached, heralded by drums, joy-cries, and clapping. I went to meet the procession, and the crowd parted to allow me to photograph the bride, who was supported on each side by a matron. She was enveloped in a white *ʿabā*ʾ (mantle), and her face was concealed by a veil of green silk. Walking backwards before her, a little girl bore a mirror which reflected the bride. The mirror is referred to in the pretty folk-songs intoned during the wedding. S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Nejm wrote one down for me:

Pronunciation	Written by him
Ihai ya rabeyt̲h̲a istarte	*ʿhai ya rabitia ʿṣṭartia*
Ad idri li naura asqilo	*D̲ ʿdria ʿlia naura sqala*
Qa hazīt bgua	*Q̄a hzit bgauh*
Anat as̲h̲far miney, an ?	*Anat s̲h̲afiritia mnai an?*

Translation

O my little mistress
Who carriest the clear mirror for me,
Didst see in it in sooth
That I am fairer (than it)?

A child carried a lighted lantern by the bride and boys walked with her, bearing trays upon which were lighted candles, a bowl of water, and a number of green myrtle and pomegranate twigs, the latter symbolical of life and fertility. This wedding pomp is called the *zeffat.*

The girl and her train entered the *ganzibra's* house for an ordeal which must always precede baptism for marriage. Two matrons, usually the wife and mother of the *ganzibra*, examine the bride to see if she is a virgin. If she is not, the women who wait to hear are silent; if she is, they utter joy-cries (*halhala*). In the case of Little Bird, the verdict was that she was intacta, and long trilling cries announced the fact. Had she not been, a *paisaq*[1] would have performed the rites—if the bridegroom was still willing to marry her.

The little mud chamber was full to capacity when I entered, and dark but for the smoky light of the candles and lamp, but the crowd of women, beating drums, snapping their fingers and shrilling, pushed each other back to let me see the bride, image-like on the floor, trays of greenery and lights beside her and the mirror, bowl of water, and lantern at hand. They unveiled her for me to see her golden ear-rings set with turquoise, her filigree nose-ring, her golden *galāda* or necklace, her silver anklets, and the chains adorning her bosom and hair.

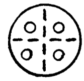
The bridegroom, in his best clothes, accompanied by his male friends, had meantime arrived at the *mandi* enclosure. Each bridegroom is treated as if he were a *malka*, or king, and must have a friend on either hand, who are known as the *amīr* (prince) 'of the left', and the '*amīr* of the right'. With the help of his friends, the groom put on his *rasta*, took his place with other men and boys awaiting baptism, went down in his turn into the water, and received sacraments with the others. When both baptisms take place in one day, the bridegroom receives his two after the bride has received hers (baptisms include sacraments), so that the priests perform the four baptisms at one time, and the sacraments, consequently, are also given to each twice in succession. When the bride is baptized, she is completely muffled in a black *ʿaba* worn above the *rasta*, and remains a faceless black bundle throughout the two baptisms. She may not speak a word throughout, all her responses being given silently. She is usually supported by two matrons, but one, usually her mother, suffices. Sometimes the mother not only goes with her to the water's brink but enters it with her, and when the bride has emerged, and walked round the *ṭoriana* and fire and crouches low for the sacraments, the mother puts her *ʿaba* round the girl's figure, to shield her and protect her if it is cold from the wind. Both bride and bridegroom, on emerging from the water after each baptism, must walk round the *ṭoriana* (i.e. round the clay table upon which is the sacred fire-saucer *brihi*, with the incense) and the fire if there is one, moving from south to west, from west to north, from north to east, and back to the south of the *ṭoriana*. After the baptisms, both bride and bridegroom are clothed in new clean *rastas* ready for the second part of the ceremony, and the bride is censed with incense.

On the occasion I am describing, however, the bride was baptized on the first day, and I did not see the second baptism of either. Preparations for the second day had been made at dawn in the bridegroom's house where the ceremonies subsequent to the baptisms took place. The ground in the courtyard was swept and cleansed. Sockets for the uprights of the marriage-hut (*andiruna*) are made with an iron *gazuq* (Ar. *t͟habbāt*), a heavy, blunt iron wedge. No spade must be used. All the material used for the hut is procured overnight, and the building does not take long. The vertical supports (*s͟hebāb*) must be twelve in number. Each *s͟hebba* consists of two reeds only (the *qaṣab*, or *gaṣab* reed, Mandaean *qaina ḏ naiza*). Each pair of reeds is secured together by a strip of palm-leaf (*k͟husaḥ māl nak͟hlaḥ*). The latter must not be tied, but the ends are twisted tightly together and secured by being pushed in. The horizontals (*ḥatar* or *ḥatār*), are also twelve in number. The three lower horizontals on the north side of the *andiruna* are cut so as to form an entrance. The roof according to the priests should be domed, but though I have seen many huts, they have all been flat-roofed. The reeds laid across for the roof are unnumbered and the roof must have a white *killaḥ* (mosquito-net) or sheet, thrown over it. In and out of the sides of the structure are twisted fresh flowers and myrtle, and twigs of every kind of tree available, and in addition, bright-coloured rugs or embroideries may be fastened round the sides of the hut. On the occasion of Little Bird's wedding, the hut was adorned with the pink sweet-scented roses called *jūri*, and myrtle and young orange-leaves added their perfume to that of marigolds and roses.

But this delightful little bower was not for the bride, who at no time even sets foot across its threshold, though her proxy does so in due time. Throughout the wedding service the bride sat on the bridal mattress in the dark nuptial chamber, screened from sight by a canopy of white muslin suspended from a sling of red and green wool, and reaching the floor. No Mandaean bride uses a bed: the mattress laid on the earthen floor is her nuptial couch.

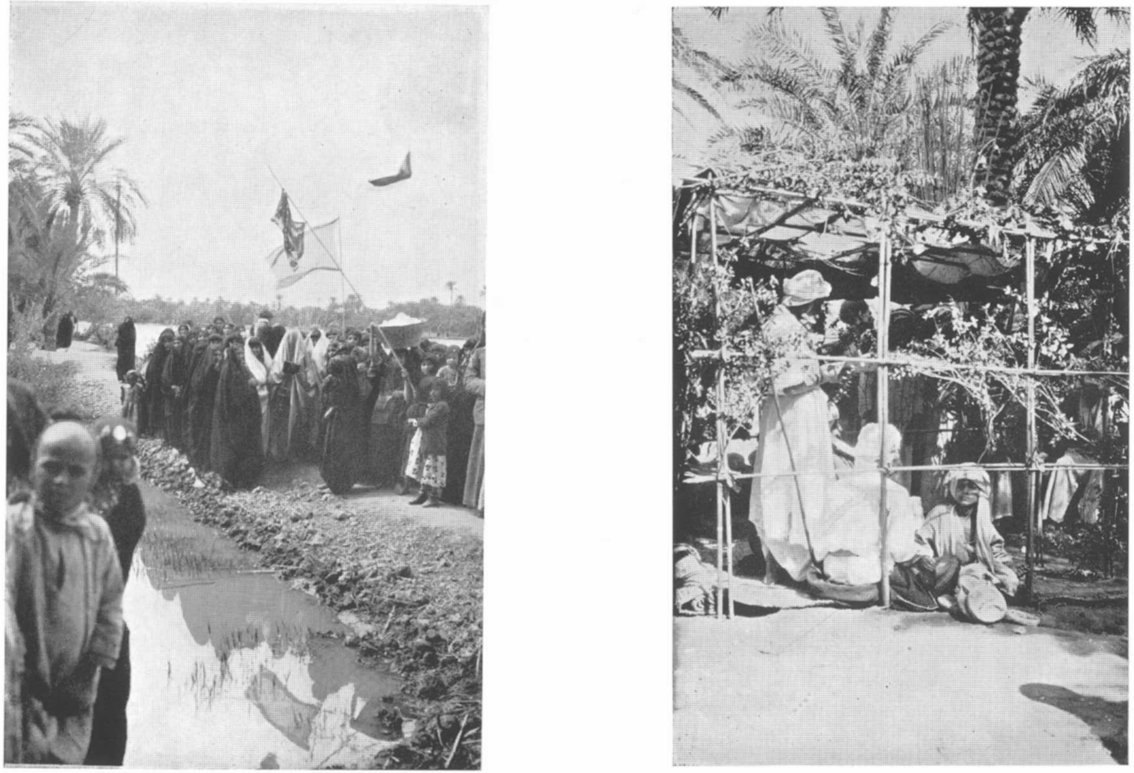
Her mother sat beside her, not relinquishing her chaperonage of the bride until the moment when the bridegroom came finally to claim his wife. Beside the two waiting women, to the north of the bridal bedding and canopy, was the tray of myrtle and greenery and flickering candles, and the water and lamp which protect the bride from the powers of darkness.

To return to the scene outside. In a corner of the courtyard, a reed hut had been set up for men guests, who were making merry with snapping fingers, *daff* (tambourine), and coffee, while a dancing boy, with womanish dress and long locks, danced, capered, and postured before them.

As I entered the courtyard, rose-water was sprinkled upon me, and fresh incense cast on the earthen brazier. A chair was set for me facing the *andiruna* so that I could witness the ceremonies. From this point of advantage I examined the *andiruna*, and saw that its floor was covered with grass matting (*ḥaṣīr*), and was told that a rug or carpet may be used provided it is entirely white, but that reed mats (*buwāri*) are never spread in the marriage hut because, a priest explained, 'the *bāriaḥ* (reed mat) is sacred'. Eight small *ṭoriani* (clay tables, see p. 106), not so big as the usual *ṭoriana* of the ritual, and decorated with scratched circles, or circles crossed, with a dot in each quarter, were put ready within the *andiruna*. These, they said, are especially made for weddings.  (See note 14, Chap. VI.)

The priests arrived—two priests, two *s̲h̲gandi*, and the *ganzibra*—bearing with them the ritual objects and apparatus necessary. Everything used must be first ceremonially washed in the river, and the ritual foods, presently enumerated in the description of the *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, must have been prepared by the priests before arrival. They were carried on a large *ṭoriana* enveloped in a *gdada*, a piece of white, new cotton-cloth about two *d̲h̲ras*[2] long; while a second *gdada* about the same size enveloped a spouted metal water-jar (*ibrīq*). The *ibrīq* must not be of

PLATE 6



a. The Wedding Procession. The bride

b. The rites inside the *andiruna*

MARRIAGE

clay, and was formerly, they say, of gold and silver; the copper is a substitute.

The two *shgandas* (acolytes, apprentice-priests) must be under the age of puberty and sons of a priest or head-priest (*ganzibra*). The first proceeding was that one of these brought a basket of the bride's clothes mixed with those of the bridegroom. The *shganda* knocked the basket three times against the side-posts of the entrance, whilst the *ganzibra* knocked his *margna* with it, but above it, pronouncing the blessing of the Life upon the pair. The basket was then taken back to the house.

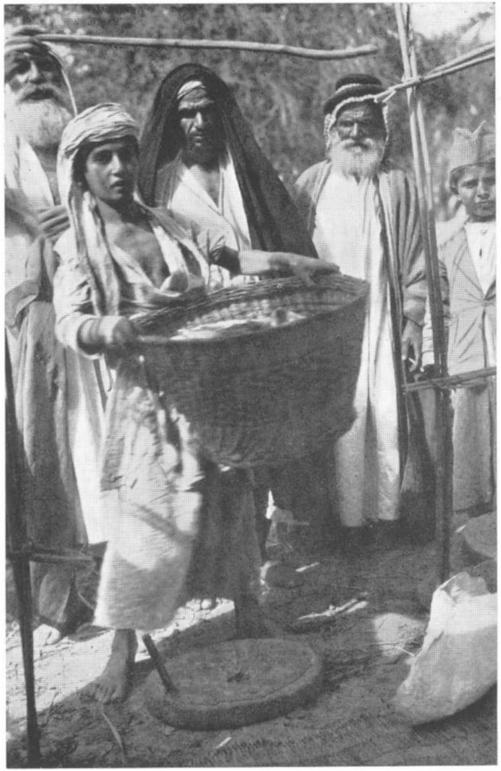
The priests took their stand to the right of the *andiruna*, facing the north, the *ganzibra* being on the extreme right. They consecrated their *rasta*, piece by piece, in the usual rapid gabble, whilst the bridegroom waited beside them. As soon as they had finished, the *ganzibra* inspected the *rasta* of the bridegroom to see that the girdle was properly tied, and every piece of the dress correct, and then invested him with the *skandola* (see pp. 36–38), placing the iron ring on the little finger of his right hand, and the iron knife through his girdle. The bridegroom must wear these day and night until his rebaptism and purification, a ceremony which the pair undergo one Sunday at least seven days after the first cohabitation. Until this purification, being unclean, he and his bride are peculiarly susceptible to the attacks of demons and liliths. The end of the *ganzibra's* stole (see p. 31) is placed in the bridegroom's right hand, while the *ganzibra* pronounces the words:

> 'The name of the Life and the name of Manda d Hiia are pronounced upon thee, O *qabin* Shishlam son of——.'

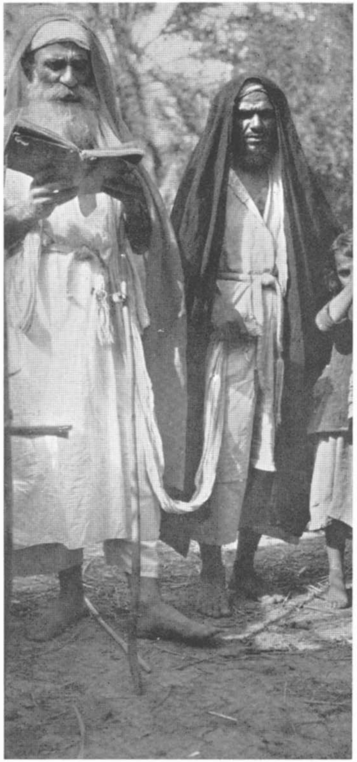
(The priests would not tell me the name of Shishlam's father until I had given my word not to reveal the name. There was, however, nothing mysterious about it, since it is one of the names of the Great Life.) *Qabin*, pronounced *qāvin*, with a broad Persian *a*, means 'bridegroom' and 'Shishlam Rba' is the arch-type of bridegrooms.[3] 'All *melki* and '*uthri*', they say, 'have female counterparts, or spouses, called *anani*', and the mystic union of the male and female principles of life are grossly reflected in human marriage.

A priest was sent by the *ganzibra* to the bride, to see that her *rasta* was in order, to ask her formally before witnesses if she were willing to marry the man, and to put on the little finger of each hand the two rings, one set with a red stone going on the right hand, and one set with a green stone going on the left hand, a custom recalling the use of green and red lights on the port and starboard of a ship. When the rings were on, the priest poured water over her hands from the *ibrīq*, gave her walnuts and raisins to eat, and water from the *ibrīq* to drink. Then, after an *asu**th**a havile**ch* and 'thy sins are forgiven thee', he rejoined the others at the *andiruna* and repeated what he had done.

At the threshold of the hut, the upper grindstone of a hand-mill had been placed. When the *ganzibra*, reading from his book (the prayer is given in Q., p. 357) reached the prayer *qal qala anat*, one of the *sh**gandas*, standing at his right hand, dashed down a clay pot (*tunga*) which he held ready, against the mill-stone.[4] The *ganzibra* finished the prayer, then, the bridegroom still holding the end of the stole, and the others following, all entered and took their places, sitting on the matting round the sides of the *andiruna*, the bridegroom on the left of the *ganzibra*. The eight small *ṭoriani* were now set out on the floor, and the big *ṭoriana* with the *ṭabu**th**a* or sacred food, wrapped in the *gdada*, was placed to the south of them, before the *ganzibra*. Each little clay table stood upon a clay ring (*kangana*). A basin was set beside the *ganzibra* who held his arms, bared to the elbow over it, while a priest poured water from the veiled *ibrīq* over them. The *ganzibra* then splashed water from the water-jar thrice all over the interior of the hut, repeating the formula he had pronounced earlier upon the bridegroom. The white cloth that covered the big *ṭoriana* was opened, and a little of each kind of sacred food placed on the smaller clay tables. The *ganzibra* sprinkled them also with salt and sesame. The salt is said to represent the strength and fertility of the bridegroom. Prayer and blessing were incessant.



a. Bringing the clothes: Ṣubbi wedding
(note grindstone at threshold)



b. Bridegroom holding ganzibra's
naṣifa (stole)

MARRIAGE

Twenty-six round flat loaves, a little smaller than the ordinary flat household loaves, having been brought in on a lustrated tray, a careful arrangement of them took place. The *ganzibra* placed three on each *ṭoriana*, but between one of the smaller clay tables and the big one he put two folded together. These loaves, called *faṭiri*, are baked by the bridegroom's family, while the *ganzibra* himself prepares the *ṣa* and brings it with the other sacred foods upon the big *ṭoriana* wrapped in the *gdada*. The *ṣa*, bread in the shape of and representing the phallus, is in scroll-form, so that scraps of the sacred food can be inserted into it.

The bride's deputy, known as the *ab* or father, entered the hut, like the others, over the broken potsherds, with the greeting *Sut̲h̲a nhuilk̲h̲un* ('Health be yours'), and seated himself with the others. The bridegroom was asked if he wished to marry the girl, and was solemnly exhorted by the *ganzibra* to cleanse himself of sin, the address beginning, 'O Mhattam, bar Mumani'. The girl's deputy, the *ab*, was next addressed by the *ganzibra*, who asked him, as if he were the girl, 'O S̲h̲arat pat̲h̲ Mudallal, do you accept Mhattam bar Mumani?' The question, in the case of the bridegroom put and answered twice, is asked of the *ab* three times, the inference being that the man is more anxious to marry than the girl. Relations of the contracting party sat near the door of the hut.

The Zidqa Brik̲h̲a for Marriage

The next step was the ritual meal for the dead, for the souls of departed relatives and ancestors are supposed to participate in rites which mean the continuance of their race, and to bless the young people. (Cf. the Zoroastrian invocation of *Fravas̲h̲is* at a wedding.)

The food brought by the priests was:

Walnuts.
Onions.
Sultana raisins.
Dates.
Long almonds (usually called *amuza*, but at weddings *s̲h̲ug̲h̲da*).

Fish, previously roasted upon a fire of lustrated reeds.

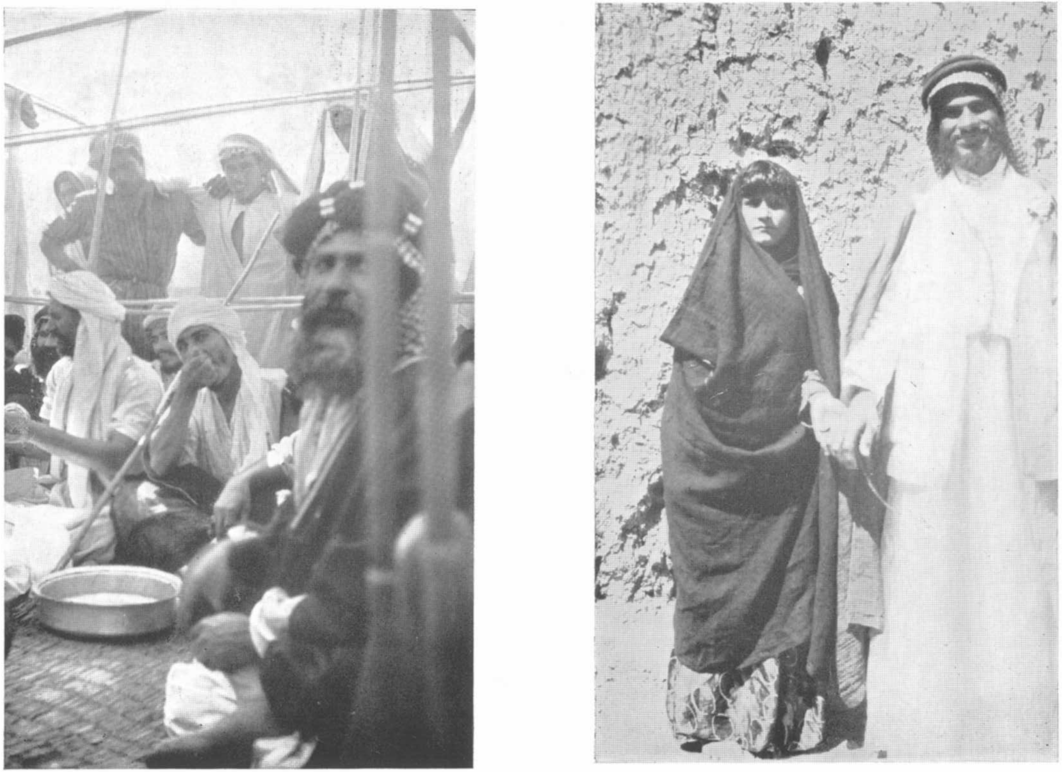
A *ṣa*, a small round thin flap of bread rolled up like a scroll (see above).

Salt.

A *qanina* (small glass bottle) full of *hamra*. The latter is water into which a few white raisins (or white grapes when in season), and dates have been placed and kneaded with the fingers. The result is a slightly browned fluid. The priest must prepare the *hamra* the same day, or it is useless.

Kepthas, small brass drinking-bowls, are also brought, and all the foods, together with the *qanina* and the bowls, are ranged around the larger *ṭoriana*.

The hand and arm of the bridegroom were purified by water poured from the water-jar. He sat with his wet arm extended. Into his hand the *ganzibra* put one end of the *ṣa*, holding the other end himself, and uttering the words, 'Say, "The name of the Life and the name of Manda d Hiia are pronounced upon me!" O *qabin* Shishlam!' Then the *ṣa* was broken between them into two portions, one for the bride and the other for the bridegroom, the *ganzibra* laying both on the big *ṭoriana* and pushing into each half of the scroll a tiny pinch of each of the sacred foods, a crumb of this, a seed of that, but several almonds and raisins. This done, he gave the bridegroom his half, stuffed with the sacred food, and loose almonds and raisins, and the bridegroom, putting it all into his mouth, ate it at a mouthful. It was the bride's turn next. The *ab* or bride's deputy, taking up the water-jar, spread a corner of the white cloth which covered it over the palm of his right hand, and received in it, so veiled, the bride's portion of the *ṣa* and holy foods. Both the *ab's* hands being full, the *ganzibra* was obliged to put the two loaves which had been placed earlier between the big *ṭoriana* and a smaller neighbour, underneath the former's right arm-pit. The *ab* then left the *andiruna*, and crossing the courtyard into the house he dropped the loaves at the threshold of the nuptial chamber before entering it. Going within, he bade the bride put her bared hand and arm outside the canopy, poured water over them from the jar, and gave her the



a. The bridegroom eating half the *ṣa* (*Zidqa Brikha*)

b. Bride and bridegroom after marriage. (Note the *skandola*)

MARRIAGE

other half *ṣa* to eat, reserving some raisins to be eaten after the rest, saying to her (this time in the role of the bridegroom), 'Eat this, and do not eat except from me'. The meaning of this phrase is that the bridegroom alone is henceforth responsible for his wife's keep, and also that he commands her fidelity.

As soon as the *ab* left the *andiruna*, those in the hut began to eat some of the food on the tables, a little being given to relatives outside. Dried petals and salt were thrown over the food. Whatever is left at the end of the ceremony is thrown into the river.

Various charming pieces of symbolism followed. In token of the wife's cleanliness, two young boys brought soap, a comb, and *s̲h̲nān* (an alkaline plant used for washing clothes called *ramit̲h̲* before preparation) to the *ganzibra*, who waved them thrice over the tables, saying, 'Lovely is thy perfume, O wholesome goodness!' (*hal ṭab*). Three pieces of silver were placed in the bridegroom's hand to bring him future prosperity, and, for the second time, a basket of clothes, male and female, belonging to the young couple was brought in, the bride's green veil, now at last discarded, being spread over the top. (Amongst the clothes there must also be a green dress, the gift of the bridegroom.) The basket was set down before the *ganzibra* and bridegroom, and the former prayed three prayers[5] over it. (If the bridegroom is a priest, nine prayers are read.) The green veil was removed and bound round the bridegroom's waist.

The latter then seated himself on a clay ring (*kangana*), with his back to the *ganzibra*, and was invested with the myrtle wreath. The bridal myrtle wreath is unlike the usual *klila* in that it is intertwisted with white threads from a girdle, and both bride and groom at the end of the ceremonies do not throw them into the river, as after baptism, but put them carefully away, and keep them always. Before the *ganzibra* placed the wreath upon the bridegroom's head, he smeared it with saffron, which he had mixed with a little water in the palm of his hand.

The *ab*, who had returned from the bride, sat on another *kangana* facing the bridegroom, so that while he, the representative of the bride, faced south, the bridegroom faced north. A white cloth was placed over the right hand of the bridegroom (who held the stole of the *ganzibra* with his left), and into his veiled right, the *ab* placed a *kept̲h̲a*. In his own right hand, veiled beneath the other end of the *gdada*, the *ab* held the small bottle of *hamra*, ready to pour into the bridegroom's bowl.

The *ganzibra* read the '*hamra* prayers', seven in number, and seven times during the reading bade the *ab* 'Give him to drink!' Each time the *ab* poured a little *hamra* into the bowl, and the bridegroom drank.

As soon as the *hamra* prayers were ended, the bystanders began to clap rhythmically, singing one of the marriage songs, *Ya talai ziwa*.[6]

The priests, the *ab*, and the bridegroom, the latter still holding the end of the *ganzibra's* stole, now left the hut and approached the threshold of the bridal chamber. Here the lower stone of the hand-mill had been placed, and a second clay pot was broken against it by the *s̲h̲ganda* before the party entered. The bridegroom seated himself on the floor against the muslin canopy, back to back with the bride.[7] After he had read some prayers, the *ganzibra* approached the pair and knocked the backs of their heads lightly together three times, while some of the spectators in the room, regardless of the prayers being recited, danced and sang or uttered joy-cries.

The bride's mother still sat with her daughter on the nuptial mattress.

The bride was next invested with her myrtle crown smeared with saffron, and then the *ab* with the *gdada* spread over his right hand and hers, gave the girl *hamra* to drink seven times.[8] Dried rose-petals, powdered sugar, and a few almonds were flung over the canopy, and incense scattered on the clay brazier, while the women renewed their joy-cries.

The *ganzibra*, his gaze fixed on his book, continued to read, or rather intone, some of the wedding songs from the Qulasta. Bystanders translated one for me, and as I have not the text, I must rely on their explanation. The bride in the song is supposed to be sitting in the shade of a palm-tree and fanning her lord. 'If he is asleep, I will not wake him!' it ends. These wedding songs are rhythmical, written in chanty form, and the language approaches the *raṭna*.

The *ganzibra* exhorted the bridegroom to protect his wife, not to leave her in want, and to rear their children in the true faith.

Then the bridegroom and priests left the nuptial chamber, the former still holding the *ganzibra's* stole, and re-entered the hut, where the final reading continued over the head of the bridegroom, who had resumed his uncomfortable seat on the clay ring. Finally, the *ganzibra* waved his *margna* three times over the head of the bridegroom (who from that moment became unclean, and relinquished his hold of the stole), and the wedding was over.

The bridegroom may not approach his wife until an hour astrologically propitious. The *ganzibra* makes calculations from the horoscopes of both, and should the resulting hour be inconvenient calculations are made for the following six hours.

The consummation of the marriage renders both 'untouchable' and the bride, like the woman in childbed, must stay apart. She may not issue from the house until both go out for their baptism, together with whatever utensils or dishes they may have touched. A *zidqa brik̲h̲a* must be performed in the name of the young pair as soon as their purification is complete.

Details and ritual vary slightly in all the weddings I have seen, but the above account describes all the main features essential to the ceremony.

NOTES ON CHAPTER V

1. A *paisaq* is a priest debarred from all priestly duties except that of performing marriage rites over women no longer virgin.

2. The *d̲h̲ra* is the length of the arm from elbow to finger-tips. For the use of the *gdada* compared to the Parsi *paiwand* see p. 39, note 2. In

general the *gdada* is a white cloth used to isolate pollution or protect from pollution.

3. *Shishlam Rba*. See note 2, Chap. III. His feast is a vegetation feast, connected with fertility rites. His spouse is Izlat.

4. Cf. the Jewish breaking of the nuptial cup.

5. *Prayers* (I give only the first line of each):—

For a layman: Manda qran, ʿsiria hathima’ (called the little ‘*Isiri hathimi*’), and ʿ*sirh hathimh* (called the big ‘*Isiri hathimi.*’).

For a priest:

Bshma d hiia bit mishqal ainia, &c.
Mishqal ainia, &c.
ʿ*siria yama*, &c.
Gimra ana gimira, &c.
Zha uʿthazha, &c.
Bshma d hiia kth ʿhablia, &c.
Bshma d hiia bʿusar hiia, &c.
ʿ*sirh hathimh*, &c.

6. This song is quoted in Q., p. 245.

7. At a Parsi wedding, a cloth curtain is held between bride and bridegroom. This custom is nearer the Mandaean than that of the Jewish canopy held over both bride and bridegroom.

8. The *hamra* (fruit juice and water) is an intensified fertility symbol. It is possible that the wine at the Cana marriage feast (John ii. 3–10) had a similar ritual meaning.

The Zoroastrians use wine at weddings. ‘An allusion to wine in the recital of the blessings of the marriage ceremony of the Âshivâd shows that the wine used in the old Parsee books was not the wine that intoxicated’. (JJM., p. 395).

VI

COSMOGONY, ASTROLOGY, AND HOLY-DAYS

In the Ginza there are no less than seven accounts of the Creation, viz. in Fragments 1, 2, 3, 10, 13, 15, and 18, and these are far from agreeing. The Supreme Being is named variously Malka d̲ Nhura (King of Light), Mara d̲ Rabut̲h̲a (Lord of Greatness), Mana Rba (The Great Soul)[1] from whom the First Life and then the Second Life proceed—in the fifteenth fragment the Great Life seems to precede the Mana, Pira Rba (the Great Fruit), &c. Whether these are epithets or separate conceptions is open to debate. In the fifteenth fragment the Life is shown in the World of Light and produces, first Water; from Water, Radiance (*Ziwa*); from Radiance, Light; and from Light, *'uthri*,[2] the spirits whose function it is to govern natural phenomena.

Similarly, there are assistants or agents in the work of Creation, Hibil Ziwa,[3] Abat̲h̲ur,[4] and Pt̲h̲ahil.[5] Their roles and characters vary. In Fragment 1 Gabriel is the sole agent. In 2, Hibil Ziwa forms the World of Light but Pt̲h̲ahil does the actual work of creating the physical universe. In 3 Pt̲h̲ahil is identified with Gabriel and makes the world with the help of the planets but cannot furnish man with a soul. Adakas Ziwa, or Adam Kasia, or Manda d̲ Hiia provide a soul for Adam. In 10 Pt̲h̲ahil is again the actual creator (here he is called 'son of Manda d̲ Hiia'), and Abat̲h̲ur fetches the soul (*mana kasia*) for Adam because Pt̲h̲ahil's creature cannot stand upright. In 13 (as in the Dīwan Abat̲h̲ur, which also has a creation story) Abat̲h̲ur orders Pt̲h̲ahil to create the world, but when the latter is unsuccessful, an appeal to Hibil Ziwa completes the task. Here Abat̲h̲ur and Hibil Ziwa are treated as separate beings. In Fragment 15 none of these personages appear (see above).

What modern Mandaeans make of this confusion will be seen in the Legends, pp. 251 ff. Present ideas will be seen to be equally confused, especially about Adam and his relations with his light-double, Adam Kasia.

Mandaean estimates as to the age of the world and world-periods are also contradictory. According to one account, the *melki* measured the existence of the world into epochs, or ages. 'From Adam to the end of the world is 480,000 years.' Each of these epochs is governed by a sign of the Zodiac. To Umbara, a period of twelve thousand years was assigned; to Taura, eleven thousand; to Ṣelmi (Ṣilmia), ten thousand, and so on.[6]

The Signs of the Zodiac and their numerical values are as follows:

Umbara (New Year), Lamb or Ram	1
Taura, Bull	2
Ṣilmia, Scales (Gemini)	3
Ṣarṭana, Crab	4
Aria, Lion	5
Shumbulta, Ear of Corn	6
Qaina, Reed	7
Arqba (pron. Arqwa), Scorpion	8
Haṭia, Mare	9
Gadia, Kid or Goat	10
Daula, Camel (or bucket?)	11
Nuna, Fish	12

Each day is governed by a planet. The day is divided into two parts of twelve, twelve day-hours and twelve night-hours. Certain *melki* also govern the days, and hence have a planetary character, for instance, Sunday, which is governed by Shamish, is also associated with the personified Habshaba,[7] First-Day-of-the-Week, a *malka* who is sometimes identified with other saviour-spirits. He

> 'takes purified souls in his ship to Awathur and to the World of Light. The gate of the World of Light is ajar on this day and Hoshaba (Habshaba) takes the souls by means of electricity into the midst of the world of light.'

I was told that 'Hoshaba' descends into Maṭaratha (Purgatories) on Sunday, returning with seven Mandaean souls to the world of light.

'The revolving wheels of light whirl more swiftly on this day, thus assisting the souls in their ascent.'

The story is based on the prayer for Sunday (Q., p. 184), *uqarqil shibqh*, &c., the *qarqil* taken as meaning revolution of a wheel.

Writings preserved by the priests enumerate the planetary aspects not only day by day but hour by hour, so that life may be conducted successfully. To quote from one:

> 'The Day of Habshaba. The First Hour is of Shamish. Favourable (*shapir*) for building a new house, going on the road, putting on a new garment, eating bread, approaching kings and governors, drinking wine, and buying and selling. The Second Hour is of Libat (Venus). Sit in thy own city. Favourable for being with thy wife, eating new bread, riding horses, visiting physicians,' &c.

Not every hour of Sunday is good, for instance, on the sixth hour of Sunday night a traveller is likely to fall amongst thieves; for Nirigh (Mars) governs this hour, although the general aspect of the day is sunny.

Monday (Trin Habshaba) is governed by Sin; Tuesday (Thlatha Habshaba) by Nirigh; Wednesday (Arba Habshaba) by 'Nbu; and Thursday (Hamsh̀a Habshaba) by Bil (Bel), also by Melka Ziwa 'from the morning of Thursday till Friday noon, when Liwet has power'. Friday (Yuma d Rahaṭia) is the day of Libat, and Yuma d Shafta or Saturday is the day of Kiwan. Friday afternoon and night are supposed to be unlucky and under the general influence of the King of Darkness.

Although, throughout the Ginza Rba, the planets are represented as being harmful to mankind, modern Mandaean conception and magic use attribute beneficence to some and maleficence to others.[8]

The sun, Shamish,[9] who, like other planetary spirits, rides across the firmament in his boat (see Figs. 2, 3 and 4 on pp. 77, 78 and 79) is friendly. That he is regarded as a power for good rather than evil is often apparent in Mandaean writings. Moreover, the Mandaeans have a solar year, solar numbers are sacred, and the sun disk is employed in the alphabet (see Chap. XIV). He seems to equate with

Yawar Ziwa, prayers to whom have a very solar character. Tradition assigns him a crew of ten light-*ʿut̲h̲ri*, though in the Diwan Abat̲h̲ur picture there are only four figures beside S̲h̲amis̲h̲ in the sun-boat. The names of the crew are differently given by Mandaeans, and I suspect that they were originally twelve and represented the twelve light-hours. A priest told me they were 'Zuhair and Zahrun, Buhair and Bahrun, Tar and Tarwan, Ar and Sivyan, Rawia and Talia'. A *ganzibra* was doubtful, but his list was, 'Sam Ziwa, Adonai bar S̲h̲amis̲h̲, Liwet (Libat) whose other names are Simat Hiia, Kanat Izlat, Anhar, Samra d̲ Izpar, and Gimra Bellur Dakia; Ruha and Samandriʿil'. Below, I quote a *yalufa* of learned priestly family. The light of S̲h̲amis̲h̲'s banner, he said, came from the four *ʿut̲h̲ri* of the Polar Star:

'From these four come the strength and light of S̲h̲amis̲h̲. Thus the sun gets its light and strength from Melka Ziwa. Just as a mirror reflects a face, it reflects Melka Ziwa. S̲h̲amis̲h̲ is lord of all the *melki* of the material world. The pure soul can hear the prayer of S̲h̲amis̲h̲. He prays thrice a day, 300 *but̲h̲a* in all, whilst the northern stars pray 12 *but̲h̲a* and the other stars seven daily.

'S̲h̲amis̲h̲ has with him ten spirits (*ʿut̲h̲ri*) of power and brightness. These ten *ʿut̲h̲ri* see what everyone in the world is about—nothing is hid from them. With S̲h̲amis̲h̲ in his boat are three others, one of the principle of darkness and two light *melki*, Sam Mana and Ismira (Smira). Were one to see clearly—and the Naṣorai are able to see thus sometimes—one would behold in the sun-boat the flaming *dravs̲h̲a* (*drabs̲h̲a*, banner), upon which are, as it were, three wheels of light. The *melka* of darkness who is with the sun is responsible for the evil sometimes done by the sun's rays. He is called Adonai. From his eyes dart rays which sear and burn, and his gaze causes "cupboards of air" (i.e. whirlwinds).

'But the flaming standard of S̲h̲amis̲h̲, his *dravs̲h̲a*, throws out beneficent rays and gives forth light and life and electricity. The *melka* of darkness sometimes succeeds in bringing something before the *dravs̲h̲a*, so causing an eclipse. Sam Mana and Ismira counteract the evil effects of the efforts of the Darkness.

'The ten *ʿut̲h̲ri* who are with the sun are called Zuhair, Zahrun, Buhair, Bahrun, Sar, Sarwan, Tar and Tarwan, Rabia and Talia. These ten do not work only with S̲h̲amis̲h̲ but they come to Sin.

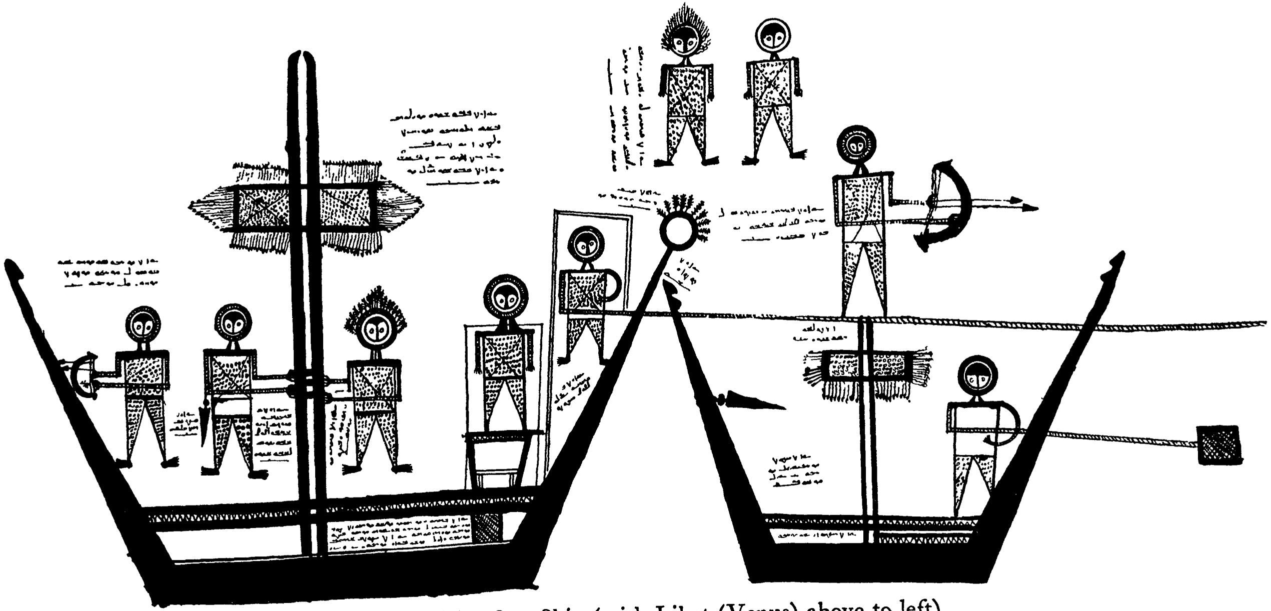


FIG. 2. The Sun-Ship (with Libat (Venus) above to left)

On the 14th night of the moon they are all with Sin. The light they give is the radiancy of Melka d Anhura, not of Melka Ziwa, whose light is like that of the sun above the horizon—the noonday. They come to him (Sin) gradually and leave him gradually, and when he is without them, Melka d Hshukha (King of Darkness) and the *shiviahi* have power to work them mischief.'

Contemporary drawing

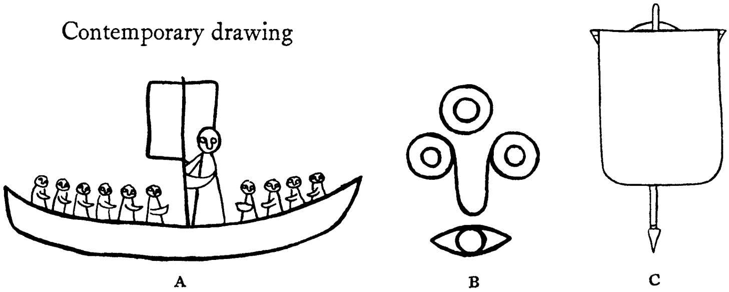


Fig. 3.

A. The crew of ten *'uthri* in the sun-boat

B. Light symbol in the *dravsha* (*drabsha*)

C. *Dravsha* (*drabsha*) of Shamish

Left-hand top: The ark or boat of Shamish, with the ten *'uthris*. Shamish holds the mast, or *dravsha* pole. Upon this banner, Hirmiz says, 'wheels of light appear'. See B. C represents the *dravsha* itself. *Drabsha* (plu. *drabshia*) means 'ray, beam', (something which streams forth?) and the Persian *drafsha* (a 'flag' or 'standard') may have become associated with the word by the Mandaeans.

Shaikh Dukhayil, describing the sun-boat, said that the *dravsha* was 'flaming like *letrik* wires'. He continued 'the light of the sun comes from the *drafsha* and is of Alma d Anhura. At the end of the world, the planet will be burnt up with the rest of the material world. The heat and cold (!) of the sun are of the Darkness. The sun lights four of the seven worlds, the other three being illuminated by the world of light.'

'Shamish has a female aspect, not a spouse, but a *dmutha* (complement, likeness). She is the mother of all the *melki*, is in likeness female rather than male, and, in my thought, the sun is in this form (i.e. a female form) of Malka Ziwa's power, and the universe proceeds from her. Her name is Simat Hiia (pronounced Haiy or Héi), Treasure of Life.' (See p. 27.)

The moon (Sin) appears to be regarded as a sinister influence. The informant quoted above says:

'The face of Sin, the Moon, is like a cat, animal-like and black, whilst the face of Shamish is like a wheel of light' (he drew a swastika). 'With Sin in the moon-ship is the King of Darkness also. He (Melka d Hshukha) pulls men towards the earthly and gross, towards the dark and evil. He does this because he must, though he was created by and serves God, for there must be darkness and light and day and night. He is ordered to this by the Lord of Greatness, who has a myriad names and created all beings, visible and invisible, of the created worlds.

'The light-*melki* in the moon prevent Sin and the King of Darkness from bemusing the children of men. Under the influence of those two, men do deeds of madness and shame that they would not wish to perform by day; and without the counteracting influence of the ten, men's moral sense would disappear. But Melka d Hshukha cannot harm a man who rules himself and has a firm faith. A man must not doubt: his faith and his purity must be strong, for then he sees *melki* and can communicate with Shamish. He must not say "I fear there are not", he must say, "There are!" If a man says, "There is no God, no spirits", he is entirely in the power of the King of Darkness and it is harmful even to sit with such a one.'

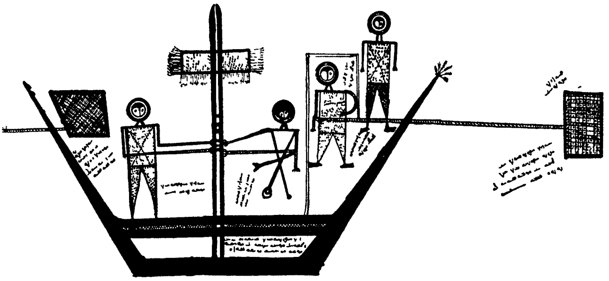


FIG. 4. The Moon-Ship

The distorted figure on the right of the mast is Sin

In the Diwan Abathur the stern of the moon-boat is decorated with leafy twigs (see above, Fig. 4), but Sin, who is considered responsible for abortions and deformities (see Legend XIII), is a malformed figure.

Venus, Libat, or Dilbat, is more favourably regarded. The form of the name is curious. The Sumero-Babylonian form Dil-bat had, Pallis suggests (*Mandaean Studies*, p. 36), long been obsolete at the period when the Mandaean scriptures were collected. He thinks that scribes, copying from earlier documents, took *d* for the genitive particle and omitted it as unnecessary. In the Ginza (GR. 447) occurs a passage describing a *maṭarta* in which are found those who go into the house of Tammuz (Adonis), sit there twenty-eight days, slaughter sheep, mix bowls and make cakes, 'mourning in the house of Dilbat'. Other references in the Ginza are to 'Dlibat'.

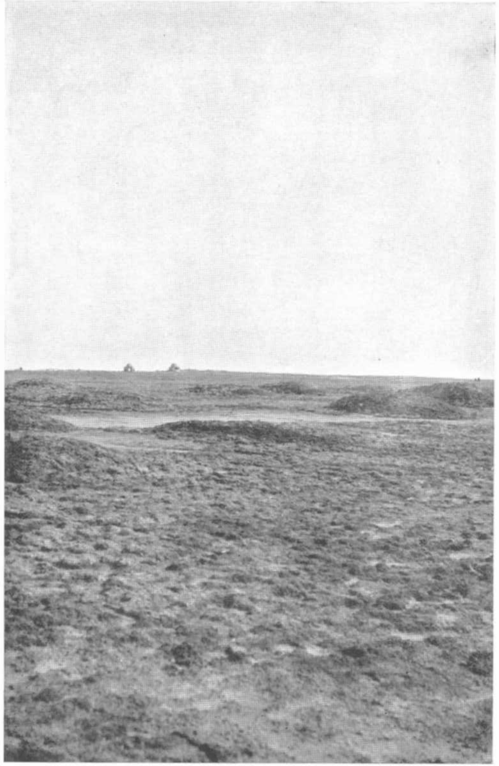
The small planetary boat directly behind that of S̲h̲amis̲h̲ in the Diwan Abat̲h̲ur illustrations is said to belong to Libat, and one of the figures above it is labelled, 'This is the likeness of Libat: "Sitting-on-the-mountain-of-S̲h̲amis̲h̲" is her name: seven names she has'. Libat is often invoked in sorcery. Her peculiar function is either to help in matters of love and generation or to give information about the unknown. Owing to her association with Zahriʿil, spouse of Hibil Ziwa and protectress of women in child-birth, she is far from being regarded with aversion. A *yalufa* said:

> 'Those who wish to consult Liwet, take an *istikān* (tea-glass) and reverse it upon a slab of marble. Two people place their fingers upon the glass, one of them being a person who converses with the other world. Letters are placed round in a circle and the glass in the middle, and the glass moves about and touches letters, spelling out answers to questions put to it. This is called *ʿilm Liwet.*
>
> 'Liwet controls inventions. The *melka* of this planet is female and beautiful. I have heard that there are people who put a boy or a virgin outside the town on Sundays in a place set apart for her veneration, and she descends into the boy or girl and instructs them so that they give information about many matters.' (See also Legend XII.)

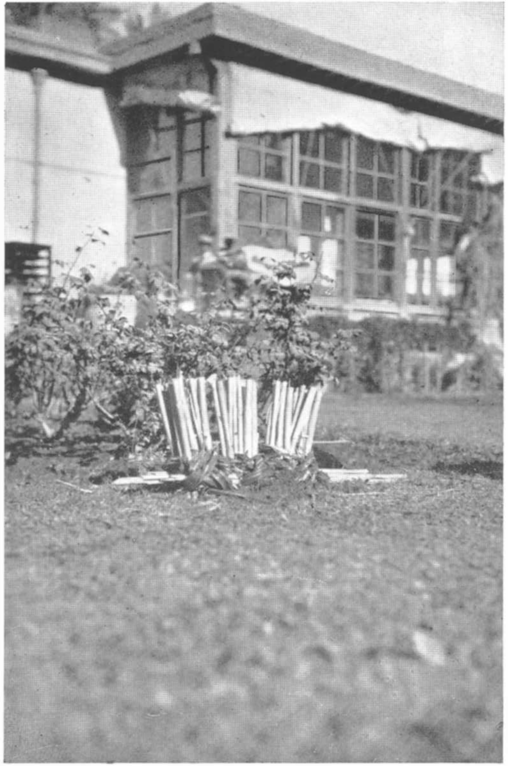
Magic dealings with her are frowned on by orthodoxy, but it was a priest who had copied a Libat incantation in my possession. The goddess is asked 'to make refulgent and beautiful my face' so that the supplicant and his beloved may 'glow with desire', 'their hearts are clothed with love', 'glowing love and blind and glowing desire' is kindled in them. 'They shall not eat or drink until they possess each other.'

Mars (Nirig̲h̲) is the 'Lord of Clouds and Thunder,

PLATE 9



a. Rapidly disappearing Mandaean graves
(the domes in the distance are Moslem)



b. Mandelta built by a priest in the author's garden

who makes rain and draws, together with S̲h̲amis̲h̲, water from earth and sky'. The name is derived from Nirg-al the Babylonian deity.[10] Pallis (*Mandaean Studies*, p. 36) suggests that the scribes suppressed the *al* or *el* as this suffix is usually given to beings of divine origin. Mandaeans, perhaps on account of his warlike and quarrelsome character, look on him as the protector of Islam.

Jupiter (Bil or Bel) is rarely mentioned except in exorcisms of disease-demons, such as the Pis̲h̲ra d̲ Ainia. It is probable that his functions were gradually absorbed by such beings as Yawar Ziwa, Hibil Ziwa, and Malka Ziwa.

Mercury ('Nbu, Enwo), 'lord of writing and books', 'lord of wisdom and knowledge', and Saturn (Kiwan), appear little in magic except in exorcism rolls. *Qmahia* written in 'Nbu's name cure madness.

Every hour and every month has also its Zodiacal *burj* or house, the day being divided, as is said above, into two parts of twelve, twelve light hours and twelve dark hours. This brings me to the question of names, which are based on the numerical value of the signs of the Zodiac as given on page 74. Every Mandaean has two names, his Malwas̲h̲a, or Zodiacal name, and his *laqab* or worldly name. The latter is usually a Muhammadan name and is used for all lay purposes, the former is his real and spiritual name and is used on all religious and magic occasions. This spiritual name is linked with that of the mother instead of the father, suggesting some period at which paternity was attributed to some ancestor on the female side, or a god. The religious name is of great importance, for if a man is drowned or burnt and the body not found, a man as like him in circumstance as possible, and bearing a name falling under the same astrological influences, must impersonate him at the reading of the *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, a ritual meal which atones for the lack of death rites and burial. A person chosen as sponsor for a child unable to reply for itself at baptism should have astrological conditions similar to those of the child, and his name will, therefore, fall into the same category of names.

Malwas̲h̲a names have each an arbitrary numerical value. Letters themselves have no numerical value as in Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, according to the priests, who keep lists of these names and suggest one to the parents when their calculations have been made. The names are not always drawn from religious characters or from the holy books and amongst Malwasẖa appellations are such names as Yasman (Jessamine). I confess that I have been unable to discover why these names are selected, or why they have numerical values.

When an infant is to be named, the priest takes the Zodiacal sign of the month in which its birth occurred, counts from it round the Zodiacal circle, and calculates from it the sign of the hour. The sign of the day does not matter. From the numerical value which results, they subtract the value of the mother's name.

For instance, a male child is born at 11 a.m. in Awwal Giṭa, 1935, on February 4th. His mother's name is S̲h̲arat (numerical value 2). The sign for Awwal Giṭa is Aria. Starting at Aria on the circle but not counting it in, eleven hours gives us Ṣarṭana (numerical value 4). Two (for the mother's name) deducted from four, leaves two. The name selected for the child, therefore, is Zahrun, one of the names with a numerical value of two. Thus the infant's full Malwas̲h̲a is Zahrun bar S̲h̲arat, which adds up to four, the number of the Zodiacal sign Ṣarṭana.

For all astrological information the priests consult the astrological codex Sfar Malwas̲h̲a, the 'Book of the Zodiac'. Mandaeans say that Hibil Ziwa gave Adam Pag̲h̲ra the Sfar Malwas̲h̲a so that he might be able to foresee coming events in its pages.

Foreknowledge of coming events is claimed, not only by the priests who scan omens in the sky, clouds, birds, and interpret such events as eclipses (a recent eclipse was said to be 'blood on the moon' and a portent of war or massacre), but as a natural gift of clairvoyance peculiar to some priestly families. My old friend Hirmiz bar Anhar claims that both he and his wife (a cousin) have this hereditary gift, and has given me several instances of second sight and premonition in their family.

Most of the leading events in a Mandaean's life are decided by recourse to the priests, who tell him the astrologically auspicious day on which to marry, or send his child to school, undertake a new enterprise, or set out on a journey. In cases of illness, cures and herbs fall under the influence of certain planets and certain signs of the Zodiac, and a man should take only the medicament or cure which belongs to the sign under which he fell ill, i.e. the hour he sickened. In general the Ṣubba refuse to drink any medicine, even when they have gone to a European doctor, though they have faith in ointments and do not object to subcutaneous injections. The community presents problems to the health authorities. During a recent cholera epidemic a Government order forbad people to drink anything but chlorinated water from the town supply. It was impossible to enforce this order as far as the Ṣubba were concerned, for the only water that they regard as 'living' is water from the *yardna*, i.e. from a running river or spring, and water boiled or chlorinated has lost its 'life', so they will not drink it.

If a man falls sick on the 21st day of any month he has little hope of recovery, for that is a day on which the *s̲h̲iviahia* (i.e. spirits of evil, see p. 254) have power. The 15th of a month is also inauspicious, and many Ṣubba wear a special *qmaha* called 'S̲h̲alhafta ḏ Mahra' (DC. 17) to protect them against sickness on this day. A Ṣubbi told me that on these two days

> 'it is better for a man to remain in his house and not to undertake any business. Clothes should not be bought, no journey should be begun and it is dangerous to embark either on a ship or a new enterprise. Should a man fall sick on either of these two days, he is likely to die unless his nose bleeds. If this happens, he will recover; but it must bleed of itself, and not be induced artificially. He must keep pure, for purification protects a man: it makes him white and clothes him in light so that the *s̲h̲iviahi* cannot approach him.'

The Mandaean year[11] is divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days named Parwanaia (pronounced sometimes Paranoia), or Panja, which fall between the 30th day of S̲h̲umbulta and the 1st day of

Qaina. These twelve months are redivided into four seasonal divisions: Sitwa (winter), Abhar (spring), Giṭa (Geyṭa) (summer), and Paiz (summer) which have lost connexion with the actual seasonal changes of hot and cold weather.

Each season is subdivided into three: First, Middle, and Last (Awwal, Miṣai, and Ak̲h̲ir or K̲h̲ir). The twelve months are given other names also: Nisan, Ayar, Siwan, &c., but these do not correspond in season to their Jewish or Turkish namesakes.

1st month	Awwal Sitwa (or S̲h̲etwa)	Qam Daula	S̲h̲abat
2nd ,,	Miṣai Sitwa	Qam Nuna	Adar
3rd ,,	Ak̲h̲ir Sitwa	Qam Umbara (Ambra)	Nisan
4th ,,	Awwal Abhar	Qam Taura	Ayar
5th ,,	Miṣai Abhar	Qam Ṣilmia	Siwan
6th ,,	Ak̲h̲ir Abhar	Qam Ṣarṭana	Tammuz
7th ,,	Awwal Giṭa	Qam Arya	Ab
8th ,,	Miṣai Giṭa	Qam S̲h̲umbulta	Ellul
9th ,,	Ak̲h̲ir Giṭa	Qam Qaina	Tis̲h̲rin
10th ,,	Awwal Paiz	Qam Arqba	Mas̲h̲rwan
11th ,,	Miṣai Paiz	Qam Haṭia	Kanun
12th ,,	Ak̲h̲ir Paiz	Qam Gadia	Ṭabit (Ṭabit̲h̲)

Each year is named after the day with which it began, e.g. the Year of Habs̲h̲aba, the Year of Sunday; or Year of Rahaṭia, Year of Friday. For instance, I write on January 29th, 1935, which, according to Mandaeans, is the 25th of Ṣarṭana or Tammuz, in the Ak̲h̲ir Abhar, the sixth month of the year of Arba Habs̲h̲aba, which is almost as if one said, ‘the 25th of the Crab or August in the last of Spring, the 6th month of the year of Wednesday’. It will be seen that the calendar is a somewhat confusing subject.

The New Year's Day of the present Mandaean year, therefore, fell on August 8th, 1935, in the midst of the summer heat, Qam Daula the First of Winter. Dislocation in times and seasons is apparent, the reason being obviously that the calendar does not make allowance for the quarter day which has to be included to make the solar year correspond with the seasons.[12]

The name given to the New Year's Feast is Dihba Rba (Dehwa Rabba). Lidzbarski thinks the word *dihba* had an original meaning of 'slaughter', but Mandaean priests derive the words from *dahba* (*zahba*) 'gold', since slaughter is forbidden on most feast days, but particularly at the New Year. The Mandaeans also use the Persian 'Nauruz Rba' and this is the name given to the solemn festival in Alf Trisar Shiala. New Year's Eve is called 'Kanshia uZahla'.[13] On this day sheep and chickens are slaughtered to provide a store of food, bread is cooked and brought into the house, *kleycha* (small festival cakes marked with a cross)[14] are prepared, dates and vegetables receive careful ablution and are stored within doors where they can suffer no pollution, and water is drawn in pots enough for thirty-six hours and covered in the house. All day, till evening (*paina ḏ Dihba Rba*), the priests baptize the faithful. Cattle and poultry must be shut up before sunset and entrusted to the care of Gentile neighbours or servants, for, during the ensuing thirty-six hours they may not be touched or milked by a Mandaean. Five minutes before the sun disappears, every man, woman, and child performs the *ṭamasha* (threefold ritual immersion) and the women raise joy-cries. Then all retire into the house, where they must remain without going outside, no matter for what purpose, for the next thirty-six hours, i.e. the night before the New Year, the first day of the New Year, called the Day-of-Lacking, and the night which follows it. Laxer spirits go out of the house to attend to a call of nature, but priests say that this is highly dangerous and arrangements are made within the house for the time. Vigil must be kept during the whole thirty-six hours: not an eye must be closed, though the sleep of children is excused because not preventable. On New Year's Day, or The-Day-of-Lacking, no religious ceremony can take place. If a man chances to die during the thirty-six hours, he may not be buried. He is washed with water from the household store and clothed with his death-*rasta*, and when he has breathed his last he is covered with a white cloth and left as he is, until the dawn of the second day of the New Year, when he can be buried with the usual ceremonies. It is considered a disaster for the soul of the dead to have passed at such a time, and when Parwanaia (or Panja) comes, *zidqa brikha* and *masiqta* must be performed over a substitute (see Chap. XII).

During this vigil the priests are not idle. They consult the Sfar Malwasha and make predictions about the New Year, its good or bad weather, its chances of disaster or good fortune. Laymen keep themselves awake by playing games and reciting stories. If a beast, bird, reptile, or large insect (such as a hornet) touches food or drink it cannot be consumed; and if a person is touched by beaat, bird, reptile, large insect, or Gentile, he is seriously polluted and must purify himself later by baptisms. Should he be bitten by a dog or reptile, or stung by a bee or hornet, he incurs sixty baptisms. Flies, mosquitoes, fleas, and lice are not, however, counted, as they are regarded as unavoidable and natural conditions. It is possible that in earlier times there were regulations about these lesser evils, for I was told that the extremely pious sometimes retired for the period into a reed-hut covered entirely by mosquito-netting (see Book II, XIV).

The reason given for these precautions against pollution is this: New Year's Day commemorates the Creation, for Mana Rba Kabira, the Great Mana, the Lord of Greatness, completed his work of creation on this day. Therefore, all the spirits of light, wherever they may be, leave their posts and go to visit him and pay their compliments. Abathur 'closes his door', Nidbai and Shilmai forsake their guardianship of the running waters; Hibil, Shitil, and 'Anush depart; the dwellers in Mshunia Kushṭa with Adam Kasia at their head and their guardian spirit Shishlam Rba (the *dmutha* of Hibil Ziwa)—all rise into the infinite worlds of light. Swiftly as these creatures of light move, the long journey takes them twelve hours. They reach their goal at the dawn of the New Year and spend that day in the bliss of contemplating perfection. The journey back covers the next night.

But what of the world thus left undefended? The powers of evil and death are unrestrained. Even the waters of river or spring are dangerous and must not be approached or touched. If a man but dips his hand into the river, he is 'cursed with the curse of S̲h̲is̲h̲lam Rba'. Trees, usually magically beneficent, become harmful. People wrap matting round trees growing in their compounds lest children should touch them inadvertently. In short, Mandaeans take care to protect themselves from pollution because if pollution endangered them physically and spiritually while the *naṭri* or guardian spirits were present, it has thousandfold power to harm them during their absence.

On the second day of the year all the Mandaeans come out, visit each other, feast, and make merry. The first visit is to the *ganzibra*, who tells them the portents for the year. Individual forecasts of good or bad fortune may be obtained from the priests,[15] and if unfavourable the inquirer is advised to order the writing of a *qmaha* or *zrazta*. It is a time of rejoicing, but no baptisms, slaughterings, or any other religious ceremony except funerals—and these must be supplemented at Panja as said above—may be performed until the fourteenth day and the night which follows it are over. (The Mandaeans count the twenty-four hours of a day and night as beginning at dawn, i.e. Tuesday is followed by Tuesday night: 'the night of Tuesday' to an Arab, on the contrary, means the night *preceding* Tuesday.)

The 6th day of the first month is called Nauruz Zoṭa or Little New Year, and this, and the 7th day, are called the Dehva d̲ S̲h̲is̲h̲lam Rba, or, in one of the holy books, the Dihba d̲ S̲h̲us̲h̲ian. The night between these two days is called 'the night of power', and then, if a man is pious, the Gate of Abat̲h̲ur is opened to him in a vision and he obtains whatever he may ask. As, however, if he is really pious he does not ask worldly favours but freedom from sin and spiritual gifts, the result is not immediately seen. All lights and fires must be extinguished for this feast and food is distributed to the poor. The Mandaean priests visit their flocks and hang on the lintel of every house a wreath of willow and myrtle, which remains there till the next year and is thought to protect the inmates from harm. For this service the priests receive a small fee. At the hanging, they recite this prayer:

> *Bs̱ẖma ḏ hiia rbia nhar gufnia bgu mia uʿtqaiam kabiria byardna nig̱ẖdia anatun rauzia s̱ẖganda lhaḵẖa aiṯẖilḵẖun yahbinalḵẖun ʿl ʿuṯẖria sag̱ẖia gadlilḵẖun umaṯẖnalḵẖun bbab ḏ hilbunia kṯẖ asa ḏ marba yanqia gadlilḵẖun umaṯẖnalḵẖun alma lkimṣat almia braḵẖinun yardnia sag̱ẖia braḵẖtinḵẖun maṣbuta ḏ labaṭla mn ris̱ẖ bris̱ẖ.*

As I doubt the correctness of this text, which a priest wrote from memory, I prefer not to venture a translation. Priests say that the wreaths thus hung up secure the blessings of fertility and good health.[16]

On the 15th of the month Mandaeans are allowed to slaughter and are permitted to eat meat. It is a cheerful feast, but the 22nd is an unlucky day, and no enterprise should be undertaken or religious ceremony performed, for it is *mbaṭṭal* (useless, inauspicious). If a man dies on a *mbaṭṭal* day, a *zidqa briḵẖa* must be performed for him on his substitute at Panja. The 25th day of the next month, Nuna, is also *mbaṭṭal.* The month of Umbara has no particular feast or day of ill-omen. The first four days of Taura are *mbaṭṭal.* The 18th of Taura is the Dehwa Hnina, or Little Feast, sometimes called the Dehwa (Dihba) Ṭurma. In 1932 and 1935 this feast fell on November 23rd and presumably in 1933, but I did not then note it down. The feast lasts for three days and baptisms should take place and the dead be remembered by *lofani* or ritual meals for the dead. Dehwa Hnina celebrates the return of Hibil Ziwa from the underworlds to the worlds of light. This feast seems a curious repetition of the death or incarceration with subsequent return or resurrection motives of the New Year Feast, and later of the Panja festival. I suggest that the reason may be that all three were once New Year feasts, and fell at the spring of the year. The root-ideas of the mourning and rejoicing at this season are found at a very early date both in Babylonia and Persia. The priests assure me that Panja (which certainly corresponds to the neo-Babylonian New Year's feast in the month of Nisan) has fallen, from time immemorial, at the season of the melting of the snows and the consequent rising of the rivers. But they seem ignorant of any method of correcting the calendar by such a system as that of the intercalary month after each 120 years employed by the Old Persians (Al-Bīrūnī, p. 12), although one priest told me that in the past, when priests were wiser, such corrections had taken place. One thing is certain: the most important feast of the Mandaean year at present is, not the so-called Great Feast at the so-called New Year, but the spring-feast of Panja, which I shall presently describe.

I was invited lately to a Mandaean house for the feast of Dehwa Hnina. Contrary to religious precept, the women wore jewellery and were clad in silken raiment of bright hue. One or two of them danced to the clicking of fingers and rhythmical clapping of hands and the singing of dirge-like wedding songs in Persian.

In the month of Ṣilmia there is no day of note. In Ṣarṭana the first day is called Ashuriyah, which commemorates the drowning of the Egyptians who perished in the Red Sea (see Book II, p. 265).[17] Special *lofanis* are eaten for the Egyptians who are considered to have been Mandaeans. The 9th, 15th, and 23rd days of this month are *mbaṭṭal*. Qam Aria is a good month and lucky for those born in it, but it is forbidden to marry during that month. The last five days of Shumbulta[18] (the Ear of Corn, Virgo) are *mbaṭṭal*, for they are dedicated to the five lords of the underworld, Shdum, Hagh and his consort Magh, Gaf and his consort Gafan, Zartai-Zartani, and Krun, the Mountain-of-Flesh. These five *mbaṭṭal* days, given over to the Darkness, necessitate the reconsecration of the *manda*, or cult-hut, during the five ensuing days of light. These are the five intercalary days of Parwanaia, or Panja, the happiest time of the whole year, during which the great baptismal river feast is held. It falls at the time when the river is swollen by melting snows from the north, i.e.

during the first warm days of spring. In 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935 Panja fell on April 5th but in 1936 it fell on April 4th. Each of the five days is dedicated to a spirit of light and, as the doors of the world of light are open during Panja by night as well as by day, prayers may be offered at night. On other nights of the year no prayer may be said after sunset. One night during Panja is an especial night of grace, like the night of Dehwa d̲ S̲h̲is̲h̲lam Rba, and any right petition made to the lords of light will be granted.

Panja is a religious festival rather than a season of carnival, and Ṣubba who live far from a priest travel long distances in order to be baptized as many times as their means allow, and join in the *lofani*s, *zidqa brik̲h̲a*s, and *duk̲h̲rana*s for the dead. The dead, assembling at the sacred meals and summoned by the mention of their names in the ritual, are refreshed by the spiritual double of the foods, and bless the living. The uneasy souls of those delayed upon the road to the worlds of light because they died an unclean death, or on a *mbaṭṭal* day, or without the proper death-ceremonies and clothing, are represented by proxies at the ceremonies of *ahaba d̲ mania* and others, and clothed, purified, and sustained are furthered on their way through the *maṭarat̲h̲a*. Families save up to pay the fees necessary for these ceremonies; indeed, they regard the barriers between them and their dead relatives, back to distant ancestors and the spirits of light who begot them, as down during the five days of holiness. The soul of a person who dies during this period, when it emerges from the tomb on the third day, passes without hindrance through the *maṭarat̲h̲a*, and the costly death-*masiqta* is not necessary for such a one. Hence relatives of a person dangerously ill long that he should die at this time, and I have noted that in a small hamlet three persons died of different diseases in one year at this season. No doubt, if a person is dangerously ill, a baptism in the river might be expected to produce the desired result. The patient himself is anxious to leave the world at this season, for no demons or wild beasts (*zangoyi*) will have power to harm his soul on its journey, and it accomplishes the long and difficult journey to the Gate of Abathur in a single day.

During Panja every true believer should dress completely in white (this is not observed strictly), and should either wear sandals woven of grass or go barefoot. The latter is usually the custom, though priests tell me that in ancient times it was considered a sin to walk barefoot on the earth, and that the real object of the injunction was that worshippers of the Life should not wear upon their feet the skins of dead animals.[19] No meat may be eaten except the flesh of sheep sacrificed in the ritual meals for the dead. Before its end, the consecration of the *manda* involves the sacrifice of a sheep and a dove, described in a later chapter. This feast brings in much revenue to the priests.

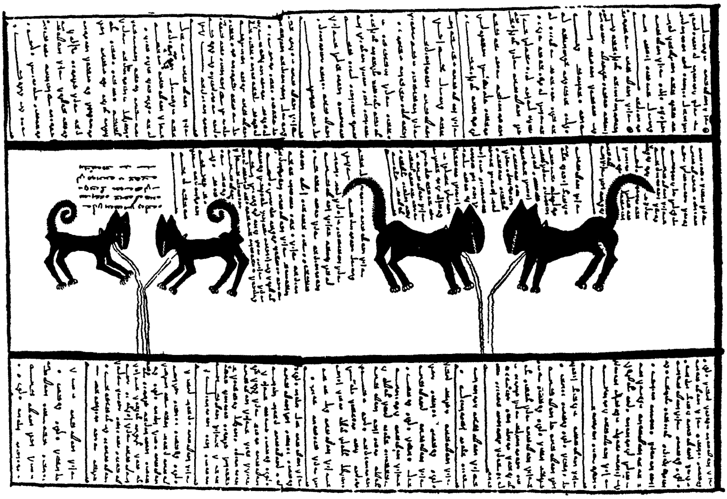


FIG. 5. The *Zanghaiia*

The next feast, which falls ninety days after Panja, on the first of the month Haṭia, is the Dehwa Daimana (Dihba Daima).[20] This feast celebrates the baptism of Adam, and pious Mandaeans should be baptized like their ancestor. As Daimana now falls in the summer, it is a favourite occasion for the baptism of young children. At this feast, a person baptized in a new *rasta* acquires merit for sixty baptisms. On the day following, it is forbidden to slaughter animals.

Abstention from animal food is the only form of Mandaean fasting. Mandaeans have told me that they observe the Moslem 'Arafāt as a fast, but it is not prescribed by their holy books. All Moslem festivals are *mbaṭṭal* days for Mandaeans.

In the last month of the year, Gadia, or Ṭabiṯẖ, the three days before Kans̱ẖia uZahla at the end of the month are *mbaṭṭal.*[21]

Before leaving this question of calendar it is interesting to compare Petermann's record. In 1854 he notes that Awwal Giṭa was on February 23rd, Awwal Paiz on May 28th, Awwal Sitwa on August 26th, and Awwal Abhar on November 24th. There is, therefore, a difference of nineteen days between the Awwal Giṭa of 1854 and that of 1935, and the feasts are travelling slowly backwards. If Panja is to be kept at the flood-time a correction must be made before another eighty years shall have elapsed, or the feast will fall before the flood-time during the bitter cold.

Perhaps it is worth mentioning that a *ganzibra* told me that the length of the year is based on the time that a child takes to mature in its mother's womb (which period he estimated as nine months, nine days, nine hours, nine minutes, nine seconds and a half!) together with the forty-five days of her purification, plus the 'time that the seed was in the loins of the father'. This is a typically Mandaean speculation, but I have not yet traced it in any of the holy books.

The history of Man on earth is divided by the Mandaeans into four epochs. At the end of each, mankind was destroyed with the exception of one human couple. From the creation of Adam and Eve to the destruction of the race by 'sword and plague' was a period of 216,000 years. One pair, named Ram and Rud (Sky and River), survived disaster. Just as in the case of the first pair (see Legend I, Book II), a union took place between the male survivor and the light-double of his spouse to ensure the continuance of the Mandaean race, whilst the rest of mankind proceeded from the ordinary union of the pair. After 156,000 years a second disaster resulted in the perishing of the human family through fire. A second pair survived, S̲h̲urbai and S̲h̲arhabi'il (the word *s̲h̲urbai* seems to mean a spreading out, or propagation—root *s̲h̲rb*, 'to spread out'). The processes of reproduction of Mandaeans and Gentiles were repeated in the case of each successive couple. A hundred thousand years later the Flood again obliterated the human race with the exception of Nuh and his wife Nhurait̲h̲a or Nurait̲h̲a. (The word *nuh* comes from a root meaning 'the calming of tempest' and *nhurait̲h̲a* has, of course, a 'light' meaning.)

There is to be a fourth destruction of the world in the 791st year of the sign of the Fish (Nuna). This will be by 'wind' or 'air'. Some Mandaeans gaze at the aeroplanes which fly over their heads in modern Iraq, and ask themselves if the destruction of man will come about in that manner. My silversmith friend, Hirmiz, interprets, 'men will poison the air and so die', which may reflect coffee-house talk about poison gas.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VI

1. *Mana Rba,* sometimes Mana Rba Kabira, the Great Mana. There is a difference of opinion as to the meaning of Mana. Hoffmann and Pallis incline to the meaning of 'garment', identifying it with the baptismal garment. Brandt (BDM.) says, 'usually means "vessel" or "instrument"'. Nöldeke (N. xxxii) assumes it to be a word of Iranian origin, 'das ich etwa mit "Geist" (oder noch besser mit "Intelligenz") übersetzen möchte'.

Cf. the Vedic *Manas* or *Mana* meaning 'mind', 'thinker', or 'soul', with *Vohu Mana,* the Good Mind and *Akem Mana,* or Negation Mind—the two aspects of Ahura Mazda which produced the real and intellectual worlds. Macdonell in his *Vedic Mythology* (Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde) says (p. 166 f.) that the Vedas divided the animating principle into *asu* 'spirit', expressing physical vitality, even of animals, and *manas,* 'soul', as the seat of thought and emotion, which already in the Rig Veda (8, 89 v.) seems to be regarded as dwelling in the heart (*hṛd*).

A Mandaean priest gives four meanings for the word *mana.* (*a*) the soul, (*b*) a dove, (*c*) a garment, (*d*) a house. Cf. the Persian *man* for house.

2. *'Uthria and Malkia* ('Uthri and Melki). These are semi-divinities who carry out the will of the Great Life. All are subordinate to the Creator, whose first manifestation they were.

The word *malka* means 'king', not 'angel', and Lidzbarski translates it thus. Though the functions of the *malka* resemble those of the Hebrew *malāk* and Arab *malāk* (messenger, angel), the Mandaeans use the word *malakh* to denote an evil spirit.

The apocryphal Book of Enoch shows a conception of heavenly beings not remote from the Mandaean, inasmuch as the angels are there said to have power as regents over such natural phenomena as clouds and constellations. In Mandaean literature these intermediaries between the dark and material earth and a world of light too pure and ethereal for immediate contact with such grossness seem to be personifications of abstract qualities and principles, or of the physical powers of Nature.

They resemble the *Yazatas* of the Avesta, for there were *Yazatas* of the spiritual world and *Yazatas* of the physical world who 'preside over grand physical objects of Nature' (JJM., p. 481).

Josephus (vol. iv, p. 154) mentions that the Essenes imparted the names of angels to initiates, together with other mysteries. 'He' (the proselyte) 'swears to communicate their doctrines to no one in any other way than as he received them himself and that he will abstain from robbery, and will equally preserve the books belonging to their sect and the names of the angels.'

It is a sin for a Mandaean to reveal the names of the *malkia* to a Gentile, and when a name of a *malka* has been given me, my informant has sometimes added, 'They' (his fellow-Ṣubba) 'will be angry if they know I have given you secret names.'

In the colloquial Arabic of Iraq the word *melek* is sometimes used for 'evil spirit' or *jinni*. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the Yazīdī Malak Ṭāwūs or Peacock Angel (the Prince of Darkness) has a namesake in the Drasha d Yahia, where Ṭausa is the name given to a *malka* who bewails that he has sinned against the Great Life and allowed his pride to lead him into rebellion.

The Mandaean word *malka* is used of both good and evil spirits, whereas the word '*uthra* is used only for beneficent beings.

In general, '*uthria* (sing. '*uthra*) designate life-giving and life-sustaining spirits. It is akin to the Syriac ܥܬܪ 'to be rich, abounding', but I see no reason why '*uthra* should therefore be translated 'wealth', nor can I agree with Lidzbarski's suggestion (in ''Uthra and Malakha', pp. 537–45)that the word was chosen to avoid confusion with the Jewish and Moslem names for 'angel'. His explanation seems weak.

I prefer to derive it from its figurative sense of 'full-to-flowing-over' and suspect that the Mandaean verb *nthr* 'to shed, to overflow' has a remote root relationship: i.e. *a(n)thr*. Professor W. Robertson Smith in his *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 98–100, mentions a South Arabian god named Athtar who presided over irrigation, and says that '*athari* meant what was watered by the sky and the fountains (Ba'al's land). Here is an original root-meaning of an overflowing of the waters of heaven on to the earth, and this, with the Mandaeans, would have a divine character as living water coming from the House of Life. Thus *'uthri* may have been originally life-spirits bringing fertility and wealth in the shape of rain and springs. In barren lands which only blossom when spring rain falls such messengers would indeed be 'bringers of life'. The fact that consorts of *malkia* and *'uthria* are called *anania* (clouds) and *nituftatha* (drops) lends colour to this conception. I suggest that the term *'uthra* was originally applied to water-spirits rather than light-spirits and that the term took on a wider meaning by degrees. (Cf. the Arabic name for the Pleiades, *thurayya,* diminutive of *thirwa* (wealth), where the old meaning lingers in the belief, mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī (p. 343), that the constellation was looked upon as a rain-giver.

3. *Hibil Ziwa.* Mandaean priests translate the name as 'Light-Giver'. Hibil Ziwa is easily the most 'popular' of the spirits of light. In legend he appears oftener than Manda d Hiia. He must not be confused with Hibil, Adam's son. Adam's family suggests a sentence 'Adam Hibil Shitil Annush', 'Man gave progeny to Mankind'.

4. *Abathur.* Mandaeans explain that there are two Abathurs, one Abathur Muzania, the *malka* of the North Star (who has four *malkia* or *uthria* with him) and the other Abathur Rama, an epithet for Hibil Ziwa. This is to explain contradictory passages in the Ginza, Diwan Abathur, and elsewhere, for Hibil Ziwa, sometimes identified with Abathur, is occasionally represented as talking to Abathur. Abathur Muzania presides over the scales in which the human soul is weighed. See below, note on Pthahil. The Parsis believe that the soul is weighed after the passage over Chinvat Bridge by Meher Davar—Meher the Judge. In the Yasna it is Vohu Manah (Good Mind) who weighs the deeds of men at the Judgement.

5. *Pthahil.* Lidzbarski connects this demiurge with the Egyptian Ptaḥ (JB., p. xxviii). Brandt (BDM., pp. 50 ff.) points out that the figure of Pthahil is contradictory and appears both as demon and divinity. In modern belief, Pthahil rules the *shiviahia* (see p. 254), receives the newly arrived souls of the dead, and starts them on their journey through the realms of purification, ending at the scales of Abathur Muzania. If the soul weighed in these scales passes the test, it crosses in a boat to the realms of light, where it meets other purified souls and its own *dmutha* or over-soul. The Chinese also believe in the weighing of the soul, its sojourn in purgatory, and journey in a boat to Paradise, so that the resemblance to the Egyptian Book of the Dead has little bearing on the question of the identification of Pthahil with Ptaḥ, though the Egyptian god certainly plays a part in the destiny of the soul after death.

In Mandaean literature, Pthahil is depicted (1) as creator, or partial creator, (2) as rebellious to the world of light, but later repentant and reconciled. He is the son of Hibil Ziwa (Abathur) by Zahari'il, a female spirit of the underworld. H. b. A. comments: 'Pthahil, son of Hiwel Ziwa and Zahariél, is a son of both Darkness and Light. He is the *melka* who rules the lesser stars.'

6. *World-Periods.* Shahristānī and other Arab authors mention the theories of the Harranian Ṣabians concerning these. Chwolson says (vol. i, p. 765): 'Diese Lehre ist durchaus nicht blos den Harraniern eigenthümlich, sondern sie wurde auch von Indern, Babyloniern, Aegyptern, von verschiedenen philosophischen Secten in Griechenland, und vielleicht schon in sehr alter Zeit von den Griechen überhaupt gelehrt. . . . Nach Colebrooke glauben die Inder ebenfalls an verschiedene Welterneuerungen, die sie *Kalpas* nennen, und sie meinen, dass am Ende der *Maha juga*—welche die vollkommende Umwälzung aller Gestirne zu einer gewissen Conjunction der Sonne, des Mondes und der Planeten herbeiführen soll—Siva sich mit Wishnu verbinden und die Welt durch einen Feuerwind verbrennen werde, allein so, dass bei dieser Zerstörung die Samen aller Dinge in den Lotus, in die Gebärmutter der Bhawani, aufgenommen werden, woraus eine neue Welt entstehen werde.'

The time assigned to each Kalpa is 36,000 years. Al-Bīrūnī (p. 17) says, 'For the Persians and Magians think that the duration of the world is 12,000 years, corresponding to the number of the signs of the Zodiac and of the months'.

7. *Habshaba.* Literally, 'the-first-of-the-week'. In the spoken Syriac of the Assyrians the word is pronounced as in Mandaean—Hoshabba. The personified Sunday is often mentioned in Mandaean literature. In Legend XXVIII, 'Hirmiz Shah', Hoshaba seems to be identified with Yukabar Ziwa (Yukhawar Ziwa). Mandaeans, like the worshippers of Christ and Mithra, give especial honour to the day of the Sun; the Mithra religion because this planet was the centre of their life and fertility cult, the Christians, according to their tradition, because Jesus is said to have risen from the dead on a Sunday, and because the rising sun symbolized resurrection. The belief that the sun setting in the West was associated with death and its rising in the East with rebirth or resurrection is a belief found all over the globe. The Mandaeans probably inherited their tradition from the Iranians. The Ginza speaks slightingly of the Christian observance of Sunday (GR., 2nd book), 'On Sunday they keep their hands still', with the implication that they themselves do not consider it a day of rest like the Christians, or regard it as the Jews do the Sabbath. Baptisms and religious exercises are enjoined, but otherwise, Sunday is an auspicious day for business.

8. *The Planets.* Under the Magian system, Professor Moulton remarks, the planets were creatures of Ahriman, and evil. 'Whether they were really so', he continues, 'in the pure Iranian Mazdaism may be doubted, for they were named after the Yazdatas—Jupiter was Ormazd, Venus Anahit, &c.' (*Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, p. 133).

9. Parallels are numerous between Mandaean ideas and cults and those of the Mithraic, Sampsaean, and Magian religions, in which the sun, its personifications, heroes, and symbols, were associated with the divine principle of life.

10. Nergal (*nirg-al*) was originally a solar deity, like Shamash and

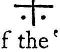
Marduk, and was the god of war, pestilence, and destruction; also a god of the dead and associated with the goddess Allatu of the underworld.

11. Modern Parsis, like the Magians (see Al-Bīrūnī), reckon twelve months of thirty days with five annual uncounted additional days (Gatha days). The Babylonians divided the year into twelve astronomical periods of thirty days with five and a quarter additional days (see Winckler's *Himmels- und Weltenbild der Babylonier*, p. 17). See Al-Bīrūnī for various contemporary calendars and arrangements for the intercalary days.

12. The Parsis, since their emigration to India (according to Al-Bīrūnī since the coming of Islam), have ceased to regard proper intercalation. See JJM. p. 458.

13. See Legend XV.

14. These cakes are also used at festivals by Moslems, Jews, and Christians in Iraq. Shī'as eat them in spring and the three sacred months with prayers 'for the dead', the names of dead relations and ancestors being mentioned. This ceremonial eating they call the '*thuwāb*'. The *kleycha* eaten by the Shī'as is sweetened and spiced and sometimes has a little meat in it. In shape it is round and marked with a cross (they call it 'quartered') with a dot in each quarter . This quartered circle with four dots is sometimes scratched on the clay tables used at the wedding ritual meal of the Mandaeans. The sign is pre-Christian. It was found stamped on the shoulder of a vase from Tabus by Sarre and Herzfeld (Abb. 388, Keramische Stempel). Sarre writes: 'Runde einfache gemusterte Stempel kommen schon auf spätantiken Gefässen vor, und so scheint der primitive Stempel auf einem aus Ṭābūs stammenden Scherben (Taf. CXLII, Nr. 2a) nichts mit dem christlichen Kreuz zu tun zu haben' (*Arch. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, v. Friedrich Sarre und Ernst Herzfeld, Bd. iv, Berlin, 1920, p. 11).

The sign  is often used in tattooing. Miss W. Smeaton found a policeman of the 'Uzairij tribe from Amarah marked thus on both temples 'because his mother kept losing children and she wanted to preserve his life'. It is also employed as a cure for head-pains.

15. The ritual tablets of the sky-god Anu at Uruk (Warka) (Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, pp. 129 ff.) describe how, in the month Nisan (April), the New Year in Babylonian reckoning, the priest rose before sunrise, washed himself in river water, put on a clean garment, and prayed to Bel. At the New Year the gods paid ceremonial visits to each other.

During the Assyro-Babylonian period the New Year's Festival in the month of Nisan seems associated with the *akitu* festival so learnedly discussed by Professor Pallis in his *The Babylonian Akitu Festival*. Just as the Mandaean priests work out the destinies of nations and private individuals for the year, the 'tablets of destinies' were consulted by Babylonian priests at the New Year. The Mandaean period of incarceration is reminiscent of Tammuz's incarceration below the ground, his subsequent resurrection, and the return of fertility to the earth in spring. It is probable, as explained on pp. 88–89, that the Mandaean New Year was originally a spring festival.

Al-Bīrūnī notes that the Persian Nauroz has receded from its original proper place, 'so that in our time it coincides with the sun's entering the sign of Aries, which is the beginning of spring'. He wrote in the tenth century A.D.

'On the 6th of Farwardan, the day K͟hurdâd͟h is the great Nauroz, for the Persians a feast of great importance. On this day—they say—God finished the creation, for it is the last of the six days' (i.e. the intercalary days, which the Mandaeans, too, place in the spring. E.S.D.) 'mentioned above. On this God created Saturn, therefore its most lucky hours are those of Saturn. On the same day—they say—the *Sors Zarathustrae* came to hold communion with God and Kaik͟husrau ascended into the air. On the same day the happy lots are distributed among the people of the earth' (*The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 201, Sachau's trans.).

16. This hanging of garlands on the houses recalls the Yazīdī spring festival, when garlands are hung on the houses by the *qawwāls*. This feast takes place, however, in Nīsān, the spring month, and in other respects, such as ritual meals for the dead, it seems akin to the Parwanaia (Panja) feast of the Mandaeans.

17. Al-Bīrūnī, p. 328, mentions that the Jews kept the 10th day of Muḥarram (ʿAs͟hūrā) holy because 'on this day God drowned Pharaoh'.

18. Here, again, is a suggestion of the incarceration of Tammuz (see note 15). Modern Parsis, like the Magians, observe the last five days of the year as holy.

'The first of these 10 days are known as the Panj-i-keh, i.e., the lesser five days; and the second five, which are the Gât͟ha Gahambar intercalary days, as the Panj-i-meh, i.e., the greater five days. The latter are held in higher veneration than the first five' (JJM., pp. 468–9).

'The last five days of the month (i.e. Âbân-Mâh) the first of which is As͟htâd͟h, are called Farwardajân. During this time people put food in the halls of the dead and drink on the roofs of the houses, believing that the spirits of the dead during these days come out from the places of their reward or punishment, that they go to the dishes laid out for them, imbibe their strength, and suck their taste. They fumigate their house with juniper, that the dead may enjoy its smell. The spirits of the pious men dwell among their families, children and relations, and occupy themselves with their affairs, although invisible to them. Regarding these days there has been among the Persians a controversy. According to some, they are the last five days of the month Ābân, according to others they are the Andergâh, i.e. the five Epagomenae which are added between Ābân and Ādhârmâh. When the controversy and dispute increased, they adopted all (ten) days in order to establish the matter on a firm basis, as this is one of the chief institutes of their religion, and because they wished to be careful, since they were unable to ascertain the reals facts of the case. So they called the first five days the first Farwardajân; and the following five days the second

Farwardajân; the latter, however, is more important than the former.' (Al-Bīrūnī, p. 210.)

Modern Parsis, like the Magians, carry on during the five last days of the year and the five intercalary days which precede the New Year, a special cult of the dead, as do the Nestorian Christians of Iraq, who eat ritual meals (*dukhranas*) for dead relations, ancestors, and saints at Easter. The Yazīdī spring feast in April is accompanied by ritual meals for the dead, including the killing of a lamb. 'On the eve preceding the spring feast each Yazīdī kills a lamb or buys meat, in order to "give it to the dead", and at break of day youths and maidens set off over the hills to make nosegays of wild flowers. Each house is decorated with garlands. Then the women take the food they have prepared and visit the graves of their dead, accompanied by *qawwāls* playing drums, pipes, and cymbals. The food, which is afterwards given to the poor, is placed on the graves, while the priests chant hymns, and the women do not forget to make the customary offerings to the priests. The visit to the cemetery over, the day is passed in merriment and feasting' (Stevens, *By Tigris and Euphrates*, p. 185). For an account of the Mandaean and Parsi meals for the dead see Chapters XI, XII, and XIII. For Shī'a eating of cakes for the dead at Nau-Roz, see note 14 of this chapter.

It is not my purpose here to go into similar beliefs and customs of the Japanese and Chinese, which include the ritual meals and visits of ancestors and dead to their former relations, cleansing of the houses, and so forth. It appears likely that this cult of the dead at spring-time spread along the road taken by the silk-merchants.

19. The conception might be Iranian. Cf. Sir Jīvanjī Jamshedjī Modi's article on Darab Hormazdyar's Rivâyat in No. 23 of the publications of the *K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* (Bombay, 1932), p. 195 'When one walks barefooted, he commits for every step (gam) a *tanâfur* sin up to three steps. When he takes a fourth step, the sin is *tanâvîrî*. The above sins apply even if one foot has a shoe and the other not.... For the first step that a man walks barefoot, the milk of 100 cows and sheep and camels gets diminished; for the 3rd step that of 300 cows and sheep and for the 4th step that of all the cows and sheep and quadrupeds of all the seven continents (keshvar) of the world gets diminished.' Modi explains that the reason is that the foot may come into contact with defiling matter. Mandaean priests are barefoot during prayer and ritual. In their houses they stand on matting for religious exercises.

20. This feast, 90 days after Panja, corresponds to the first of Khurram-Roz, which the Persians in Al-Bīrūnī's time called Nuwad-Roz—'Ninety-Days', because there were 90 days between it and Nauroz. This furnishes further proof that the Mandaean Panja at one time preceded the New Year, like the Magian Panja or Fanja. The GR., rt. side, Bk. iii, frag. 2, refers to walking barefoot as a sin.

21. For the Kanshia u Zahla (i.e. sweeping and cleansing) cf. Anquetil du Perron's description of the Parsis at Surat during Fravardegân: 'The houses are purified and decorated. They do not go out of the house.'

VII

BAPTISM

THE central rite of the Mandaean cult is immersion in water, which is regarded not only as a symbol of Life, but to a certain degree as life itself. A Mandaean priest said to me one day, 'The earth is like a woman and the sky like a man, for it makes the earth fecund', and this idea is repeated several times in Alf Trisar S͟hiala and the Tafsir Pag͟hra. Here rain is regarded as semen. The belief that water contains a fluid capable of fertilizing, not only the earth, but occasionally women, appears in the story of the conception of John the Baptist: 'Anos͟h 'Ut͟hra gave Inos͟hvey water from the *yardna* to drink and she became pregnant'; and, 'now Zak͟haria and Inos͟hvey were old and it happened that she drank water and became pregnant of the water', two versions of the same legend given me by two different priests. The idea is not peculiar to the Mandaeans. There is a legend amongst the Moslems that, after the martyrdom of Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj, his sister filled a water-pot at the river. 'Her brother's soul hid in the jar', and when she drank the water, she became pregnant, giving birth to a son nine months later.[1]

Hence immersion in water is immersion in a life-fluid, and gives physical well-being, protection against the powers of death, and promise of everlasting life to the soul.[2]

Its second quality is purificatory. Just as it washes away filth, infection, and impurity from the body, it washes away sin and impurity from the soul.[3]

Water, which reflects the light, is considered a form of light (see Chap. I, note 4). A freshly baptized person is 'clothed in light'. The conception that the firmament is filled with a fluid light and that water is a grosser form of it appears in the doctrine of the planetary boats.

Water, however, is not composed entirely of magic and life-giving fluid. Only one part in nine is of the spiritualized vitalizing water, the rest is *tahma*, a lifeless fluid which eventually passes out into the bitter waters of the sea, whereas the living water performs its life-giving task, or is drawn up to heaven to pass again into the heavenly *yardna*, the Fras͟h Ziwa, or Light Euphrates.

> 'The water of this world is divided into nine *mit͟hkal*; eight of earthly water, and one of water of life to strengthen the body of man. It is only the earthly part of water and bread which passes out of the human body as excrement and urine, the heavenly part remains in it to give it life.' (A *ganzibra.*)[4]

Ritual ablution, that is, ablution carried out with certain actions and prayers, is a ceremony which, as it were, brings all the properties of this heavenly water into action and makes the recipient capable of benefiting by them.

These conceptions are of the greatest antiquity, and argue continuity of idea and tradition. To the Mandaean, the waters of the Karun, Tigris, Euphrates, or Zab are of equal sanctity, because all contain this magic infusion of *mia hiia* 'living water', or, as one might call it, Water of Life.

Mandaean ceremonial ablution is of three kinds.[5] The first is called the *ris͟hama.* For this, the assistance of a priest is not required; each man is his own priest, and every Mandaean child learns the prayers recited for it.[6] It should be performed daily, and with covered head, just before sunrise; after evacuation of the bowels (preceded by washing with a purificatory prayer); and before all religious ceremonies; in short, it corresponds in many ways to the Moslem *tawaḍḍuʿ*, especially the more rigorous ablutions of the Ḥanafī sect.

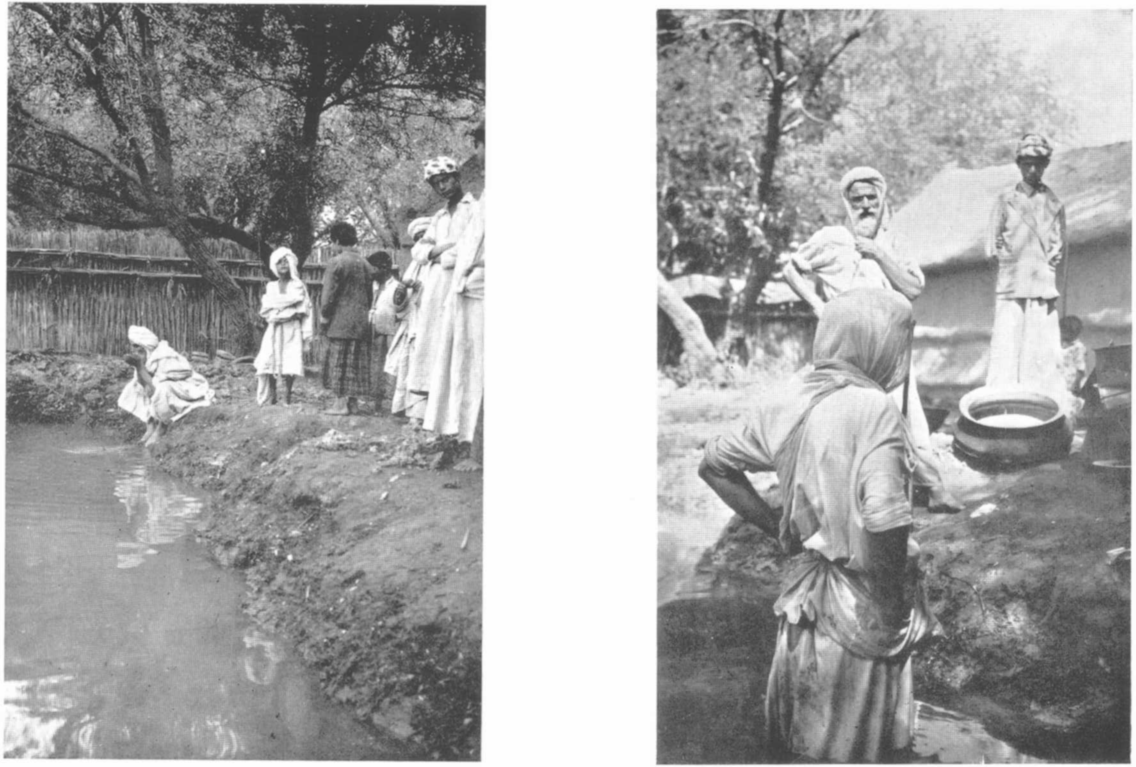
The second kind of ablution is a triple complete immersion in the river, also performed without the ministrations of a priest. This is called the *ṭamas͟ha.* It must be performed by a woman after menstruation[7] and after childbirth,[8] though in the latter case it must be supplemented later by a full baptism. It must be performed after touching a dead body,[9] after coition,[10] after nocturnal pollution,[11] or any serious defilement or contact with a defiled person, as impurity is contagious, and a man touching an unclean person becomes himself unclean. In the case of coition, this ablution must be performed immediately, by both man and woman; in the case of death immediately after burial of the body; in the case of childbirth as soon as the woman can walk—in fact, as soon as possible.

The third ablution is the *maṣbuta*, pronounced *maṣwetta*, which, for the sake of shortness, in spite of the incorrectness of the term, I will call 'full baptism'. This includes, and *cannot be divorced from*, the sacraments of oil, bread, and water, the hand-grasp and kiss called 'giving *Kus̲h̲ṭa*', and the final blessing by laying the right hand of the priest on the head of the baptized person. This 'full baptism' is performed by the priest and should take place every Sunday, after major defilements (marriage, birth, touching the dead, illness, after a journey, &c.), after such sins as uttering falsehoods, talking low talk, after violent quarrels, or, in fact, any deed of which a man is ashamed. As a Mandaean said to me, 'After bad words, a man says to himself, "It would be better if I seek baptism" ' (Arabic *astabag̲h̲*).[12] The major sins, theft, murder, and adultery, demand more than one baptism. In general, 'the oftener one is baptized the better', say the priests, but baptism only takes place on Sunday, and at certain feasts, especially the five intercalary days of Panja, and, as a matter of fact, in these degenerate days many lay Mandaeans keep their *rastas* folded during the cold weather, excusing this by saying, 'we once lived where there were springs which were hot in winter and cold in summer, and *maṣwetta* was easy then'.

I will describe the first ablution, the *ris̲h̲ama*, in detail.[13] As the Mandaean approaches the river, he says: (pronunciation) '*Ibrak̲h̲ yardna rba ad meya héi*' (I bless the great *yardna* of Living Water), or '*Bis̲h̲meyhun ad héi rbi asūt̲h̲a u zakūt̲h̲a nhvīlak̲h̲ ya ab abūhun Melka Piriawīs yardna rba ad maiy héi*' (In the name of the Great Life, healing and purity are thine, my Father, their Father, Melka Piriawis, Great *Yardna* of Living Water). He must tie his belt before he reaches the water.

He then stoops and washes his hands, saying, '*Bis̲h̲meyhun*

PLATE 10



a. Rishama or minor ablution (figure on left)

b. Preliminary prayer in the *yardna.* Candidate (bearded) on bank

BAPTISM

ad héi rbi hallilin ʿidan bkūshṭa av ʿusfan bi haimanūtha mallalin bmalāla ad zīwa wa ushi ṭibbun bʿuṣri ad anhūra’ (In the name of the Great Life, purify my hands in righteousness and my lips in faith. Let them utter the speech of the Light and make my ablutions good (potent) by thoughts of Light).

He washes his face three times, taking water in his hands and saying, ‘*Ibrekh ushmakh mshabba ushmakh marey Manda-ṭ-Héi ibrekh mshabba hakh parṣufa rba ad ʿiqara ad mn nafshi aprash*’ (I bless thy name, praised is thy name, my lord Manda d Hiia I bless! Be praised that great Countenance of Splendour which of itself was manifest).

He next takes water in his hand and signs himself from ear to ear across the forehead from right to left, saying, ‘*Ana Aplan bar Aplanétha arshamna brushma ad héi ushma ad héi wushma Manda-ṭ-héi madkhar illey* (I, N. son of N. —his mother's *malwasha* name—sign myself with the sign of the Life. The name of the Life and the name of Manda d Hiia are pronounced upon me).

Next, three times, he dips two fingers in the river and cleanses his ears, saying, “*Udney shama qala ad Héi!*’ (May my ears hear the voice of the Life).

Taking water into his palm, he snuffs it three times up into his nose, repeating each time, ‘*Anhiri irrah riha d héi!*’ ((May) my nostrils smell the perfume of the Life).

He then washes the lower part of his body, saying, ‘*Rushma illawey la hwa bnura u la hwa ib misha wa la hwa bamshīha rushmey amshey rushmey byardna rba ad méi héi ad ʿunish bheyli la amṣay ushma ad héi wushma ad Manda-ṭ-héi madkhar illi*’ (My sign it is not with fire [a polemic reference to Magians], nor with oil [*Misha*= ‘oil’ or ‘Moses’, hence, a reference to Jews], nor with anointing [*mshiha*=‘anointing’ or ‘Christ’, a reference to Christians], my sign is in the great *yardna* of living water, which a man cannot attain by his strength [alone]. The Name of Life and the name of Manda d Hiia are mentioned upon me’).

Next, taking water into his mouth from his palm, he rinses it out three times, saying, '*Pumey butha tushbihtha imla*' (May my mouth be filled with a prayer of praise). The ejected water is spat to the left.

He washes his knees three times, with the words '*Burkey ad mabrikha u saghdi lhéi rbi*' (May my knees bless and worship the Great Life).

Washing the legs three times: '*Laghrey ad midrīkha durki ad kūshṭa uhaimanūtha*' (May my legs follow the ways of right and faith).

He dabbles his fingers in the river, his hands together and the palms downwards, saying, '*Ana aṣvina bmaṣwetta ad Bahram Rba bar rurbi maṣwetti tinâṭrai utisaq lrésh ushma ad héi ushma ad Mandā-ṭ-Héi madkhar illi*' (I have baptized myself with the baptism of the great Bahram, son of the mighty [ones, Life?], my baptism will guard me and lift [me?] to the *rish*—literally 'head' 'beginning', here to the summit of perfection [i.e. the House of Life] and the name of Life and Manda d Hiia are pronounced upon me).

Lastly, he dips the right foot twice and the left foot once into the river, saying, '*Laghrey* '*udeyhun ad shuwa atrisar la tishtalaṭ illey wushma ad héi ushma Manda-ṭ-héi madkhar illey*' (May the Seven [planets] and the Twelve [signs of the Zodiac] not have dominion over my feet [lit. my-legs-their-hands]. The name of Life and the name of Manda d Hiia be pronounced upon me).

It will be seen that this 'signing' is a minor baptism removing the lesser pollutions and protecting the faithful from the perils of daily life, as well as reiterating belief in eternal life. The only names used in this, or in any, ablution even to that of objects such as cooking-pots, are those of Life, of Manda d Hiia (translate it how one will), and the Persian name of Bahram. The latter is the Parsi Yazata, or Angel, of Victory, and associated with the ascent of the soul. In connexion with these ablution rituals he may be taken as a symbol of the soul's victory over death and ascent to the world of light. The use of this name shows the essentially Iranian nature of rites grafted on to an old and aboriginal water-cult.

The second ablution is the *ṭamas͟ha* (submersion), called sometimes the *g͟hayas gu mia*. I have witnessed it, as, for instance, when after a death, one of the corpse-bearers, who had just returned from the graveyard, waded out into the river as I passed. He had removed his *rasta*, except the *s͟harwala*, and carried it in a bundle with him into the river. When he had reached a place deep enough, he plunged thrice below the surface, and splashed water over his head three times, each time repeating the formula (given me on another occasion):

[As pronounced] '*Bus͟hmeyhun ad hëi rbi ana ut͟hban bheyla uheyli yardna illawi us͟hri it͟hi anhet͟h lyardna iṣṭaba qabbal dak͟hia rus͟hma elwes͟h uṣṭli ziwa utreṣ bris͟hi klila rowzi us͟hma hëi wus͟hma d Manda-ṭ-hëi madk͟har illey ana Plan bar Planit͟ha aṣvina bmaṣwetta ad Bahram Rba bar rurbi maṣwetti tinaṭray u tésaq larésh.*

'In the name of the Great Life! I seek (? [illegible]), strength; loose upon me the forces of the *yardna* (running water), let them come (upon me). I have gone down into the *yardna*, I dip under, accept the pure Sign. I put on garments of light and place upon my head an effulgent wreath. The name of Life and the name of Manda d̲ Hiia are pronounced upon me. I am N. son of N., I am baptized with the baptism of Bahram the Great, son of the mighty, and my baptism shall guard me and ascends to the summit.'

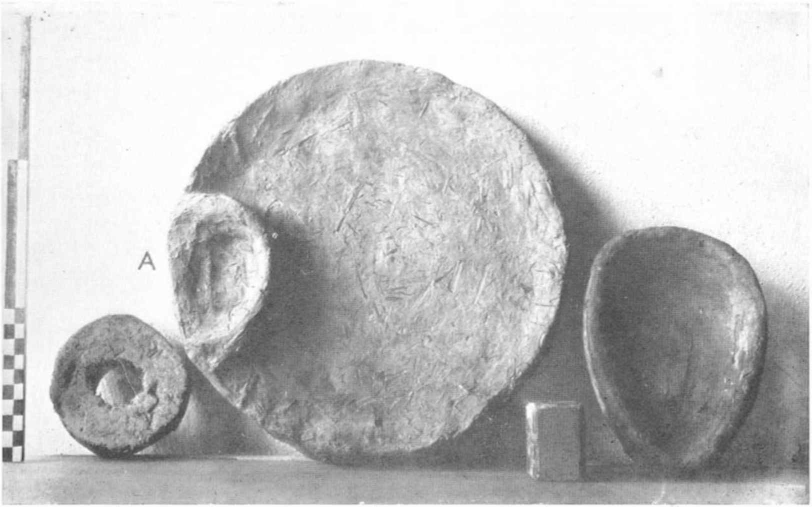
I imagine that the 'effulgent wreath' refers to the water splashed over the head—water again being regarded as synonymous with light. The various parts of the *rasta* were, of course, plunged in with their holder.

No matter how bitterly cold the water (and in winter ice is sometimes found on water channels), the *ṭamas͟ha* *must* be performed after serious defilement, and, in cases where no priest is procurable to perform the full baptism that should follow, the *ṭamas͟ha* acts as a temporary protection against the powers of evil, and prevents other persons and objects from becoming defiled by contagion.

The third ablution is the full baptism. The cult objects for this are few and simple. The officiant must have plenty of freshly plucked myrtle twigs at hand, kept in a basin of water, so that they shall not droop. These twigs or *agia* are for the myrtle wreaths, or *klilia*[14] used for the priest himself, for the 'soul' or 'souls' (this is the expression used in the ritual for the persons who are baptized and receive the sacraments, and I shall employ it in my description). If there is a *drabsha* (banner) one is required for this as well. Next, there must be the *ṭoriana*, or clay table. It is a circular stand of clay mixed with straw, and stands on a *kangana*, a round, ring-like stand, placed below the *ṭoriana*, and made of the same material. The *ṭoriana* has a semi-circular recess protected by a ridge called the *miṣra* and upon this stands the *qauqa*, which is a smooth terra-cotta cube, with a small round depression about the size of a threepenny-bit at the top to hold a pinch or so of incense (*riha*). The latter is a mixture of *sandarach* (resin), sandalwood, and *jāwi* or benzoin. The *brihi* which occupies the rest of the *ṭoriana* is an egg-shaped clay fire-saucer, in which wood, reeds, or charcoal are burnt as fuel. In use, the narrow end must be placed to the north. When lit, this fire is used, either for the burning of incense, or for the baking of the *pehtha* (sacramental bread, written *pihtha*). The perimeter of a *ṭoriana* in my possession is nearly 35 inches, the semi-circular recess (*miṣra*) is 5 inches at the base and 3 across; the *brihi*, or fire-saucer, is about 19 inches in perimeter and roughly an inch and a half deep, though shallower at the narrow end. The *ṭoriana* has a depression beginning at the rim, but not deep.

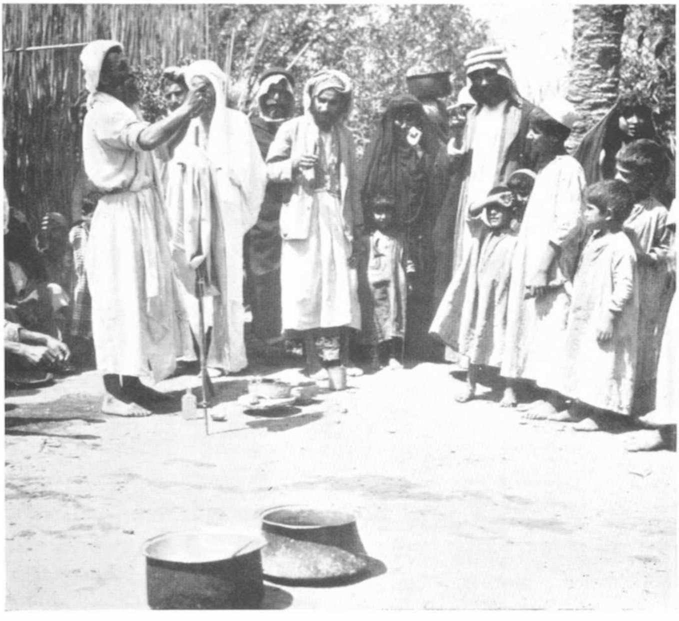
For occasions on which many persons are baptized, and for *lofani*s, a large, oblong clay box called the *qintha* (or *qimtha*) is used with, or instead of, the *ṭoriana*. The lid of this box is slightly depressed, and has a *miṣra* like the *ṭoriana* and is used for the *brihi* and *qauqa* like the *ṭoriana*. I give a very rough drawing of the *qintha*, Fig. 6 opposite.

Flour (ground by the priest), and salt for the *pihtha* must be at hand, and small, shallow drinking-bowls for the sacramental water. These bowls are of brass, and about 11 inches or less in perimeter. In shape, they are like the sacramental bowls which appear in representations of Mithraic cult-objects. (see Cumont, *Monuments*, &c.). The name of this drinking-bowl is *keptha* (written *kaptha*). The water to fill these bowls at the time which corresponds



↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓

a. Kangana Miṣra (A) The *Ṭoriana Qauqa* (*bit riha*). *Brihi*



b. Consecration of myrtle wreath

to the Christian 'communion' is sometimes taken direct from the *yardna* (river, or pool of flowing water), and sometimes from a small glass bottle, the *qanina*, freshly filled.

The bread is made thus: the priest takes a little salt and flour in his hand and, going down to the *yardna*, mixes a little water with it in the palm of his hand. A round, flat, biscuit-like wafer called the *peht̲h̲a* (*piht̲h̲a*)[15] is the result,

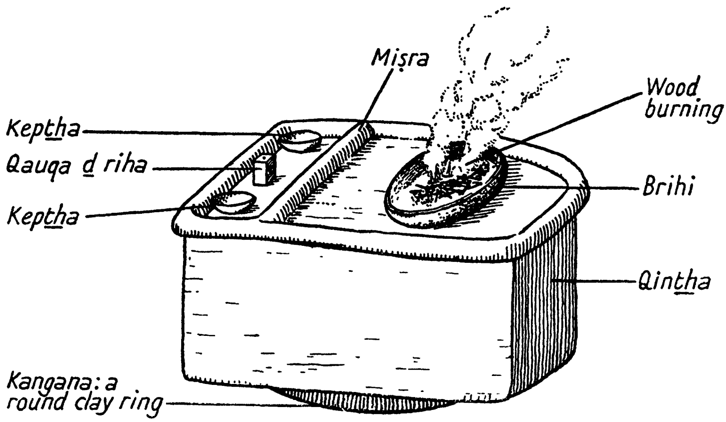


FIG. 6. The *Qint̲h̲a*

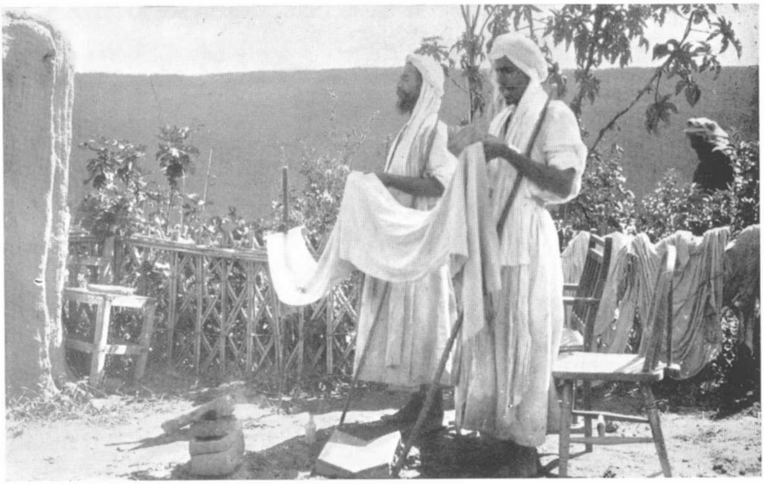
though for mass-sacraments a larger *peht̲h̲a* is made, and if not all eaten by the first batch of 'souls' it is placed in some recess, either in the wall of a house, or in the outer wall of the *mandi*—where, does not seem to matter as long as the recess is first lustrated with water—and used for the second batch. It must not be reserved for any length of time, the bread made must be eaten at the same sitting, similarly *mambuha*, or sacramental water, loses its virtue if left standing over-night.

In the illustrations in the Diwan Abat̲h̲ur the *peht̲h̲a* is represented as round, with a cross marked on it, but I have never seen this sign on a *peht̲h̲a* in a present-day ritual. The Christian idea of a cross with an implication of blood-sacrifice is contrary to the whole Mandaean belief; indeed, this sign was not at first associated, even by the Christians, with the instrument of Christ's passion, but was a 'life' or 'sun' symbol. In the Parsi ritual meal the sign of the cross is made over the ritual meal for the dead (JJM., p. 401), and Modi suggests that it is symbolic of the four points of the compass. This idea is corroborated by the Nestorian ritual, for the priest, as he places four wafers on the paten in the form of a cross, murmurs the words, 'From East to West, from North to South'. It probably represents the journey and return of the sun, symbolizing resurrection. (See Chap. VI, note 14.)

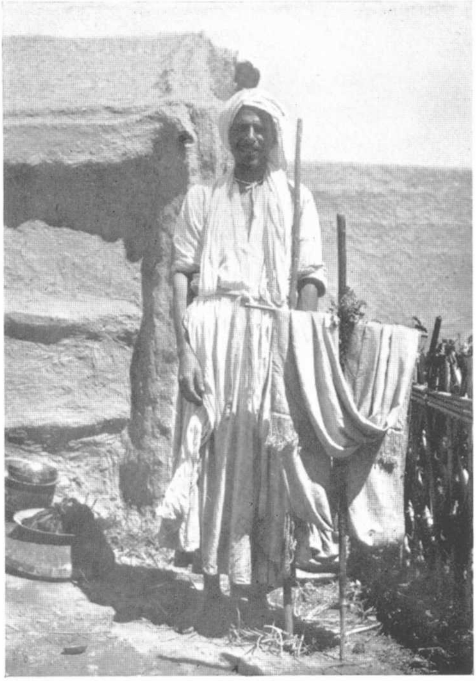
The sacramental water (*mambuha* or *mambugha*) is water and nothing else. Only at the *masiqta* ceremony for the dead and at the wedding ceremony is *hamra*, or fruit juice mingled with water, employed, and then, I take it, as an intensification of the vegetation-fertility symbolism. *At no time in the ordinary sacraments is anything but pure water drunk*, and the priests declare that it has always been so.

The last cult object, the *dravsha* (*drabsha*), is not employed for all occasions of baptism, e.g. it was not at the baptism for a woman after childbirth, though it may be used for the baptism of a single person (I saw one employed at a baptism at Dehwa Hnina, the Little Feast, when there was only one 'soul'). It is always present at the baptisms of Panja. The cross-piece from which the long silken strip hangs, and to which it is sewn, has been taken by people resolved to see in Mandaeanism a form of Christian gnosticism, for a cross. There is no foundation for such a misconception. The banner is purely a light-symbol, and Mandaeans imagine the light of the sun, moon, and stars as streaming from just such banners. (See Figs. 2, 3 and 4.)

Water does not enter into the ritual for its consecration, some of the prayers for which are given by Lidzbarski (Q. 264). I give a photograph (Plate 12) of this consecration. The strip is of unbleached white silk. Some Mandaeans have told me that it should be woven of so many stitches, but others declare it is not so. The specimens I have seen, though I was not allowed to handle and measure them, appeared all the same in length and breadth. To



a. Consecration of the banner



b. The banner ready for use (note sprigs of myrtle

judge by the eye alone, the strip was about 3 yards long and a *dhra* (see Chap. IV, note 4) wide. As the pole is about 2 yards high, the silk is looped up so as not to touch the ground, and thrown around the peak. The end is fringed. A myrtle wreath is slipped over the peak of the banner, and, just beneath the cross-piece, hidden from sight, a piece of gold wire called the *aran dravshi*, twisted into a 'letter', secures seven twigs of myrtle in place. The pole itself is of any kind of wood, and the pointed base which is thrust into the ground is usually shod with iron. It is the silk strip, not the staff, which is of ritual importance. Had the pole with its cross-piece any significance, the wood would be specified, and one of the 'pure' woods, such as willow or olive, prescribed. The *dravsha* is never carried processionally.

Before baptism, the 'souls' grasp first the bottom of the staff and then the peak, with their right hands, repeating each time a formula after the priest, the right hand of the priest being placed above the hands (or hand if there is only one candidate) of those about to be baptized. In the hand of the priest is the *keptha* and a *klila*.

At the first baptism I ever witnessed, which was that of a woman after childbirth, there was no *dravsha*. I think it worth while to transcribe my notes on this occasion, as they represent clearly what was done, and the order in which the ritual proceeded, though I have added corrections and observations since.

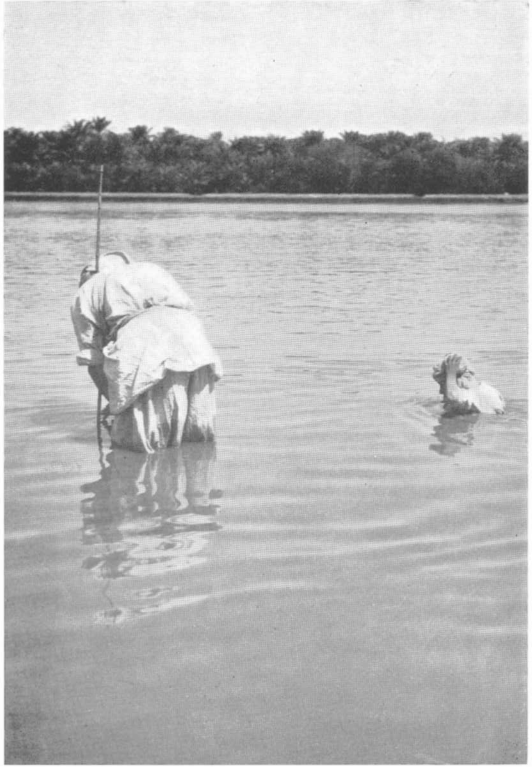
The Baptism of a Woman after Childbirth

The rite took place on a Sunday, and at Amarah, where there is no *mandi*, so that the river itself was the scene of the immersions.

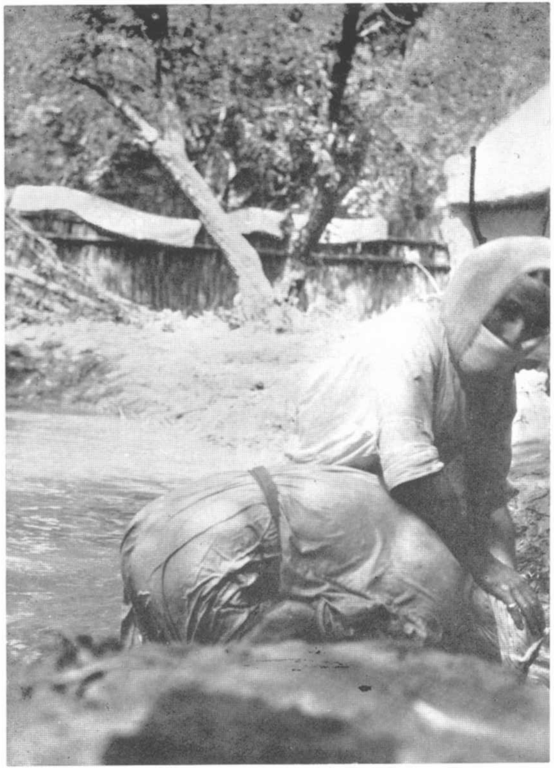
The ceremonies began at midday, so that both hour and day were solar. I arrived at the appointed time, and while the *ganzibra* went to put on his *rasta*, his sister, Qurṭasa, showed me the flour, freshly plucked myrtle twigs in water, and the various cult-objects. The *ganzibra* himself kindled the wood and charcoal in the fire-saucer (*brihi*), which stood on the *ṭoriana*. The first act was the *ganzibra*'s *rishama* in the river (already described). On his return (the house was not on, but close to, the river), the *ganzibra*, barefoot and clothed in his full *rasta*, took his stand on a square of matting with his back to the sun, facing the North Star, behind which, as he explained, 'Awathur Muzania has his throne'. He then proceeded with the *rahmi*, the prayers of which, on account of their length, I will not quote here, but content myself with describing the actions which accompanied them. They included the prayers for Sunday, for each day's *rahmi* includes the special prayers for the day. I will quote from notes printed as an appendix to my *By Tigris and Euphrates* with a few corrections.

'The *ganzowra* (*ganzibra* is pronounced *ganzivra* or *ganzowra*) blesses each separate part of his *rasta*, touching each in turn. His prayer is voluble, sonorous, and so rapid that he draws his breath in a gasp when it will serve him no longer. He takes the *tagha* . . . and, holding it in his hands, and praying, touches his mouth, eyes, and brow with it, then places it beneath the turban on his head. He raises his right hand to the right side of the turban and keeps it there some moments. He picks up the incense-cube and touches his hand with it several times. Then he takes a pinch of incense between the right forefinger and thumb, stops his praying a moment to get a long straw with which he revives the fire in the fire-saucer, and then replaces the incense cube on the *ṭoriana*, resuming his prayer. Then he drops the pinch of incense on the glowing fuel, saying '*Riha d haiy basim*' &c.

'He stops praying, and opens a book from which he reads rapidly in the same chanting voice employed in praying. He bows low, reading the while. He crouches and, continuing to read, takes the long end of his stole (*naṣifa*) and carries it to his turban with his right hand, while still crouching and reading. He rocks himself from side to side. The staff (*marghna*) is held in the crook of the left arm. He drops the hand holding the end of the stole, but does not loosen his grasp of it. He stands again, reading continually, and makes little gesticulations with his right hand. He takes another pinch of incense and drops it on the fire, placing the staff for a while in his right hand. (*Note* that he does not touch the staff with the left hand, though it is held by the left arm during part of the ceremonies.) He stoops on his heels. He goes to the river and mixes the flour and salt with water (for the *pihtha*), while Qurṭasa dresses



a. The triple submersion (River, Amarah)



b. Dipping the forehead

BAPTISM

her small nephew (the *shganda*) in his *rasta*, the child gazing smilingly at me. (*Note.* She kept up a running conversation with me the whole time regardless of what was going on.)

'The *ganzowra* returns, bearing a small wafer of uncooked paste as big as an Osborne biscuit, places it on the embers in the fire-saucer, and bakes it. Then, taking it in his hand after long prayer, he eats it and drinks water from the *qanina* (which he had filled when he went down to mix the dough by the river). After these sacramental acts, he returns to the river to fill his *keptha* there and throw water three times over the end of his staff. He repeats the formula "*Mqaymatun hēi qadmoyi*" sixty-one times, holding the end of his stole in his hands and marking off the numbers on the joints of his fingers. (This back again in the courtyard of his house.) He bows with the stole still held. He opens his palms upwards, keeping his hands together, then bows three times holding his hands to his body. He then calls his little son, who, taking the end of his father's stole, repeats a formula after him. The *ganzowra* places the end of his stole against the boy's turban. He continues to pray rapidly holding the end of the stole against the right side of his turban. Next he takes the *tagha* and touches eyes, mouth, and brow with it sixty-one times. This was the end of the *rahmi* (*rahmia*).

'The small assistant picks up the sprigs of myrtle, the *ganzowra* carries the *ṭoriana* apparatus and other accessories, and they walk out making a sign for me to follow. We walk along the short street which separates the house from the river. On the river-bank is a house. We enter the door which brings us into a pleasant courtyard in the centre of which plants and trees are growing. A few priests, women, and men await us.

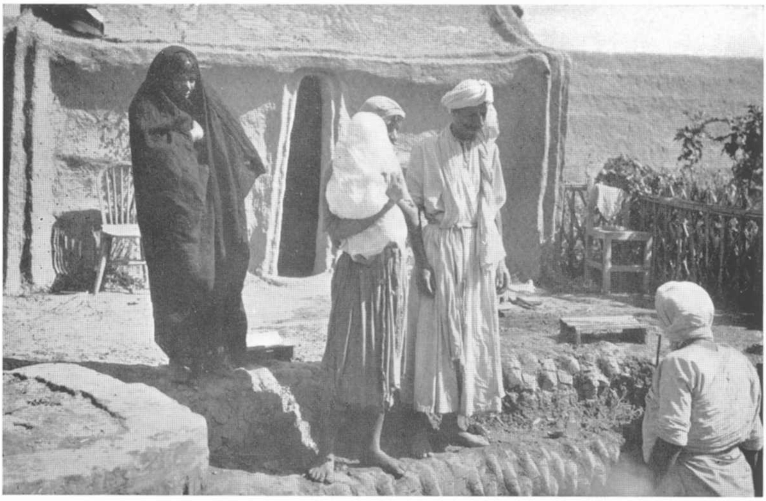
'A handsome, black-bearded young priest dressed in his white *rasta* takes the myrtle from the boy-acolyte, strips the lower end of a sprig of its leaves, and splits it into two long strips leaving the top leaves unplucked. The *ganzowra*, meanwhile, is making another sacramental wafer. He bakes it, and puts it on a white cloth. He, too, takes a twig of myrtle and divides the stem as the priest had done. He then leaves the house and goes to the river (I remaining where I was). On his return, he and the priest twist the myrtle into three rings. The *ganzowra* takes out the *tagha* from beneath his turban, placing one myrtle ring on the little finger of his right hand (on which he wears the *Shom Yawar* or priestly gold ring), and prays, his stole tucked into his *himiana*. He touches eyes, mouth, and brow with the *tagha* and does the same with the myrtle-wreath (*klila*), which eventually is placed with the *tagha* beneath the turban. He takes the hanging end of his turban and fastens it across the lower part of his face. He picks up the *qauqa* (incense cube) in his left hand, and places a pinch of incense on the fire in the fire-saucer, and then replaces the *qauqa*. He stands again and begins to read at a great rate, and when he has finished, tucks the lower portion of his over-garment (*sadra* or *ksuya*) into his belt. He lets the stole hang at full length, then lifts the ends and puts them over each shoulder, finally tying them tightly together while he repeats one prayer many times over.

'Praying continuously, he walks from his house into the river, wading in up to his thighs. He dips the staff (*marg̲h̲na*) twice beneath the water, places it upright in the water within the loop formed by his stole, and lets the myrtle-ring which was on his finger slip down over it (this later floats away down-stream). He washes the water with his hands, holding the staff firmly implanted in the mud of the bed of the stream.

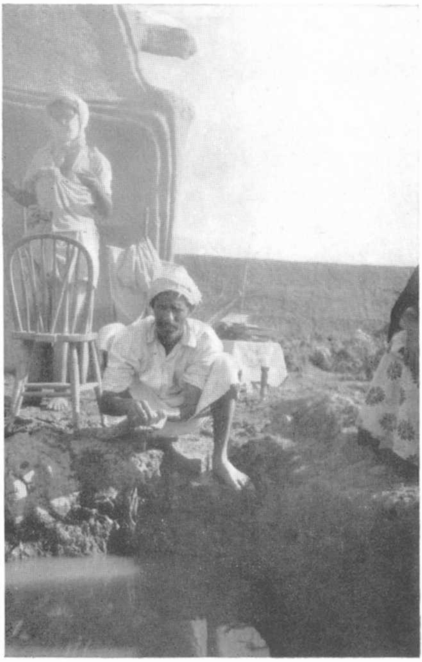
'The woman to be baptized (she has been in childbed and it is the fourth Sunday following the birth), wearing a black *'aba* (mantle) over her *rasta*, stands on the bank and repeats a formula after the *ganzowra* and then wades out to him. She dips under completely three times, while he, standing before her, splashes water back at her. She advances to the right of the *ganzowra*, who takes her and dips her forehead three times beneath the water, and then "signs" her by passing his hand three times across her forehead from right to left and invests her with the myrtle wreath. She drinks three times from the hollow of his hand and repeats the formula "*Kus̲h̲ṭa asiak̲h̲ qaimak̲h̲*" after him, grasping his right hand in hers.

'The woman wades back to the bank, and several small children bearing pots and utensils (everything used in the house during the confinement) wade out to the *ganzowra*, who immerses and swills them three times round his body in the water, saying "*Qazg̲h̲an ṣiwina bmaṣwetta ḏ Bahram Rba bar rurbi maṣwettak̲h̲ tinaṭrak̲h̲ utisaq lrésh us̲h̲ma ḏ héi us̲h̲ma ad Manda-ṭ-héi madk̲h̲ar illak̲h̲*" (so pronounced) over each article.

'All make their way back to the house, the *ganzowra* not pausing in his prayer. The baptized woman, dripping wet, places herself before the *ganzowra*, with her back to him. He takes a little sesame from a bag, makes a paste of it with a little water in a *kept̲h̲a*, and smears it across the forehead of the woman three times, she crouching before him on her heels. He then touches her hand, and she goes to the river and splashes water over her bared right arm, using the right, and not the left, hand. On her return from the river, she holds her arm outstretched before her so that it may touch nothing, and the women tell me that she is not allowed to open her lips.



a. Baptism of infant



b. Mixing dough for the *pihtha*

BAPTISM

'The *ganzowra* then takes the *pehtha* and gives it to her to eat, and, next, pours water from the *qanina* into the *keptha* and gives it to her to drink. When she has done so, he pours a second time into the *keptha* and she drinks again. A third time he pours in water, but this she throws over her left shoulder while he says, "For thy left". He lays his hand on her head and prays. Both *ganzowra* and woman then extend their right arms towards the river, and the woman repeats after him the oath of witness, word for word. The *ganzowra* crouches behind the woman, being careful to let no part of his *rasta* touch the ground. Then both rise, she always keeping her back to him. He bows several times, then advances to stand beside her and takes her right hand in *Kushta*. She salutes him, touching heart and mouth and brow. Both crouch again.

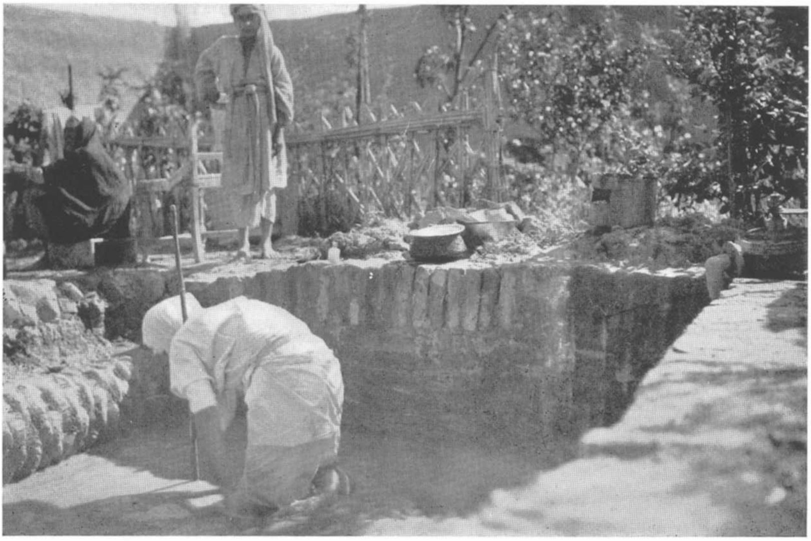
'The torrent of prayer ceases a moment as the *ganzowra* leaves the house to go down to the river. He returns bringing water, and prepares another *pehtha*, holding the uncooked paste in his right hand and the *qanina* in his left. He cooks and eats the *pehtha*, drinks the water, then removes the *pandama* from his face. Again he returns to the river, and when he comes back, dashes water over his staff. He takes the end of his turban (*rughza*) in his hand and repeats the formula "*Mqaimatun hēi qadmoyi*" sixty-one times. This part of the ceremony seems a repetition of the initial ritual. He takes his turban between his hands, and then bows several times with his hands held upon his body.

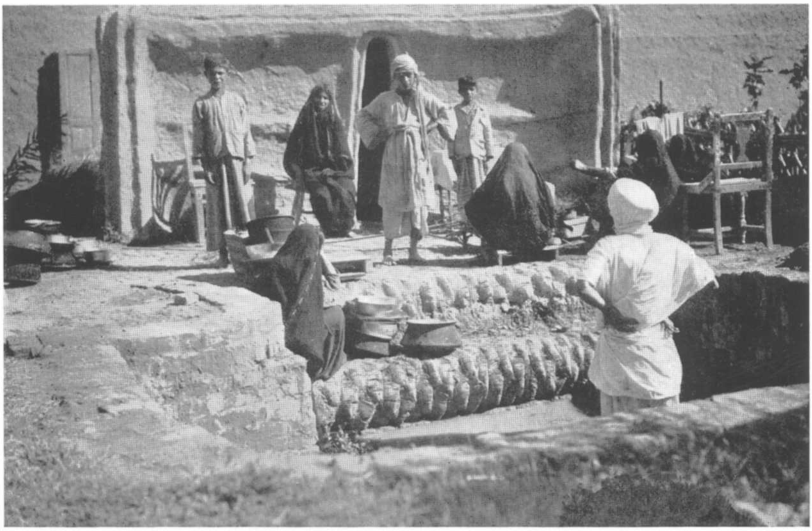
'The boy-assistant gives his hand to the *ganzowra* and repeats a formula after him. The latter then lets down his looped-up skirts, and touches each part of his *rasta* in turn, praying over each. Next, he removes the *tagha* and the *klila* placed with it beneath the turban, and puts them to his mouth and then to each eye alternately sixty-one times. A little more prayer and the rite is concluded, having lasted exactly two hours.'

Eleven years later I attended the great baptism feast (Panja) at Amarah and Qalʿat Salih, and thereafter made the visit yearly. At the latter village, baptisms took place in the *mandi* enclosure, in which the pool and water channels to and fro (see p. 125) are always dug out and cleansed for the great five days of holiness and ablution (see pp. 89 ff.). The baptism ritual, translated by Lidzbarski (Q.), was the same as that which I have described in the above notes. It is always preceded by the *rahmi*, consecration, that is to say, of the priest himself, his *rasta*, and his cult-objects, with the prayers for the day. But there are several points which need notice. First, there is the presence of the *dravs̲h̲a* (*drabs̲h̲a*), which is erected in the enclosure in the space between the east wall of the *mandi* (cult-hut) and the reed wall of the enclosure. The Mandaeans come in batches to be baptized, and all together grasp the *dravs̲h̲a* in the manner described above, before going into the water, one by one—for the immersion ceremony is always individual, and there is never more than one 'soul' in the water at the same time. On emerging from the water, walking round the fire, incense apparatus and *dravs̲h̲a* clock-wise from the south, the candidate joins the group of wet (and often shivering) 'souls' who are waiting for the sacraments. These are given to the whole group together. By the sacraments I mean the 'signing' with oil, followed by a *Kus̲h̲ṭa*, the administering of the *piht̲h̲a* and then of the *mambuha*, 'the laying of the hand on the head', and the final *Kus̲h̲ṭa* or hand-grasp. All these ceremonies are communal.

Whenever the water or wind is cold (and often they are icy), a fire is lit for the wet and waiting 'souls', some of whom are very old men. It is common for a log to be placed on the ground as a seat, for after ablution they must never sit on the ground, and kneeling is not a Mandaean attitude of prayer. When they crouch to receive the sacraments they often sit on their heels. As to attitudes of prayer generally, prostration is unknown, neither is the face covered with the hands at any time. The head is held erect, and the hands are either not used, held close to the body (at the *sag̲h̲da* or bow, which is only from the waist), or employed in a ritual gesture, such as touching or knotting some part of the *rasta*, or held open palm upwards. Care is taken to allow no part of the *rasta* to come into contact with any unlustrated object.

Benches and chairs are placed round the interior of the *mandi* wall, especially the east and west wall of the enclosure, for spectators. Some of these squat on the ground. The onlookers smoke, eat, converse, and go in and out as





Ceremonial washing of pots

they please, and do not make the least effort to lower their tones. Often, indeed, they will shout a question at the officiating priest who, with the utmost good humour, will check his flow of words to reply, and then proceed with his prayer. Men and women are baptized in separate groups and at different times. Men are baptized in their *rastas*, women, as I have indicated in the notes quoted above, place a black *ʿaba* over their *rastas*, which cling too close to the body when wet for modesty.

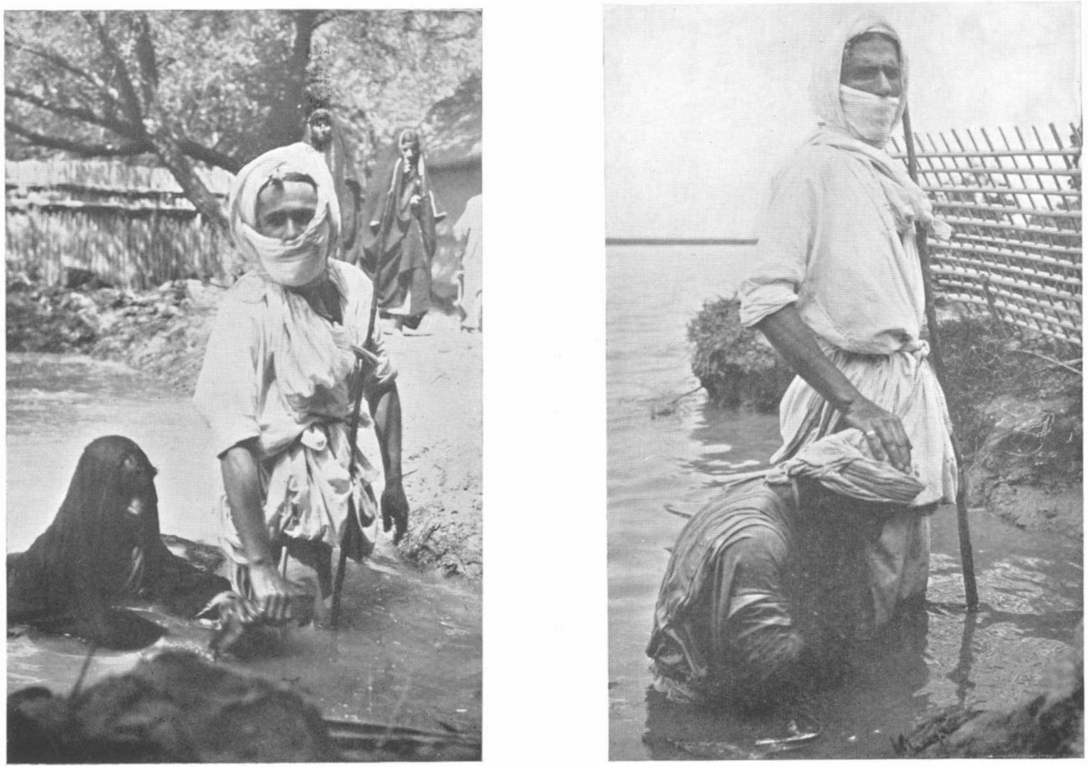
Between these group baptisms the 'baptism' of pots, with the formula quoted in the above notes, goes on between each set of baptisms. The priest, standing knee-deep in the water, takes each pot in turn, and passes it three times round his body from right to left, gabbling the baptism words over each, then places it on the bank, while another is given to him. Not a pot or pan in the community must go without this annual baptism, and they are brought as they are, all sooty from the fire, the film of soot which settles on the surface of the pool being but slowly borne away by the sluggish current. As each group of pots is 'baptized', they are placed, wet and still black, in the space north of the *dravs̲h̲a* to dry. The interior of copper pots should be freshly tinned before baptism, a rule which prevents poisoning by verdigris.

Each candidate is provided with a *klila* (myrtle wreath) which he keeps on his right-hand little finger, until the priest in the pool removes it and places it on his head. Before a candidate steps into the water for his immersion, he places an offering (a coin or coins) together with a sprig of myrtle on the bank of the pool, splashing his gift three times from the pool. The offering to the priest is not always given in this way; it may be placed on the *ṭoriana*. The amount differs according to the inclination of the giver, or his means. I have seen a quarter of a dinar (5*s.*) laid on the *ṭoriana*, and a sum equal to less than a farthing. The destitute are baptized for nothing, but this is a 'loss of face' which a pious person does not willingly incur. The money is not collected openly by the priest, but taken unostentatiously after the ceremony from the spot on which it was deposited.

After the giving of the *Kushta* each candidate, now crowned with the myrtle wreath, the leafy part of which appears over his left temple, emerges to await the sacraments which are administered to the group, as described above, p. 114. He seats himself on his heels or a log, facing the north and the *mandi*, if there is one. There, by the fire, if it is cold, he warms himself in his dripping *rasta* while awaiting the assembly of the others. When some five or seven or other small number have been immersed, the priest comes out of the water, and signs each person's forehead three times with sesame, kneaded into a paste in a *keptha* (described in my quoted notes). After this, the 'souls' extend their right arms with the words, '*Bʿi weshka amar washtemma*' (Ask and find, speak and listen), and go down to the pool to wash their bared right arms. They do not touch the water with the left hand, but splash it upwards with the right. They return and crouch in a row with their right arms extended outwards and upwards, and are given the *pihtha* (*pehtha*), small fragments broken from a large flat piece of bread, used for more than one group, but only at one set of baptisms. When this is taken from the hole in the wall to be given to the communicants it is first sprinkled with a little water from the *qanina*.

The next step is the *mambuha* (sacramental water). The priest fills his *qanina* (bottle) at the pool, taking his *keptha* with him. During the consecratory prayers the waiting communicants converse or joke with the onlookers. There are usually two *kepthas*, one for the priest and another for the laymen. At the priest's return with the water, the *Bʿi weshka* formula is repeated, and the priest fills the *keptha* thrice for each man. The first two bowls are swallowed; the third filling the communicant empties over his left shoulder while the priest says, '*Ashar ubaddal lsmalakh*'. The priest then goes behind the crouching communicants and touches their heads with his fingertips many times, after which they extend their right hands

PLATE 16



a. The first *kus̲h̲ṭa* ('*kus̲h̲ṭa asiak̲h̲ qaimak̲h̲*')

b. The blessing in the water

BAPTISM

towards the *yardna* and take it to witness of their baptism. It is at this point that there is the direct denial of the power of Sun, Moon, and Fire: '*Mibṭal baṭil Shamish . . . mibṭal baṭil Sira, . . . mibṭal baṭil Nura*' ('Shamish is null and void, &c.'). This denial at so solemn a point of the ceremony looks like an insertion for the admonishment of heretics and backsliders. For the final prayers all the communicants stand, and the last *Kushṭa* or hand-grasp is given standing, the priest's hand being offered from beneath the *naṣifa* (see p. 33). At the conclusion of the sacraments, each communicant casts his *klila* into the pool.

When I first went to Litlata, a village near Qalʿat Salih, Shaikh Yahya's 'souls' were a number of poor Mandaeans from the marshes of an inferior physical type, though many of the older men were extremely handsome. The baptisms took place, as at Amarah, in the river. The *dravsha* was erected in the yard before the priest's house, near sheds used, as is customary with Mandaeans, for the stabling of cattle at night. The ground, therefore, was not too clean and flies were plentiful. Beside the *dravsha* the holy books were placed on a stool, covered with a white cloth. While the sacraments were being administered, children sat round and picked lice from each others' tousled heads. Conditions are now much improved.[16]

In spite of what I have said of the attitude of the onlookers there is nothing irreverent in their intention. They regard the sacraments as beneficial, not only to their souls, but also to their bodies, since they are a protection against the attacks of shiviahis and other evil spirits which bring disease, misfortune, and death. I heard one old dame, emerging from her third immersion and kept waiting, as she thought, by the priest for the *Kushṭa*, utter a shivering '*Yalla!*' which is the equivalent of 'Hurry up!' She was justified, for the good man was dragging a little so that he might pose to my camera. But the Mandaeans will travel a journey of many days and endure many privations in order to benefit by the sacraments, and not all the mockery of unbelievers, nor any hardship which besets their attendance, will prevent them from sharing in what they consider to be the priceless blessings of baptism.[17]

NOTES ON CHAPTER VII

1. *Water and souls of ancestors.* See Moulton on the *Fravas̲h̲is, Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, p. 142; Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 191, ii. 508; and *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris* by the same author, pp. 76 ff.

2. *Water and Immortality.* In an epic on a Tell el Amarna fragment, Adapa, the first man, summoned before Anu, the sky-god, is offered the Bread of Life and Water of Life, but Adapa, forewarned by Ea that he will be offered bread of death, refuses. Anu laments. He had wished to confer on man, to whom he had given wisdom, the greater gift of immortality, but Adapa, by his refusal, made this impossible.

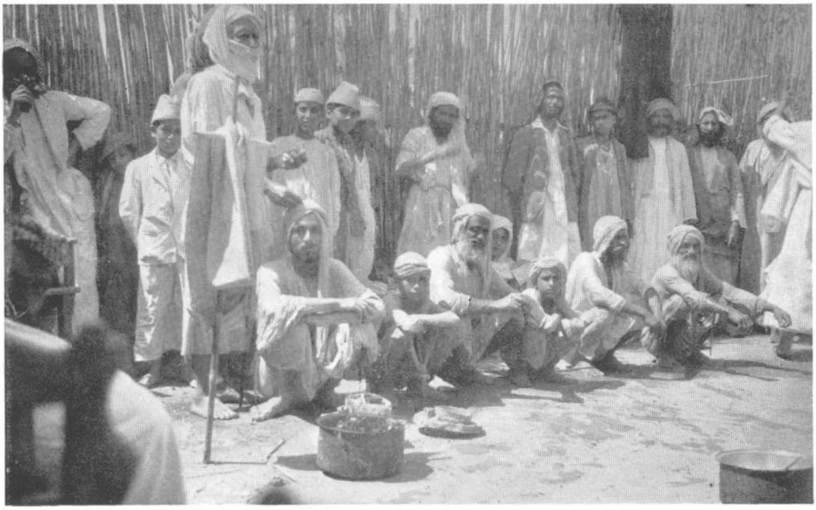
' "Water-of-Life" is often mentioned, especially in the cults of Ea and Marduk', writes Dr. Alfred Jeremias, from whose article on the Babylonian Heaven and Hell, *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*, I take the above translation (p. 29); 'that Water of Life was drunk and not only used for aspersion and lustration the Adapa story demonstrates' (pp. 29–30). 'The Euphrates and Tigris were themselves looked upon as sacred streams by whose waters sacrifices were made (as an historical inscription proves), and on the banks of which holy lustrations were performed. Ea and his son are the lords of the Water of Life.'

At Ea's order, the underworld must open its spring of the immortal water, and in the exorcisms of sickness we read, 'Go, my son Marduk . . . fetch water from the mouth of the two rivers and make thy pure exorcism, and sanctify it with thy pure exorcism and sprinkle the man, the child of his God.'

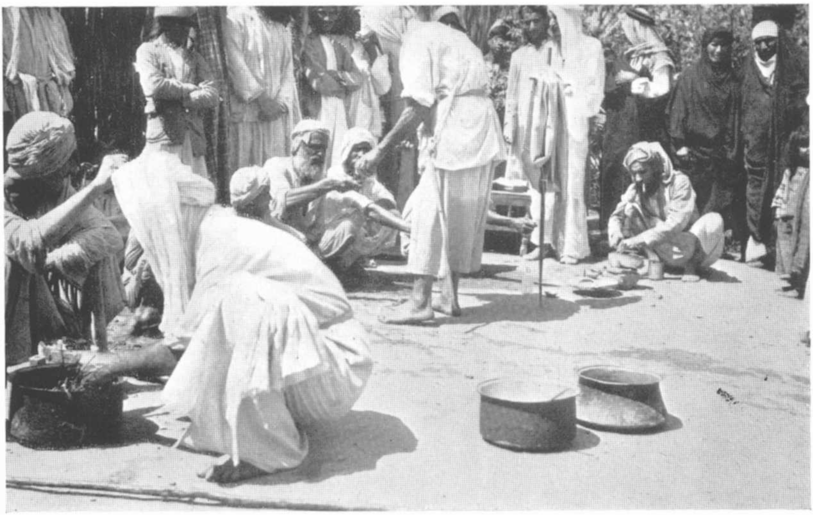
Again, 'Pure water . . . water of the Euphrates . . . water which is well hidden in the ocean, the pure mouth of Ea has purified it, the sons of the water-deeps, the seven, have made the water pure, clear and bright'.

Repeatedly one hears of the purification vessel of Marduk. The *baru*-priest employed lustration in the river as part of his cult, especially at sunrise. An 'ablution house' (corresponding perhaps to the Mandaean *mandi* —a fenced-in corner of the river-bank with a cult-hut and a pit to admit running water from the river, which reissues through a second channel: (see next chapter) is mentioned in tablets relating to the cult of S̲h̲amas̲h̲ at Sippar.

With all this accumulative evidence, I cannot see that it is possible to doubt that the Mandaean water-cult, carried on at the very sites of the early water-cults, is at bottom an aboriginal cult, persisting under successive religions, and maintaining a continuous and unbroken ritual tradition.



a. The signing with sesame



b. Giving the *pihtha*

SACRAMENTS

3. *Flowing water as a purification for ritual sin and moral fault.* See Notes on Introduction, 3, p. xxi. That this idea was present in the older Persian religion appears in Al-Bīrūnī, p. 202 'He (Yama) ordered people to wash themselves with water in order to clean themselves of their sins, and to do so every year, that God might keep them aloof from the calamities of the year.... According to another view the cause of the washing is this—that this day (New Year's Day) is sacred to Harudha, the angel of the water, who stands in relation to the water. Therefore, people rose on this day early, at the rising of dawn, and went to the water of aqueducts and wells. Frequently, too, they drew running water in a vase and poured it over themselves, considering this as a good omen and a means to keep off hurt.'

This Harudha is probably Haurvatat, the personified spirit of Health and Vegetation—so that the analogy to Mandaean conceptions is close.

Herodotus draws a picture of Persian reverence to rivers and streams; again, it appears, an aboriginal cult.

The Persian religion of Mithra, which spread so rapidly and powerfully as to be the rival of the early Christian Church, also had its immersions, apparently symbolical of purification of the soul; also signing of the forehead and sacraments of bread and water as in the Mandaean rite. Says Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. iv, of Christianity and Mithraism, 'The two adversaries discovered with amazement, but with no inkling of their origin, the similarities which united them; and they severally accused the Spirit of Deception of having endeavoured to caricature the sacredness of their religious rites.'

It would be impossible to give details here of what is known of lustration and immersion sects found radiating out from Persia and Babylon. Brandt's *Die jüdischen Baptismen* and *Elchasai*, and Reitzenstein's *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* cover much of the ground. The bathing sect of the Sampsaeans is particularly suggestive, as there appears no trace of Christianity in this sect and the account given of their practices reveals close resemblance to Persian and Mandaean cults.

Reitzenstein (pp. 203 ff.) gives accounts of Indian immersions, such as those at the yearly Varuna Praghasa feast and at the Soma sacrifice. Both have the familiar root ideas—the cleansing from sin, becoming sons of light, and acquiring immortality. The wording of the prayer which candidates utter on leaving the water after the latter ceremony is strikingly Mandaean: 'We have drunk Soma, we have become immortal, we have gone to the Light.'

4. *Water of Life.* In a creation fragment in the Drasha d Yahya Hibil Ziwa brought *yardna* and laid it round Arqa d Tibil in a circle, and set a measurer there who measured the water and poured living water therein. 'When the living water entered the turbid water, the living water lamented and wept.'

5. These correspond exactly to the Zoroastrian Pâdyâb, Nâhn, and Bareshnum.

'The first is very simple and is the work of a minute or two. It is performed without the help of a priest' (JJM., p. 91). The Nâhn is the bath, and the Bareshnum is the long and complicated ritual which includes three ceremonial baths and the Yaçna ceremony, which means the partaking of sacramental bread (*darun*) and ritual beverage (*haoma*), with a ceremony close to *lofani* (see pp. 225 ff.). A difference between the Nâhn and the Mandaean *ṭamasha* is that for the latter no priest is required.

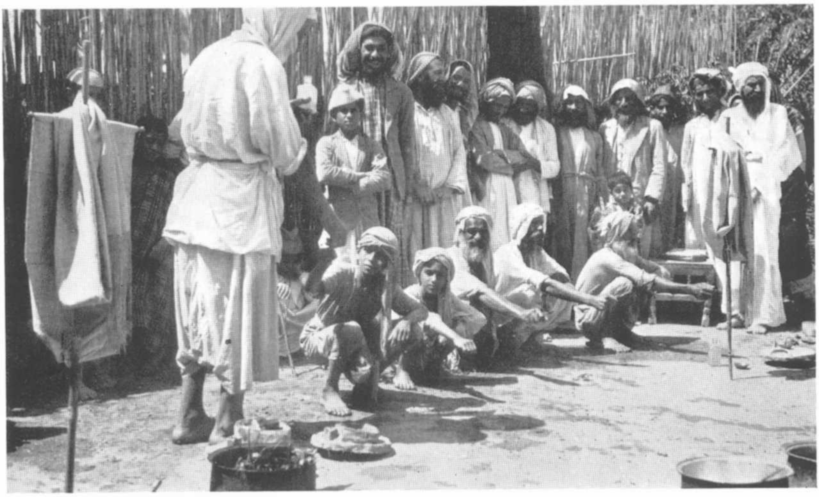
6. The Pâdyâb must be performed after answering calls of nature, on rising, and before meals (JJM., p. 93).

7. *Menstruation.* (a) *Parsis and Old Persian.* 'Issue make the person whether male or female, unclean. Not only the person, but those who come into contact with him or her, before he or she has purified himself or herself with a bath, gets unclean' (JJM., p. 170).

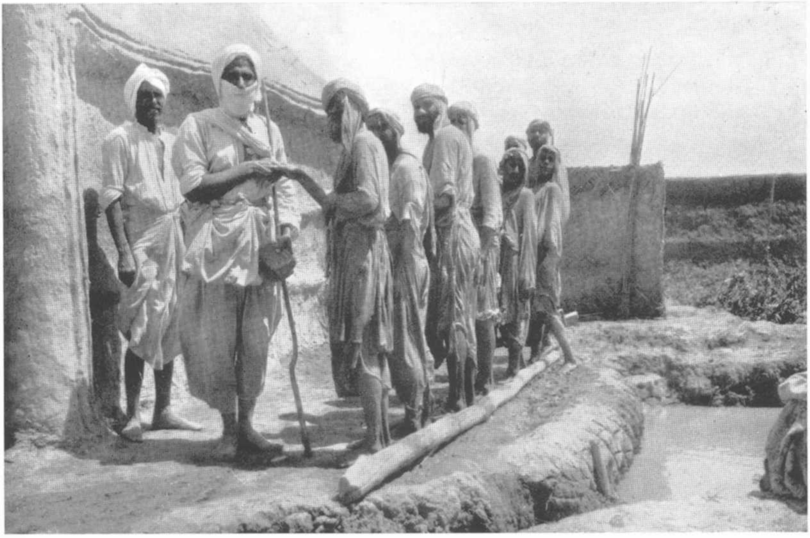
'It appears that in ancient Iran . . . every village or street had also a Dastânistân, or a house for women in menses. . . . It was enjoined that such a place should be about 15 kadams (about 13 yards) distant from household fire, water, and places of worship, and 3 kadams (about 2½ yards) distant from places frequented by men. (Vend. xvi, 2). . . . They were not to touch anything. Anything that they touched became unclean. If they had their children with them, and if these children were to be taken out of their Dastânistân, their hands were first to be washed, and then their whole bodies washed with water. If a person touched a woman in her menses he became unclean. If he did that by chance or unintentionally, he was to purify himself by a bath. . . .' (JJM., pp. 171–2).

Sir Jīvanjī describes the food prescribed for the menstruating woman and says, 'They were to take their meals in utensils made of metal and not clay or wood, because the latter, being more porous than the former, are likely to secrete the impurities and thus likely to do harm to the health of those who later on used those utensils again. Again, they are not to use their naked hands for eating but they are to put on *dastanehs* (gloves) or *kissehs* (i.e. glove-like bags) over their hands and then to eat by means of spoons.'

'On the day after that on which the issue stops, she has to purify herself by a bath before coming into contact with other persons and things. . . . Her bedding and outer clothing also were to be washed and cleaned. Those who came into contact with her had also to wash themselves. . . . Dastur Darab Pahlan, in his Persian Farziat-Nameh, gives the following injunctions, based on what he calls Pahlavi Zend and Pazend writings. (1) On finding the symptoms, the woman is to change at once her ordinary clothings. (2) She is to seek a sequestered place and keep herself away from, or not see, water, fire, holy man, the sun, moon, sky, mountains, stars, and trees. (3) Whatever she sees suffers harm or diminution (*jurm* جرم) (4) While eating, she must put on her hands a piece of old cloth and eat with a spoon; while drinking, she must not let a single drop of water fall over her body. (5) She must keep herself aloof for three to nine days and then wash herself with *gaomez* and water. (6) If she has unwittingly failed



a. Giving the *mambuha*



b. The *ku**sh**ṭa*

SACRAMENTS

to observe any of these regulations, she is to say a *patet* or repentance prayer . . .' (JJM., pp. 173 ff.).

(b) *Ṣābian.* Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, iii, xlvii; Ch. Ṣ., ii, 483, mentions similar theories as to menstruation amongst the Ṣābians of Harrān and says that a Ṣābian thought himself polluted even by wind which had passed over a menstruating woman. A barber on account of his blood-letting and hair-cutting was unclean, and 'whosoever had passed a razor over his body was also unclean until he had purified himself by ablution'.

(c) *Jewish.* Leviticus belonging to the priestly authorship, i.e. late in date, may well have been influenced by Persian conceptions as to uncleanness. Cf. Lev. xv. 19–30.

8. See p. 43.

9. See Chapter XI.

10. Parsis of both sexes should take a purificatory bath (Nâhn) after sexual intercourse.

11. For the novitiate of priests, see p. 154.

12. See note 1, Chap. 1.

13. *The Ris̲hama and the Pâdyâb.* 'The Pâdyâb is the simplest form of purification or ablution which a Parsee has to go through several times during the day. The word Pâdyâb is the modern form of Avesta *paiti-ap* whose Pahlavi form is *padyav*. It means 'throwing water (*av*) over (*paiti*) the exposed parts of the body'. The following is the process of the Pâdyâb: There are three parts of the process, which all together are known as Pâdyâb-kusti. The central or the second part is the Pâdyâb proper, which is preceded and followed by a prayer. The person performing the Pâdyâb says at first . . . "I do this for the pleasure of Ahura Mazda". Then he recites the short formula of As̲hem Vohu. Having recited it, he washes his face and the exposed portions of his body, such as the face, hands, and feet. This is the Pâdyâb proper' (JJM., p. 92).

The Ris̲hama resembles the Muslim ritual ablution. Like Mandaeans, Muslims utter a short prayer appropriate to each action. (See Wortabet's *Religion in the East*, p. 212.) These ablutions should be performed before each prayer-time.

14. See pp. 205 ff. The Mandaean ritual use of myrtle is certainly akin to the Zoroastrian *barsom* rites. In modern Parsi ritual metal twigs are used, but in former times the twigs of a shrub or tree were employed. The Mandaean formula spoken when smelling myrtle or any other sweet-scented plant, '*riha ḏ hiia basim*' (the perfume of Life is well-pleasing), recalls a long line of ancient rituals connected with fertility and life. The pictographic representation of a man holding a branch to his nose was found on a prehistoric tablet at Warka (Published in *II. Vorbericht* of the Warka Excavations). Cf. Ezekiel viii. 25, describing 'abominations', i.e., sun and planet worship; women weeping for Tammuz, twenty-five men worshipping the sun towards the East—'lo, they put the branch to their nose'.

Magian priests wore myrtle wreaths. Sumerians and Babylonians apparently held foliage before the god for the promotion of fertility.

15. *Pihtha*. Zimmern ('Das vermuth. babyl. Vorbild des Pehtā', &c., *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, p. 959) suggests a connexion between the *pihtha*, the Mandaean sacramental wafer, and the Babylonian rites of *pit pī* ('opening of the mouth') and *mis pī* ('washing of the mouth'). Certainly, in Mandaean ritual meals for the dead, priestly comments on the ritual (e.g. in Alf Trisar Shiala) suggest that the soul of a dead person is cut off from vitality and functions until a ritual meal has been provided for it. Moreover, in the Sharh d Parwanaia, the 'dukhrana rba' or yearly mass for the dead performed at the spring feast, is called the Pthaha (Opening); and, lastly, Pthahil is the genius who receives the dead. But there is extremely little to prove such a theory, as there are constant references to 'gates'.

16. The Litlata community have now built a *mandi* set in a pleasant garden, and to ensure the cleanliness of their *yardna* have bricked and bitumened the pool into which the water flows. A shelter is provided for spectators and a clean and well-built room in which men and women can change into their *rastas*.

17. Professor Lietzmann (*Ein Beitrag zur Mandäerfrage*, p. 599) sees in the Syrian Christian use of the word *yardna* for 'font' a proof that the Mandaeans derive their baptism from Christian ritual. He adduces as further proof (ibid.) that the Syrian Church let the preliminaries of baptism take place while the font was empty of water and only later let in the water for the actual immersion. For this admitting of the water the word *para* is used. In Mandaean legend, (GR., p. 191) Manda d Hiia orders John to 'let the *yardna* flow free' and the verb is again *para*. Now this flowing free is necessary in the *mandi*-pool, and if the priest perceives that the water is getting sluggish, he orders a better clearing of the water channels, so that the water may be 'living', i.e. 'flowing free'. Lietzmann says 'Der gesamte Ritenkomplex der mandäischen Taufe ist eine Nachbildung des Taufrituals der christlichen Syrer. Das gilt auch von der Bezeichnung aller Taufgewässer als "Jordan", welche man nach Lidzbarskis Vorgang für uralt hält und als Beweis für die Herkunft der Mandäer von einer am Jordan lebender Täufersekte anzusehen pflegt. . . . Aus allem was bisher dargelegt worden ist, ergibt sich folgendes: die Mandäer haben mit Johannesjüngern der urchristlichen Periode nichts zu tun. Vielmehr sind alle Johannesgeschichten in der mandäischen Literatur aus dem Neuen Testament und der christlichen Legende geschöpft und erst in arabischer Zeit, also frühestens im 7. Jahrhundert, dem religiösen Bilderkreis dieser Sekte eingefügt worden' (p. 601).

That the entire John story is derived from Christian sources is possible, though doubtful, since, as Lidzbarski pointed out, there are such unaccountable omissions and differences in the Mandaean stories about John which occur also in the New Testament.

The idea that the entire Mandaean sacramental liturgy is also stolen ('a copy of the East Syrian Christian Liturgy' is the expression used by Professor Lietzmann) is scarcely tenable. The Mandaean conception of the sacraments is nearer to that of the Zoroastrians than to that of the Christians, and has an essential unity lacking in the Christian rites. That in primitive Christian rites there was close resemblance to Mandaean and Zoroastrian beliefs, rituals, and liturgies is probable, but all the evidence goes to prove that Mandaeism and Christianity developed in different centres and under different influences.

Certainly, as Brandt (*Jüdische Baptismen*), Bousset (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* pp. 277–96), and Reitzenstein point out, baptism cults were spread so widely over a number of sects that it would be extremely difficult to say how each separate rite originated. The Elkasiites practised it, not only as a single rite, but repeatedly as a purification, like the Mandaeans.

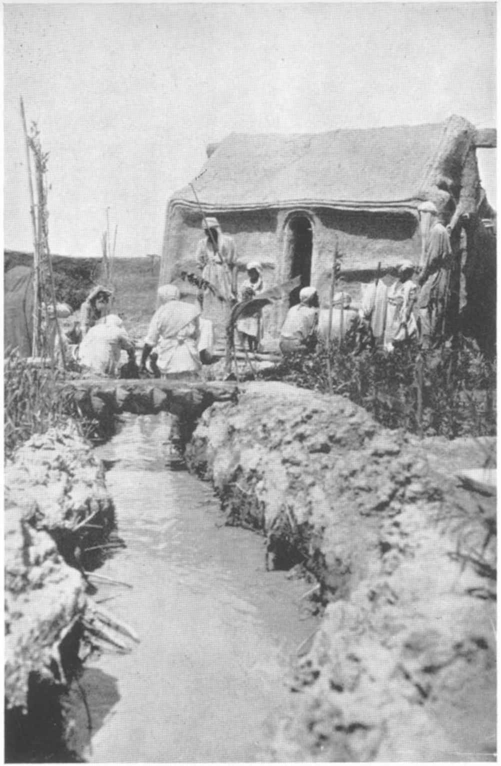
'Die Sitte der wiederholten Waschungen und Lustrationen ist bekanntlich uralt und weltverbreitet', says Bousset. With the Essenes, (v. Josephus, vol. iv. p. 222) ablution was a form of baptism, for it took place before the daily communal meal, or if a brother had contaminated himself by touching another of lower grade of initiation, or at the acceptance of a novice as a member of the order. Other Jewish sects, such as the Hemerobaptists, practised ceremonial lustrations: 'We deplore your conduct, you who utter the Divine Name in the morning without bathing.'

That purificatory immersions were a part of religious ritual for thousands of years in Iraq before the Christian era, I have already indicated.

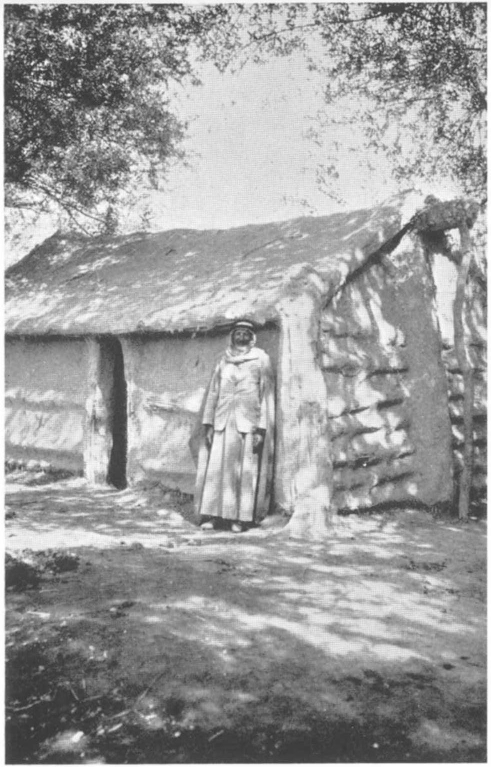
VIII

THE MANDA OR CULT-HUT, KNOWN AS THE MANDI

THE *mandi*, or cult-hut, called a *manda* or *mashkhana* in Mandaean texts, is one of the most striking features of present-day Mandaeism. The fact that exact rules as to its building and form must be observed, that the use of reeds and mud is enjoined for its construction (in a country where brick is used for important buildings, whether mosque, palace, or church), and, above all, the linking of the hut with a lustration pool of running water, all this seems to point to connexion with an ancient and primitive water-cult. Construction, proportions, materials, and shape are prescribed by written and oral tradition, and Mandaeans assure me that this is extremely ancient—'from Adam'. It is true that a legend exists that 'before Yahya, the *mandi* was like a house of crystal, but when the Mandai were chaṣed away from 'Ur Shalam, they had to adopt a type of building easily erected'. This is the kind of tale they like to tell about ancient times, and, as crystal is often believed to be a kind of solidified water, it might mean an accentuation of the water-cult idea, i.e. a house of water. Sumerian and Babylonian representations of Ea, Lord of the Waters, sitting in a cabin of flowing waters come to mind: and Mrs. van Buren's fascinating *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams*, which traces in glyptic art the cult of this god of the deep and rivers from archaic to neo-Babylonian times, is suggestive in this connexion, for it illustrates how continuous and deeply inherent is a religious attitude towards water in a people dependent upon rivers and floods for the fertility of their land. I have already discussed (pp. 10 ff.) the possible derivation of the word *manda* applied to the cult-hut. I cannot explain why in speech *manda* has become *mandi*, which suggests the plural *mandi*(*a*). The *mandia* I have seen vary slightly in size, but not in proportion or general plan. During the five days preceding Panja (the five



a. The *Mandi*, Litlata, showing channel to *Mandi* pool



b. The *Mandi* Qal'at Salih

intercalary days' lustration feast) the *mandi* is looked upon as defiled, because these five days are dedicated to the powers of darkness. During these days, therefore, I have been able to make exact observations as to the structure and measurements of the *mandi*, and to take photographs.

The *mandi* is always built on a river-bank (see Fig. 7), has a fencing of reeds or a mud wall round it (not essential, its purpose is to screen the rites from the eyes of the profane), and is invariably linked with a lustration pool, placed to the south of the hut and fed from the river by a water-channel, another channel (Plate 19) conveying the water away from the *mandi* and back to the river or into the fields, the object being that the water shall be perpetually flowing, and the pool hold 'living' and not 'cut-off' water.[1]

Both hut and pool are enclosed by the reed fence or mud wall (*ṭōf*) which passes over both water-channels. During the immersion ceremonies with the subsequent sacraments, the white silk banner, *dravs̲h̲a* (*drabs̲h̲a*), is erected on the bank of the pool to the south-east and right of the hut.

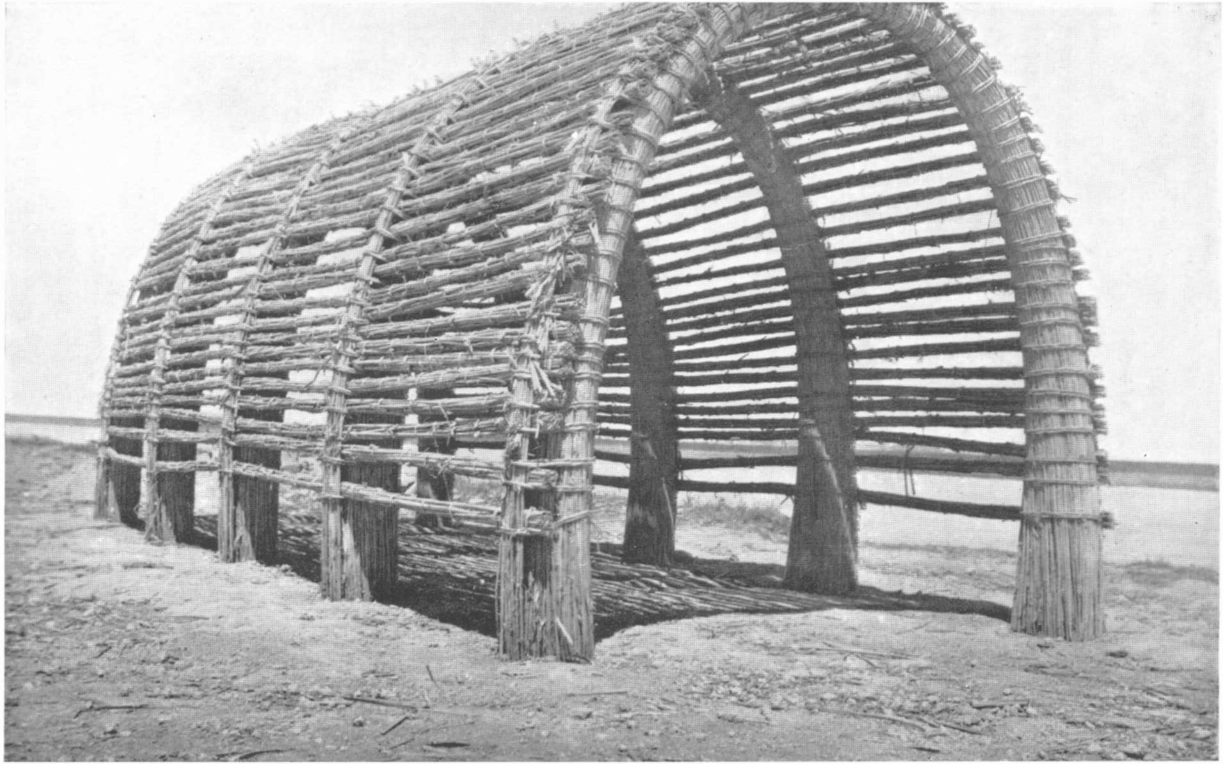
The hut is a simple construction of reeds and reed-mats (*buwāri*) daubed with mud. Reed-huts (or *ṣarāif*) are the usual dwellings of the inhabitants of the marshes, and the Maʿdān Arabs of the south; whereas the black hair tent betokens the desert Arab, or such wanderers as the Ṣolubba or Kauliyah (gipsies) (Mandaean *naiir*), that is to say the nomad and herdsman rather than the settled or semi-settled tribesman. The villages of the marsh-Arab are built entirely of reeds, whereas the shepherd and camel-owning tribes of the waterless desert use exclusively the black, woollen tent. If a nomad tribe settles, it at once uses the reed-mat instead of the woven wool tent-cloth, as in the case of the Beni Tamīm, who have become settled during the past fifteen years. Almost any southern town of Iraq, from Baghdad downwards, has a suburb of reed-huts inhabited by *fellah̲īn* (agricultural labourers) and a floating population of Maʿdān Arabs who bring in dairy produce, fowls, or sheep to town markets.

There are several types of reed huts, the most common being the *kūkh*, the supporting framework of which is bundles of reeds tied and bound together at the top so as to form half-hoops. This is used almost exclusively in the marshes. The next type is the *jemāli*, which is more permanent and weather-proof in character, and differs in construction. A ridge-pole is supported, either by two forked poles or by two bundles of reeds, each split at one end into a fork.[2] The ridge-pole gives the reed-matting thrown over it its main support, and the roof slopes down, therefore, steeply to the low side walls, the end walls being higher, as in an English thatched cottage. The walls consist of standing bundles of thick reeds (*qaṣab*) bound tightly together by thinner split reeds softened by immersion (*bardi*), or ropes made of rushes, with cross-wise bundles fastened transversely to the uprights. The reed-matting which covers both roof and walls is often daubed with mud, and the walls in more permanent communities undergo a logical development and are built of *liban* (mud) instead of reeds. The semi-nomad then becomes a house-dweller.

The *jemāli* grows increasingly common the nearer one approaches to Basrah, or to any Persian border, and in Southern Iran it is almost universal. I am told that the 'thatched cottage' type of hut with reed roof, or reed roof reinforced by rough thatching above four mud walls, is found in numbers near the Caspian Sea, where travellers are reminded of the thatched cob cottages of Devon. The pent roof may have been devised so that snow can slide off on to the ground.

The *mandi* is of the *jemāli* type, which suggests an Iranian origin. It is oblong in shape, the north and south walls being the long walls, and is built so that a person entering the small opening in the middle of the south wall will face the North Star, towards which a person should direct his gaze when praying. The door-opening is narrow, only about 14 inches wide, and is about 60 to 65 inches high. The top of the entrance is narrower, and the mud with which the reed substructure is plastered is

PLATE 20



Reed guest-house, framework showing *shebāb* and *aḥtār*. *Kūkh* type

moulded into a rough triple arch. A *mandi* should also have a triple moulding about its entire south face called the *miṣra*, but this is not invariably made. The ridge-pole projecting from the *mandi* is supported by two strong bundles of reeds daubed with mud, and in the case of the two *mandia* which I first examined the ridge-pole projecting from the building had further support in the shape of two poles, forked at the top to receive it. These supporting poles, of olive-wood, were some inches away from the actual reed-supports, and were entirely clear of the building itself, for the ridge-pole, which runs east and west, was longer than the hut. The dimensions may differ, but, Mandaeans inform me, the number of reed bundles may not vary. The verticals from the ground to the ridge-pole (*ard̲h̲ana*)[3] on the east and west sides of the *mandi* (including the verticals in which the *ard̲h̲ana* lies) are called *s̲h̲ebāb* (sing. *s̲h̲eḅbah̤*, the ordinary marsh-Arab word for a bundle of reeds). The *aḥtār* or horizontals up to the pole are seven in number, so that there are forty-two in all. The two upright bundles or *s̲h̲ebāb* which support the ridge-pole are also called *tikm* (sing. *tikmah̤*). The part of the *tikmah̤* which projects from the plastered face of the wall measures about 57 centimetres. The photograph of the *mandi* at Litlata illustrates the manner in which the cross-pieces are used. The slanting supports visible in the north and south walls of the Litlata *mandi* are called *gadfi*, wings; or, in Arabic *ajnāḥ*, and are seven in number, four slanting north and three south.

The interior of the *mandi* shows its construction even better than the exterior, but I was unable to take a photograph owing to the absence of light. From within one sees that beneath the reed-matting (*bāriyah̤*, plur. *bawāri*) there is a layer of stout reeds bound loosely together with string so as to keep them in place (the string being twisted round each reed but not tied), a fabric which recalls the reed-screens made by nomad women to shut off their part of the tent from the men's. Across this at right angles, on both slanting sides of the roof, are placed seven bundles of reeds, and athwart these again three long bundles run from east to west. There is no window and no inner decoration. The only detail to be noticed in the interior is the presence of two pegs called *s̲h̲ugāsa* which project, like a V placed sideways, from each *tikmaḥ* at the east and west ends of the structure. The point of the V is not closed, and I was told that the object of the pegs was to provide support for a dish or for clothes.

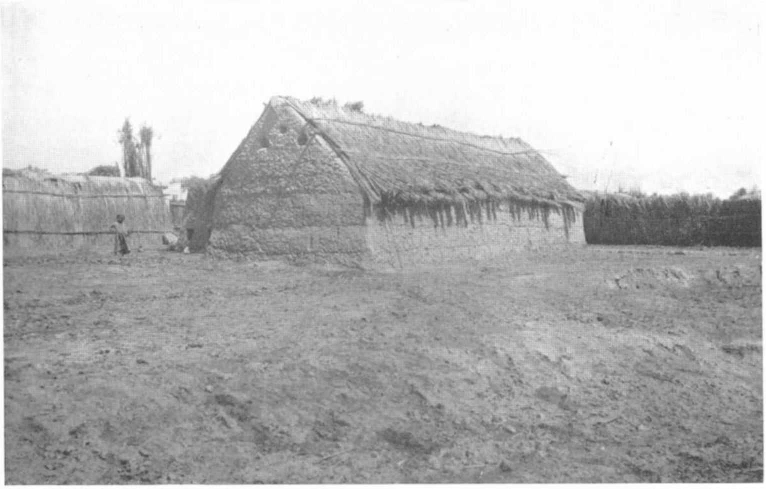
No iron or nail is employed in the building at all, but that may have no ritual significance, since the same might be said of any reed hut in the marshes. The only lighting is from the door, and there is no interior decoration or floor covering.

The hut-interior is not used for any cult in which laymen take part and even the *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, or solemn eating for the dead, takes place without its walls, though within the enclosure.

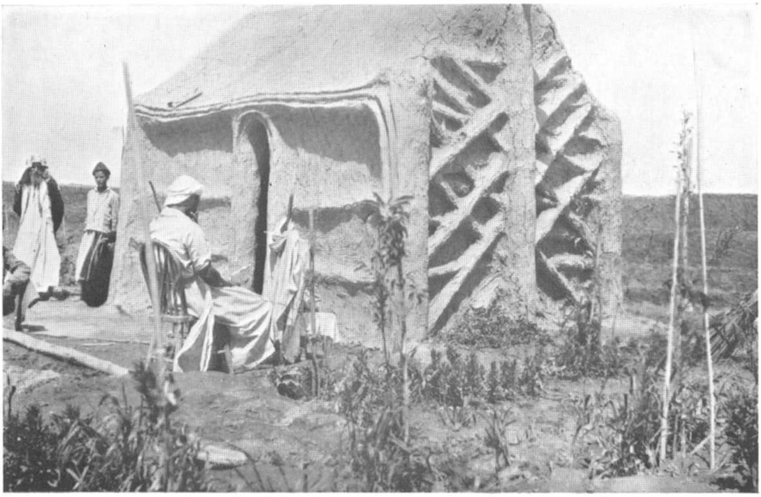
The pool is usually reached by a rough step, so that the candidate for ablution may step up and down without difficulty. It is deeper at one end, so that children and adults can find the depth suited to their height.

The hut must be re-consecrated yearly after the pollution caused by the five days preceding Panja (which are dedicated to the five powers of darkness), and this ceremony takes place before the last day of Panja (or Parwanaia). I was in Qalʿat Salih twice when the re-consecration took place. The first time I saw the ceremony (called in the *raṭna* Taraṣa d̲ mandi) in part and the second time I witnessed it practically from beginning to end, the complete *taraṣa* lasting from twelve to eighteen hours without a break.[4]

On each occasion, although I was in my place of observation within the *mandi* enclosure at an early hour, I was too late to observe the preliminaries, which consisted of the sweeping and cleaning of the enclosure and the tidying of the banks of the pool. The *mandi* hut had been replastered with fresh mud moulded over the door so as to form a triple arch, rounded at the top. As this appears well in my illustrations, I need not describe it further. To the right of the *mandi* were planted two



a. Jemāli type hut, near Basrah, with clay walls



b. Mandi at Litlata

*dravsha*s, or ritual banners, and beside them the clay table (*ṭoriana*) with its usual furniture, and a fire on the ground, constantly replenished with lustrated reeds. The ground in front of the hut was prepared by a barefoot attendant. He made shallow furrows or runnels about 3 inches wide (known as *miṣri*) from the cult-hut down to the pool, the loose earth being placed in a basket and removed. The first furrow ran from the right door-post, the second from the left door-post, the third was to the right of the first, the fourth ran from the southern corner of the east wall, and the fifth from the southern corner of the west wall. These furrows or runnels went down in straight lines, and a careful order was evidently observed. Lastly, he traced a furrow horizontally from the third to the fourth runnel, leaving an almost square patch by the hut (marked B in my roughly sketched plan). These furrows or *miṣri* (sing. *miṣra*) enclose purified areas, and should a chance impurity pollute one of the sections enclosed by them, it can be re-purified independently of the others. Nothing could be closer to the *karsha* of the Parsis, and the enclosed area corresponds to the *pâvi*.[5] Such a chance pollution occurred the second time that I watched the ceremony. A small child stepped over the *miṣra*. An officiating priest immediately went back into the pool, and after ablution ceremonies performed on himself, soused the spot by throwing bowlfuls of water over it, while repeating a formula of purification.

Pots, bowls, tongs, mill-stones, basins, pestle and mortar (*hāwan*), knives (haftless) used during the ceremony were taken within the purified areas after having been immersed three times in the pool with the usual 'Bahram' formula (see p. 49). The white muslin cloth (new) used for sifting the wheat flour was also immersed, and even a needle (at which point in the ritual this was used I could not discover).

A *ganzibra*, two priests, and two *shganda*s took part in the *taraṣa*, but the *ganzibra* (Shaikh Rūmī) was not throughout the chief officiant; towards the end of the proceedings he played the role of a dead man, for the *taraṣa* must be 'in the name' of a *rish 'ama* (see p. 173), in this case in the name of one Bahram Yahya, great-great-grandfather of Shaikh Rūmī himself, so that he was personating his own ancestor.[6] (The *rish 'ama* must be of the highly honoured priestly family of 'Manduiia'.) For this reason he put on later a completely new *rasta*, for (as will be seen presently when I describe *lofani* rites) those who represent the dead must wear new ritual garments. The chief officiant, next to the *ganzibra*, was a priest, Shaikh 'Abdullah, who had been through his ablution and sacraments at dawn, and my arrival at the *mandi* found him performing the elaborate ceremonies which qualified him to play his part, which was, first, to administer the five sacraments to the *ganzibra*, fellow priest, and the two *shganda*s. The usual preliminaries for an officiating priest followed: the making of the myrtle wreath, the dedication and arrangement of the garments, placing of the *pandama* before the mouth, and so on. Shaikh 'Abdullah then baptized in turn the *ganzibra*, his fellow priest, and the two *shganda*s, and when all were assembled on the bank in their wet garments, the 'signing' with crushed sesame followed, the difference from the usual sacrament being that the priest and *ganzibra* joined the officiant in intoning prayers throughout instead of observing silence like laymen, or like the *shganda*s. Shaikh 'Abdullah then daubed a small recess or niche in the eastern exterior wall of the *mandi* with fresh wet mud, filled his *qanina*, and sprinkled the wall with water from the pool. He next made the *pehtha* (sacramental bread). Taking a handful of flour and salt, he went to the pool, kneaded it with a little water in his palm, then plunged the closed fist containing the dough together with his other hand into the water. Returning, he placed the dough, patted into a round, on the fire (which was continually fed by washed reeds), setting it on the hot ashes and covering it with burning fuel. In a few moments it was baked. He put some morsels of it in the recess referred to above, and then administered the sacraments of bread and water to the four communicants. Again, the proceeding differed from the usual administration to laymen, for the *pehtha* and *mambuha* were given one after the other to each individual at one time, instead of making two rounds of it. The blessing was next given, and the celebrant moved backwards and forwards along the line several times, placing his hand on each head. Later came the usual oath to the *yardna*, the communicants stretching their right arms out behind them in the direction of the *river*, not the pool (this is an invariable rule, as the river although it feeds the pool, may in its twistings lie in any direction, while the *mandi* must always be on the right bank facing the north with its pool to the south of it). Throughout the baptism and sacraments the celebrant alone covered his face with the *pandama*, but the *ganzibra* and priest retained their staves (*margna*s). Then all stood, and those of priestly rank began to recite, the *shganda*s remaining silent. The usual final *kushṭa* or hand-grasp was given to the officiant, who thereupon ate *pehtha* and drank *mambuha*. The long prayers and ceremonies followed which release the various parts of the *rasta* from the special sanctity given them by their consecration in the initial ceremonies. The *ganzibra* and priest joined in these, and when *klila*s and *tagha*s were removed the former (the myrtle wreaths) were thrown into the water.

Thus ended what might be termed the first chapter of the ceremonies. The second part showed the priests in the role of slaughterers, millers, cooks, and bakers, and the sacred areas within the *miṣri* became the scene of busy activity.

In the temporary lull, I observed that all pots and pans which had been ceremonially dipped before being taken into the *miṣri* had been previously re-tinned, inside and out, for they lay gleamingly white on the ground.

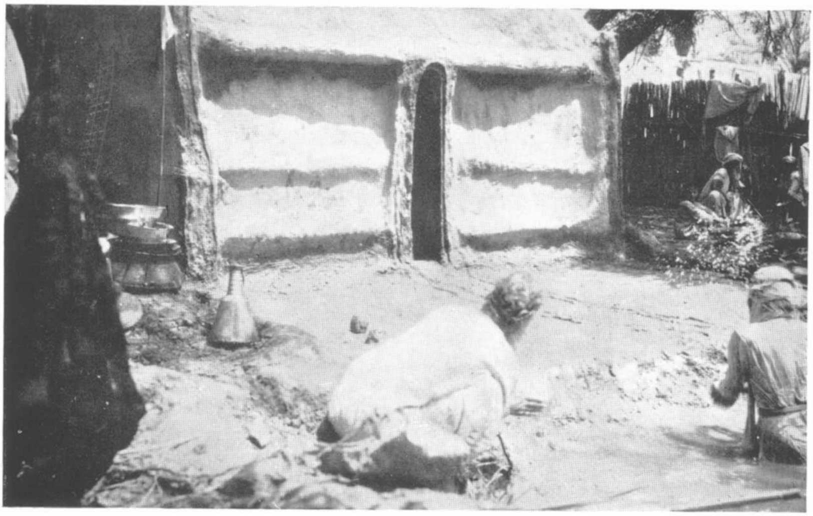
The *ganzibra* prepared for his labours by removing his turban and stole, and flinging them on the roof of the *mandi*, thus showing his long hair looped in small plaits close to his head. The two priests partly disrobed, and all set to work to brush the sections divided by the *miṣri*, sweeping all loose fragments of clay and rubbish into the pool.

Three balls of clay, almost round, were left, however, in section A, and these were used later, I suppose, to support dishes put on the fire (i.e. *manāṣīb* in Arabic), but I forgot to inquire their purpose. They can be seen in the photograph. The *ganzibra* now changed his *rasta*, piece by piece, for a new *rasta*, and having done this, went into the pool, ducked under three times, and then, taking a dish, hurled water from it all over the *mandi*, reciting prayers as he did so. The outer walls and roof were thus all washed, but the north wall did not receive as much attention as the others, though water ran down upon it from above. Meanwhile the *ganzibra* was pronouncing the name of the Life and Manda ḏ Hiia upon his labours: '*Us̲h̲ma ḏ Héi wus̲h̲ma Manda-ṭ-héi madk̲h̲ar 'illak̲h̲*'.

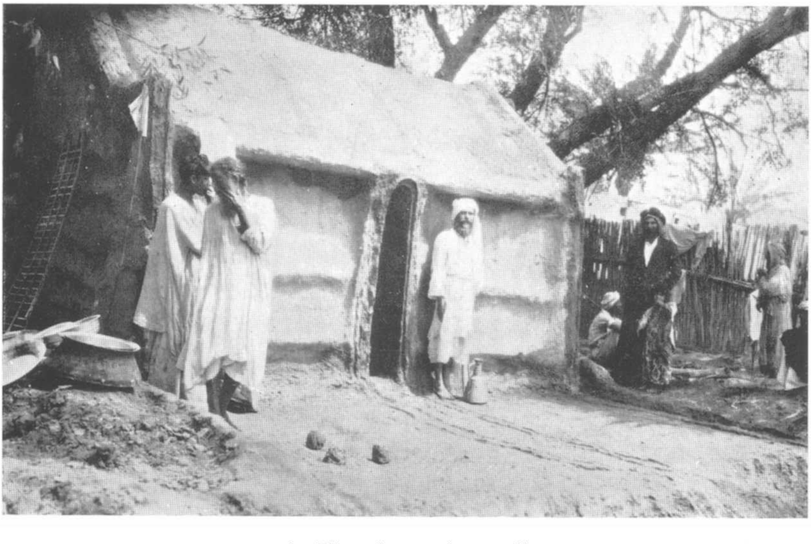
Next, standing upon the threshold of the hut but not entering it, he splashed the interior with water from his dish or basin. A larger tinned basin was washed, filled from the pool, and that done, the *ganzibra* entered the hut, and dipping water from the larger basin, he soused the *mandi* thoroughly within, standing upon the already wetted floor. Roof, beams, and every part received liberal ablution.

A ritual text inscribed with a stylus upon sheets of lead was now brought into the enclosure. It was wrapped in a white cloth, and the bundle plunged three times beneath the water. This text contains the *masiqta* (service for the ascension of the souls of the dead) and the ritual for the *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, both offices being recited during the subsequent proceedings. Meanwhile, the *ganzibra* and priests continued to wash the *mandi*, the former within and the latter without.

Next, a *s̲h̲ganda* took from outside a bundle of freshly peeled reeds, and these received the threefold immersion, as did wheat and sesame and various other grains brought in white cloths, like the reeds and wood employed on the fire. So that no purified celebrant should come into touch with impurity, fuel was floated across the pool, and each time that any actor within the *miṣri* came into chance contact with anything from without, he had to immerse three



a. The lustration of façade



b. The cleansed *mandi*

YEARLY CONSECRATION OF CULT-HUT

times. The wet wood and grain (the latter spread out on the white cloths upon the roof of the *mandi*) dried quickly in the sun and wind. I noticed that the ganzibra and priests ate now and again from the grain and fruit, for they had been fasting but for the sacred bread and water, and might not emerge from the *miṣri* for any profane purpose. A fire was lit in space A, the reeds being kindled by a lighted reed thrust in from without the area. One of the washed bundles of reeds was carried within the hut, to be used later for the *brihi*s (incense braziers). Now the priests worked at the preparing of the food, baking bread in flat loaves on the reversed side of a shallow bowl. The five sacred foods brought for the *masiqta* which was later to be performed in the *mandi* hut were:

1. Pomegranate seeds.
2. Coconut.
3. Quince.
4. Walnuts.
5. Raisins, or fresh white grapes when in season.

Besides this there were the 'fruits and vegetables in season' ordered by the ritual for the *zidqa brik̲h̲a* and the dates, sesame, and salt, whose uses will be presently explained.

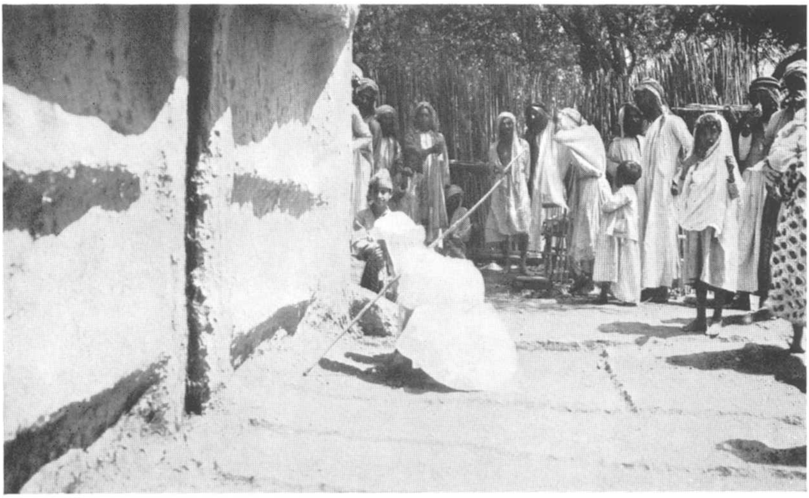
At this point, having been present for more than four hours, I was absent for three-quarters of an hour. In the interval various operations were in process. The wheat was being milled within the *mandi*, prior to making the dough which is used for the *masiqta*. In addition, the priests were baking small flat loaf after small flat loaf over the fire, eating to stay their hunger. The raisins and pomegranate seeds were placed on a reed dish for their ablution, and then dried in the sun, so were the other foods intended for the *masiqta* and the *zidqa brik̲h̲a*. The sesame was cooked a little over the fire, its husk was removed, and it was then placed in a mortar (*hāwan*) and pounded, together with some dates; then the mixture was placed by a priest in a corner of his robe, little by little, and squeezed with a pair of iron tongs, the resultant liquid (*mis̲h̲a*) falling into a *kept̲h̲a*, and being later transferred to a *qanina*. It is this mixed juice of sesame and date which is used later in the signing of the *faṭiri* (the loaves of the *masiqta*). Only a few drops were extracted from each handful, so that it was a tedious process; nevertheless, they told me, in the year preceding, the priest had succeeded in extracting enough to fill the *qanina*.

On my return, preparations for the *masiqta* were in progress. A dove of the *k͟hirrah̤* species, whole, male, perfect, and especially bred for the purpose,[7] was being held by a small boy outside the consecrated areas, and I found myself obliged to reprimand him for teasing the bird. The bundle of white cloth containing the ritual text inscribed upon lead was opened, one of the lead sheets extracted and placed upright and face outwards against the *mandi* wall within the square marked B.

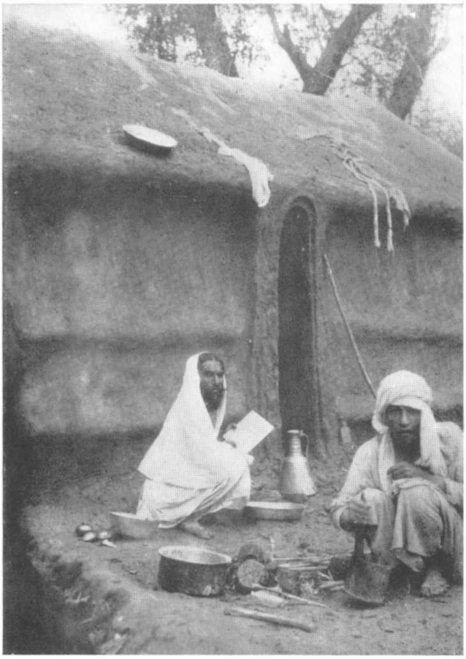
The *ganzibra* now reappeared in an entirely new and dazzlingly white *rasta*, and underwent the threefold immersion in the pool. On emerging, he prayed silently in the square B. A curious feature of the dove-sacrifice for a *masiqta* is that not a word must be uttered aloud either by the celebrant or the *s͟hganda* who assists him.[8]

The latter, with the dove, the knife to be used in its sacrifice, the stick to be held with the knife, and a sprig of myrtle clasped to his right shoulder, goes down into the pool, and plunges under three times before joining the *ganzibra* in B and taking up a position to the east of him. Facing the *mandi* (i.e. the north), crouching and holding the dove so that in cutting its throat the knife moved from north to south, the *ganzibra* performed the silent sacrifice of the bird. As always, the slaughterer held a stick of wood with the knife. I was told that at this sacrifice the *ganzibra*, holding the dove by its wings, steadies the body of the bird with his bare right foot. I have since acquired a manuscript describing the ritual, and find that this use of the right foot in slaughtering the dove is prescribed.

The body of the dove and the knife were taken by the *s͟hganda* to the pool and immersed thrice, the stick being allowed to float away on the slowly flowing waters. He then rejoined the *ganzibra* in the square of the sacrifice



a. Sacrifice of the dove



b. Pounding of the dates and sesame (*foreground*)

CONSECRATION OF CULT-HUT

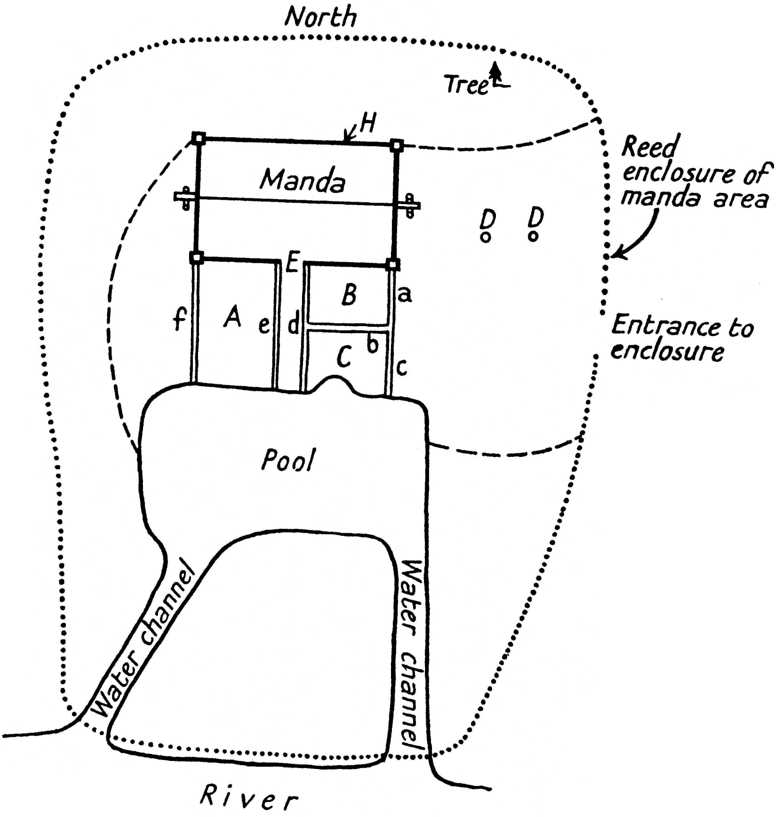

North
Tree
H
Manda
D
D
Reed enclosure of manda area
E
B
a
f
A
e
d
b
C
c
Entrance to enclosure
Pool
Water channel
Water channel
River

Fig. 7. THE *MANDI*

A, B, and C. Sections divided by *miṣri.*
E. Doorway of *Manda.*
D. *Drabsha̱s.*
H. Place of burial of dove and *faṭiri.*
a, b, c, d, e, and f are the *miṣri,* or furrows.

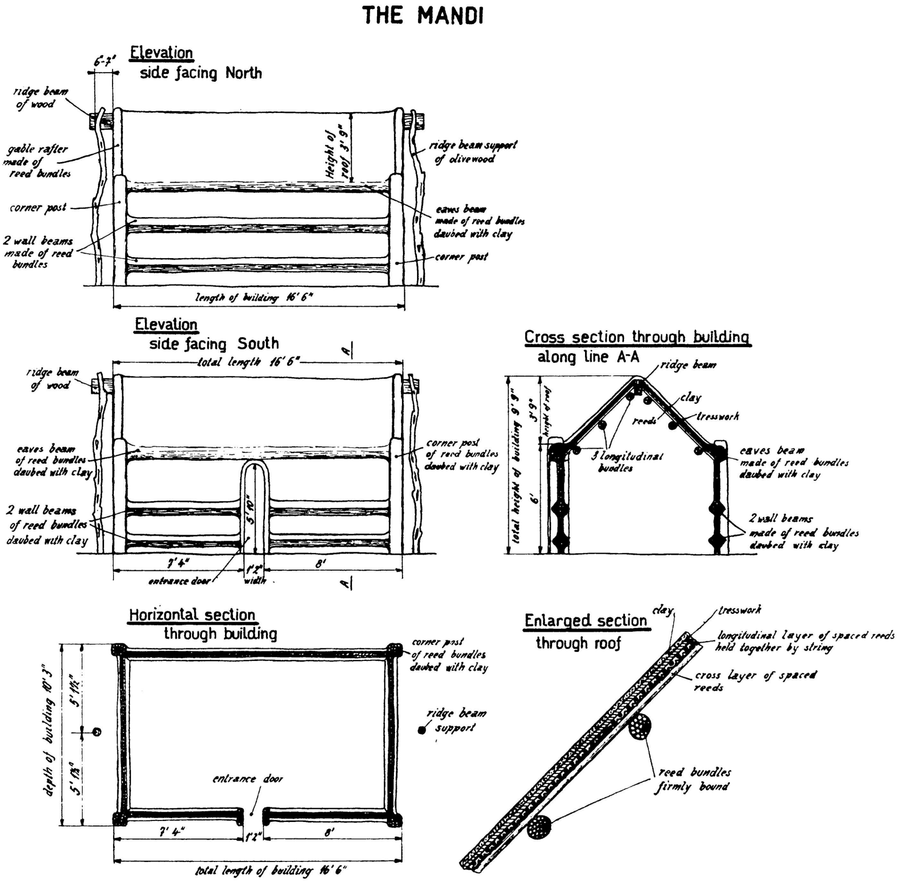

THE MANDI
Elevation
side facing North
6-7'
ridge beam of wood
gable rafter made of reed bundles
corner post
2 wall beams made of reed bundles
Height of roof 3' 9"
ridge beam support of olivewood
eaves beam made of reed bundles daubed with clay
corner post
length of building 16' 6"
Elevation
side facing South
total length 16' 6"
A
ridge beam of wood
eaves beam of reed bundles daubed with clay
2 wall beams of reed bundles daubed with clay
corner post of reed bundles daubed with clay
5' 10"
7' 4"
1' 2" width
8'
entrance door
A
Cross section through building
along line A-A
ridge beam
clay
reeds
tresswork
3 longitudinal bundles
eaves beam made of reed bundles daubed with clay
2 wall beams made of reed bundles daubed with clay
total height of building 9' 9"
3' 9"
height of roof
6'
Horizontal section
through building
corner post of reed bundles daubed with clay
ridge beam support
depth of building 10' 3"
5' 1½"
5' 1½"
entrance door
7' 4"
1' 2"
8'
total length of building 16' 6"
Enlarged section
through roof
clay
tresswork
longitudinal layer of spaced reeds held together by string
cross layer of spaced reeds
reed bundles firmly bound

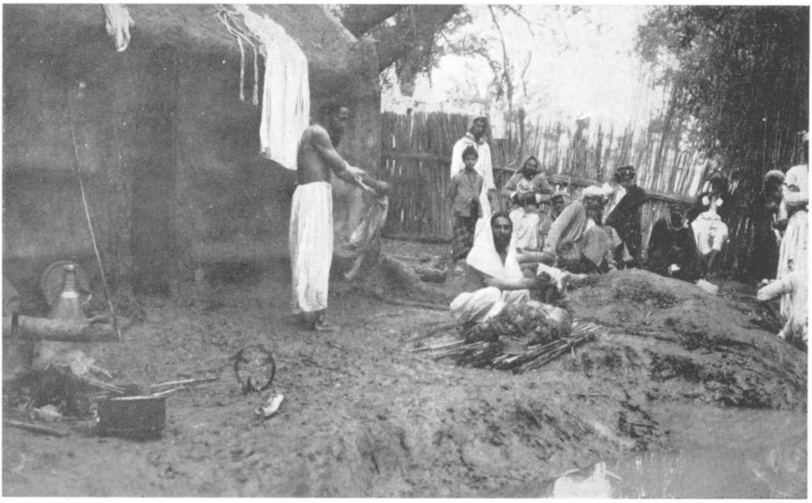
FIG. 8.

and both left it together. The *ganzibra*, taking the body of the dove, put a little salt on the wound, and passed the cut throat three times into the flame of a burning (and previously lustrated) bundle of reeds held by the *s̲h̲ganda*, after which the corpse was taken inside the *mandi* by the *ganzibra* and the two priests, all three washing their hands before entry into the hut.

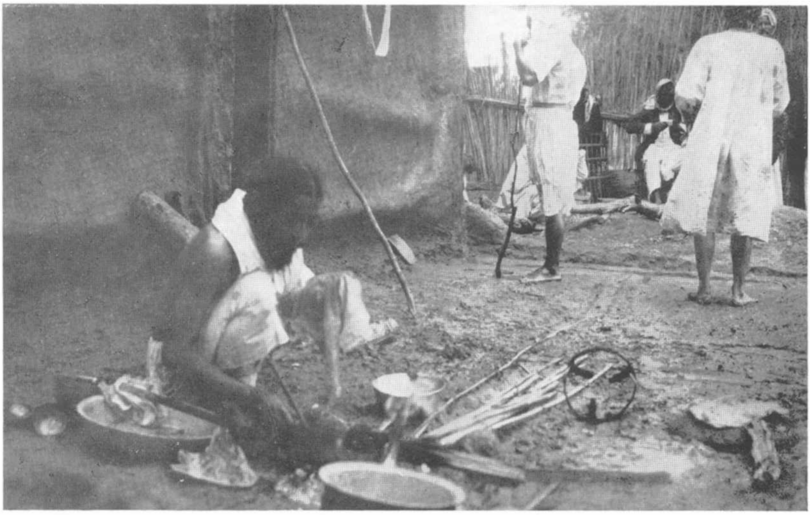
The ritual of the *masiqta* within the *mandi* is identical with that of the *masiqta* performed at the consecration of a priest described in a later chapter. For a description of this, and other *masiqta*s, I have been dependent upon the priests, as none but they are allowed within the cult-hut for its performance. The consecration of the sixty-six *faṭiri*, the solemn eating of the *ṭabut̲h̲a* with the dove's flesh, the drinking of *hamra*, and the final burial of the remains of the dove and the sixty-six *faṭiri* (sacred bread) with their sacred morsels are all hidden from profane eyes, and the only ceremony that I saw was the completion of the interment of the bundle which contained them in a space to the north-west of the *mandi*. It is never buried beyond the east wall of the *mandi*-hut, and a fresh spot is always chosen. What happens when all the ground has been used I do not know: as this cannot happen for many years, perhaps earlier interments are forgotten, or another *mandi* consecrated. The differences between the *ganzibra*'s *masiqta* and that of the *s̲h̲walia* are described more nearly in the last chapter, on 'Eating for the Dead', also the exact nature of the *zidqa brik̲h̲a* which I witnessed so dimly by the light of candles. But the *zidqa brik̲h̲a* and the final burial were at the end of a long day's work, and it is my task here to describe what I actually witnessed.

The second victim, whose fat was to be used in the *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, was a sheep which had been waiting some time outside the consecrated area, but inside the *mandi* enclosure. The priests quitted the *mandi*, leaving the *ganzibra* alone with the dead dove and a *s̲h̲ganda*. His voice was heard chanting from the dark interior. The priests chanted, too, but busied themselves with the second victim and preparations for its slaughter. A bundle of reeds were shortened, taken into the pool and thoroughly washed, then laid on division c making a couch of reeds (*chibasha* or *kibasha*) upon which the victim was to be laid. (I witnessed another slaughter of a sheep for *lofani*, and the victim was laid on a bed of green palm-branches at the side of the river, with a *miṣra* trenched about the spot in a square, the trenches running down into the river.)[9]

The sheep (a male, for no female must be slaughtered) was thrown on its side outside the *miṣri*, its feet tied together, and a *hallali* proceeded to clean its legs and feet. I was informed that, previous to its entry into the *mandi* enclosure, the animal had been induced to evacuate all that was in its bowels by means of a reed introduced into the anus, so that it might not defile the ground. The washing of the feet was so thorough and minute that it took about ten minutes, and after that, the tail and *liyah̤* (fatty base of the tail characteristic of the local species), and all the wool of the hinder parts were washed with equal scrupulousness. Meanwhile, a priest was washing and scrubbing the leaden sheets of the ritual text (defiled, I presume, by the slaughter of the dove). It was at this point that the profanation of the *miṣri* by a child, mentioned earlier, temporarily interrupted proceedings except as regarded the *ganzibra* inside the *mandi*. The untoward episode terminated, the *hallali* lifted the sheep and bore it with him into the pool, plunged himself and the sheep below the surface three times, and, staggering out with difficulty, for the wet sheep with its unshorn fleece was heavy, he placed it on the reeds with its head to the east and its tail to the west. The knife was washed with the usual formula, the bond of rushes which secured the sheaf of reeds was cut so that the reeds flattened out, and a large dish was placed beneath the throat of the animal to catch its blood. Shaikh ʿAbdullah, the priest detailed for the slaughter, performed his *rishama*, splashed water over his staff, touched each part of his *rasta* in consecration, and placed the *tagha* and *klila* on his head with the usual prayers. Silk *tagha*s must be worn at Panja.



a. The slaughter of the sheep



b. In foreground, a priest bakes meat. In background, the ganzibra prays silently before sacrificing the dove

CONSECRATION OF CULT-HUT

Meanwhile, the other priest and *shganda* were exchanging pleasantries with the onlookers. The *shganda* stood by Shaikh 'Abdullah as witness to the slaughter (for at every slaughter a witness is necessary). Shaikh 'Abdullah squatted to the south of the victim, facing the north, and cut its throat, murmuring into its right ear as he bent over it:

(Pronunciation) '*Bushma d Héi, ushma ad Manda-ṭ-Héi madkhar illakh. Pthahil qariakh, Hiwel Ziwa paqad illakh miniksakh besrakh dakki, kul men ad akhil menakh nihiyi nitessi nitqayyam ushmi ad Héi wushma ad Manda-ṭ-Héi madkhar illakh.*'

(Translation) 'In the Name of the Life! The name of Manda d Hiia is pronounced upon thee. Pthahil calls thee; Hibil Ziwa ordered thy slaughter. Thy flesh is pure; everyone who eats of it shall live, shall be made healthful, shall be established. The name of the Life and the name of Manda d Hiia are mentioned upon thee.'

The knife, like all sacrificial knives or ritual knives used by Mandaeans, was of iron, and was heated red-hot in a fire after the slaughter was complete, so as to purify it absolutely. The customary small stick, about 6 inches in length, was held with it when the throat was cut. This slaughter-stick may be of olive, tamarisk, willow, mulberry, or any 'clean' wood. 'It is forbidden to slaughter with *parzla* (iron) only,' is the only explanation of this custom which I have ever received from the priests.[10] As before, at the slaughter of the dove, both stick and knife were taken down to the pool, Shaikh 'Abdullah descending into the water to purify himself. He took off his clothes, all but the *sharwala*, then immersed himself three times, rubbing the shirt in the water to remove blood-stains, and while the knife, too, was washed carefully, the stick was allowed to float away.

The formula during the purification is:

(Pronunciation) '*Ushma ad Héi ushma ad Manda-ṭ-héi madkhar illey neksīt ib parzla, halilīt byardna ana nakāsa, marey hayāsa ushruley ushwuqley* (*shbuqlai*) *haṭṭai hovey* (*hubai*) *eskhilāthey tuqlāthey shabshāthey diley, Aplan bar Aplana* (the names of the officiant and his mother), *ushma ad Héi ushma ad Manda-ṭ-héi madkhar illey.*'

(Translation) 'The name of the Life and the name of Manda ḏ Hiia be pronounced upon me. I have slaughtered with iron, I have purified myself in the *yardna*. I am a slaughterer, my lord, pardon! Absolve me and free me from my sin, my trespass, my follies, my errors, and my evil deeds, mine, So-and-So son of So-and-So. The name of the Life and the name of Manda ḏ Hiia be pronounced upon me.'

It will be noticed that no purely *light*-names are invoked in this prayer: the sin incurred is a sin against the Great Life through the taking of life.

Water from the pool was also poured on the throat of the dying sheep, and the priest's wet clothes flung on to the *mandi* roof to dry. When the sheep had gasped its last breath, a torch of burning reeds was brought and applied to its throat. Its four feet and the head were cut off and placed in a dish, and the business of skinning and cutting up was begun by the now semi-naked slaughterer, aided by one of the *s̲h̲gandi*. The wool was first shorn away, then a little of the fat cut off and put inside the *mandi* for the *zidqa brik̲h̲a*. The whole business was performed on the bed of reeds, and at times the priest washed his hands. A log of wood was floated across the pool towards him from without the *miṣri*, and, after this had received its threefold immersion, it was used as a chopping block for the meat. While these lengthy operations were in process, the *ganzibra* emerged again from the *mandi*, performed the *ris̲h̲ama*, and filled two *qanina*s from the pool, taking one within and placing the other by the right doorpost of the *mandi*. Followed by a *s̲h̲ganda*, he again disappeared within the *mandi*, only to issue once in answer to a shouted suggestion about the ritual from a priest (not an officiant), who sat outside the *miṣri*. This priest, who had a roll of the S̲h̲arh ḏ Parwanaia in his hand, had a criticism to make about the way in which the ritual was proceeding. Interruptions of this nature are never resented. A passage from the roll was read, discussed, and the matter settled, and then the *ganzibra* returned to his incantations within the *mandi*. The second priest officiating, S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Faraj, had also by now divested himself of all his *rasta* but his *sharwala* (drawers), dipped under three times in the pool, washed his *rasta*, put on his wet shirt and washed the *sharwala* separately, and then hung them and the rest of his *rasta* above the smoky fire to dry.

The roasting of the meat followed. Small portions of flesh were put in a dish, dipped in salt and then laid as they were on the fire. After a while, the pieces were removed, laid again in salt, and put on a second dish. The result, scorched morsels covered with ashes and salt, looked most unappetizing. Flies were soon busy on the meat, and, as the precautions as to ritual cleanliness had been so scrupulous, I asked about the flies, which certainly had not undergone the threefold ablution.

They smiled. 'We know, but how can we help it? What the air brings, willow-down' [the cotton-like down fell at every puff of wind like snow from the willow trees which grew in the *mandi* enclosure], 'dust, or flies, we cannot help. In any case, flies have no blood, and it is creatures which have blood which are unclean.'

Now and again a priest or *shganda* ate a morsel of the roasted meat. The skin, wool, and some of the uncooked meat were conveyed outside the *mandi*, and the offal was taken by a woman to be cast into the river. When the whole chopping and cooking were over, the blood-stained log and reeds were brought to the fire and used as fuel by degrees.

The third act was now ready to begin, and the two priests clothed themselves in their complete *rasta*s, washed their *margna*s, and, summoned by the *ganzibra* who came out to fill three *qanina*s with water, they all three entered the hut for the reading of the *rahmi* and the rest of the *masiqta* described in the next chapter (see pp. 156 ff.). The sound of their intoning voices droned on for a long time: the afternoon became dusk and then night. From time to time, from outside, I caught a glimpse of swaying bodies as they read the long liturgies.

At last came the final act, the solemn *zidqa brikha* in the name of the dead *rish 'ama*. It was dimly seen by the light of the still burning fire and of two lanterns suspended on sticks. The *ganzibra* and two priests emerged from the hut, crossed the *miṣri* and took their place by the two *dravsha*s planted in the ground of the eastern end of the enclosure. First they swept the ground. A large *ṭoriana* was set on the ground, and on this unbaked clay table and another near it were placed salt, bread, orange peel, small pieces of roast mutton fat (from the sacrificed sheep's tail, or *liyaḥ*); with rice (the white, not the red *shilib*), fish, raisins, pomegranate seeds, and other eatables, all of a vegetable nature except the fat of the slaughtered sheep and the fish. A *shganda*, emerging ghost-like from the darkness, brought a branch of myrtle and held it over this table of *ṭabutha* or 'good things' as the medley was called. The two *dravsha*s were a little to the east of the strange scene. The customary sanctification of the *rasta* took place: piece by piece it was touched and sanctified, the *shganda* sitting facing the priests and holding the branch of myrtle. Then came the *dukhrana*, the 'remembrance' or solemn mention of the blessed souls of those in the world of light, including that of the long-dead *rish 'ama*. The *ganzibra* and the priests each took a handful of the food and held it while one of the priests recited the *zidqa brikha* prayers with the *Abahathan* prayer (see pp. 218–222), and then carried it to their mouths and ate it. The *ganzibra* played a silent part during this ceremony, and the onlookers reminded me that during this *zidqa brikha* he was impersonating his ancestor, in whose name together with that of his wife, the prayers were offered. (For the full ritual of this *zidqa brikha* see pp. 205 ff.).

When some of the food before them had been eaten, the *ganzibra*, holding a piece of myrtle, read from a book. All three placed sprigs of myrtle plume-like into their turbans[11] and, one after another, drank *hamra* from their *keptha*s in the name of the dead. Then the two priests rose, and placing the ends of their stoles upon the head of the crouching and silent figure of the *ganzibra*, prayed. The *ganzibra* then handed the book from which he had read to the officiating priest (Shaikh 'Abdullah), who read from it in his turn. I heard lists of dead persons. 'So-and-So, son of So-and-So, a forgiver of sins may there be for me.'

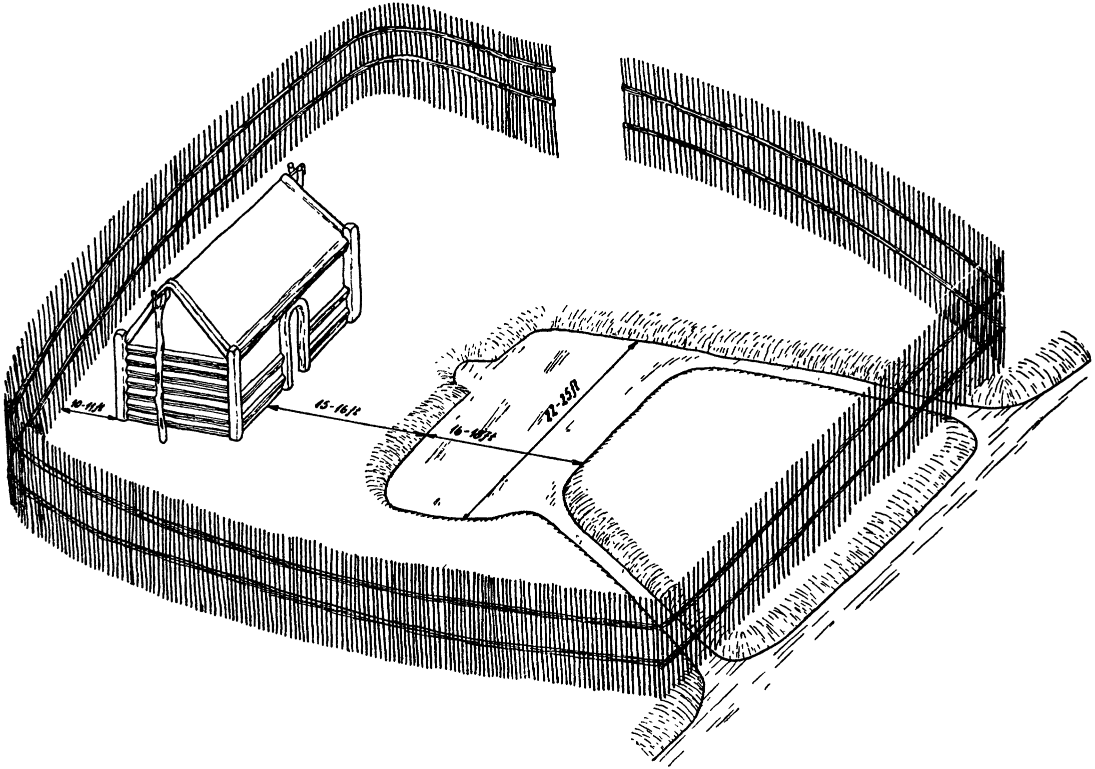

10-11ft
15-16ft
16-18ft
22-25ft

FIG. 7. The *Manda*

At long last came the de-consecration of the *rasta*, and, in the uncertain light, all three weary men bent to smell the myrtle and to say, 'Lovely is the perfume of life, my lord, Manda of Life!'

It was the end. I saw a priest, in the dark, dig the tomb of the dove and *faṭiri*, and went home.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. The use of a ritual pool or *apsu* in connexion with Ea, god of the waters, seems to have formed part of Sumerian cults at Eridu, the ancient city whose site is only a short march from a modern *mandi* at Sūq esh-Shuyūkh. Father Burrows in a recent publication ('Problems of the *abzu*'; '*Orientalia*' I (Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici: Rome, 1932) discussed the *apzu* or *abzu*, which, he concludes, cannot have been a libation drain, as has been suggested, but must have been a basin or pool. He points out that some of the names of cult-*abzu*s at Lagash indicate pools 'connected with canals, or the like'.

2. For Dr. Murray's interesting comment on the forked support and the mud-covered reed pillars see my article on 'the Cult-Hut of the Mandaeans' in *Ancient Egypt and the East*, June 1934. The gabled roof building seems to have had a quasi-religious significance in Iraq in early times. Mr. M. E. L. Mallowan (in *Iraq*, vol. ii, part i) writing of recent excavations at Arpachiyah says: 'In antiquity the pitched roof is depicted in a painted terracotta from Al 'Ubaid . . . now in the British Museum; this is some confirmation of our interpretation of a curious steatite amulet . . . of the Tall Ḫalaf period, which seems to represent a gabled roof with a bending roof pole.'

That the gabled type of building had a religious bearing in the first Zarathustrian Persian era seems indicated by the tomb of Cyrus at Parsagadae, which is of the *manda* type, also other holy buildings of this epoch. The building as a type may be taken to represent, in a more permanent form, the tent with a ridge-pole supported by two upright poles: a form which would be dear to nomads adopting a settled existence. The Shinto shrine, I am told, is of this gabled pattern, for this very reason.

3. The marsh-Arabs call the ridge-pole the *jisr* or *ḥardi*, sometimes *ḥardhī*, Dict. حُرّدى = roof of reeds, حرّد = to betake oneself to a hut.

4. I was struck, when reading Thureau-Dangin's *Rituels Accadiens*, with resemblances between the *taraṣa ḏ mandi* and the Akkadian rites for the reconsecration of a temple after pollution, earthquake, or violation. Several cuneiform tablets giving fragments of this ritual are translated by the author (pp. 35 ff.). Significant features reappear in the Mandaean ritual, namely, slaughter of an animal on a bed of reeds, an address to it before its sacrifice, 'aspersions of pure water', *three* tables of offerings,

lighting of a fire, lamentation (the *masiqta* ceremony corresponds), the bringing of grains, oil, flour, fruit, and other foods, and 'water on the tables'. The first time I saw the ceremony three white cloths were spread also, but I was told later that this was accidental. Formerly, they said, white cloths were sometimes spread, but the cloths I saw were merely spread to dry. (See next chapter for a more detailed account of the proceedings inside the cult-hut.) The 'Ritual of Kalu' is of the Seleucid period.

The Akkadian Ritual

The Slaughter (*Rituel de Kalu*, pp. 11 ff.). The bull was made to stand on a reed mat. The word used is *buri* and the modern marsh word is *bāria* (plur. *buwāri*), spread reeds as well as woven reeds. Water was placed before the bull in a copper vessel, water poured over him in lustration and his mouth washed. An incantation '*Gu-gal gu-maḫ u ki-uš asag-ga*' was murmured into the right ear of the victim through a reed. After cutting the throat, the priest said, '*Mu-lu na-a mu-lu na-a*' three times and repeated three times, 'These works, it is the gods who have done them, not I who have done them.' p. 23.

The victim had a piacular character. To quote from another tablet, p. 23:

'Thou art the great bull, the creature of the great gods. . . .
In the heavens thine image (has been destined) to the rites of the Supreme divinity
When Anu, Enlil, Enki, and Ninmah (fixed) the destinies of the great gods...;
Remain to eternity in this divine mystery

. . . .

May the sanctuary of this god be pure, be holy.'

The re-consecration. 'In a month favourable, a day favourable, in the night, three tables of offerings to the god of the temple, to the goddess of the temple, . . . thou shalt prepare, thou shalt offer the right thigh, the loins, and roast meats . . . a fire for Ea and Marduk thou wilt illumine; thou wilt spread beer of the first quality, wine and milk; lamentation *Utu-dim-é-*(*ta*) and the *er-šem-ma U-ʿu-ba mu-ḫul* thou wilt chant. In the morning on the roof of this temple in a place where entrance is forbidden thou wilt make three aspersions of pure water (*mê elluti* (pl.) *ta-sal-laḫ*). Three tables of offerings for Ea, S̲h̲amas̲h̲, and Marduk thou shalt instal, three linens thou shalt place on the seats, syrup of honey and cream, dates, *šasqû* flour, *bar-ga* oil, three vases *adagurru*, best quality beer, wine, milk thou wilt instal, a censer charged with cypress thou shalt place there, aromatic grains of all sorts shalt thou pour out, thou shalt offer three sacrifices, the right thigh, the reins, and roast meats thou shalt present, thou shalt expose beer of the first quality, wine, and milk; thou wilt place water on the tables, the cloths thou wilt offer . . . for Ea, S̲h̲amas̲h̲, and Marduk thou wilt chant. . . .' p. 35.

Milk figures in Parsi ritual meals (chap. XIII), and was drunk ritually at the early Christian baptismal eucharist. (Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus).

5. 'A *karsha*...means "a trench or a furrow" (see also p. 201). The word has a technical meaning in Zoroastrian rituals. At times, sacred or consecrated things or materials are to be kept, for the time being, within a limited space or enclosure, so that persons other than the officiating priests may not come into contact with them. The person in charge of the things, placing the things on the ground, draws round them a temporary circle, trench, or furrow.... If somebody else steps within the circle—or touches it even from without the circle, . . . the line of isolation is broken. . . . This *karsha* . . . has a double efficiency . . . in case the substance itself' (within the *karsha*) 'is undergoing decomposition and is impure, you stop the impurity from going out of the circle and spreading round about.' (JJM., pp. 113–14). In illustrations, the author shows that the *karsha* was not always circular; on p. 135 he shows a square *pâvi*. Similarly, when the Nestorians (Assyrian Christians) kill a sheep (which must be 'father of a lamb') or a cock (which must be 'father of chickens', i.e. of proved fertility) at *dukhrana* (i.e. a ritual meal to help the souls of the dead in the after life or to save the life of a sick person) the victim's throat is cut either on the threshold of the door of the church or, if the *dukhrana* is performed elsewhere, a line called a *miṣra* is traced about it.

6. *In the name of an ancestor.* 'Nîyat literally means purpose, intention. Among the Parsees, many charitable deeds are said to be performed by a person in the *nîyat* of a deceased relative or friend. A man may build a Fire-Temple or a Tower of Silence or [*some*] such other religious edifice in the *nîyat* of B, his father, or relative, or friend' (JJM., p. 200). 'The formulae used for this purpose have varied at different times. The formula used in the Fravardin Yasht is: "We invoke the Fravashi. . . ." For example, "We invoke the Fravashi of the holy Yima of Vivaghâna". The formula used in the Pazend Afrîn-i-Papithwin is "May the holy spirit of . . . be one with us",' &c. (JJM., p. 81.)

7. One priest told me that the male sex was not essential with sacrificed birds; but slaughtered beasts must always be male.

8. *Silent prayer.* Prayer is usually silent when the person praying is considered ritually 'dead', or on occasions of extreme sanctity, or in the case of a bride during her baptism. It seems to correspond to the Parsi praying 'in Bâj'. Bâjs are recited amongst other occasions, on 'Bâj days', i.e. anniversaries of the deaths of persons. See JJM. pp. 360–361.

9. I have already pointed out that the custom of killing a victim on a bed of reeds goes back to Akkadian times. A similar custom seems to have been practised by the Magians. Herodotus says: 'The man who wishes to sacrifice brings his victim to a spot of ground which is pure from pollution, and there calls upon the name of the god to whom he intends to offer. It is usual to have the turban encircled with a wreath, most commonly of myrtle. The sacrificer is not allowed to pray for blessings on himself alone, but he prays for the welfare of the king, and of the whole Persian people, among whom he is of necessity included. He cuts the victim in pieces, and

having boiled the flesh, he lays it out upon the tenderest herbage that he can find, trefoil especially.' (The turban and myrtle wreath are identical with the Mandaean turban and *klila*.) Sir Jīvanjī Jamshedjī Modi thinks that 'in very old times, all the sacrificial requisites were spread on a matting or carpet'. (JJM., p. 273.)

10. Moulton, in his *Early Zoroastrianism* (p. 408 f.), speaking of the Magians, says they were slaughterers, 'but not always with iron but with wood'. Note, too, that the Magians wore white, a turban, and a myrtle wreath, and slaughtered beside water. They were careful, however, not to pollute the water with blood.

11. The *klila*, or myrtle wreath of the baptism ceremony, is placed between the turban and the *tagha*. But in the ceremony described here, the myrtle was stuck into the folds of the turban. See chapter on 'Eating for the Dead'.

IX

THE PRIESTHOOD: CONSECRATION OF THE PRIEST, OR TARMIDA

As said above, the priesthood is dwindling. The authority of the priest is not what it was, and his income has suffered; moreover, the conditions of modern life make it difficult for him to carry out the arduous observances imposed by his faith, or to obey injunctions which he must exhort others to follow. Ablution and immersion are so essential to his calling that he must enjoy at all times free use of an unpolluted foreshore; thus the cult is scarcely adapted to cities. Should he live far from towns, however, the poor and humble inhabitants of marsh and village offer him an insufficient livelihood.

The priesthood is hereditary,[1] and there are families in which father and son have been priests without interruption for centuries. I do not mean that the priesthood is entirely shut to those outside the priestly families: a lay Ṣubbi who has a 'clean' family history for the necessary number of generations, and has the requisite physical and mental qualifications, can become a priest, but, in practice, the priesthood tends to run from father to son.

The training begins in a boy's earliest years. As a little fellow, he puts on his *rasta*[2] and acts as his father's acolyte, or *s͟hganda*. He begins to learn his letters when he is three to four years old, and when a boy is literate he is called a *yalufa*. He begins to commit prayers and rituals to memory as soon as he can speak. In earlier times no knife or scissors were allowed to come into contact with the hair of a child destined for priesthood from birth upwards; but now a boy may train for priesthood if he has not cut his hair since puberty.[3] He must be without the least physical blemish. I was told of a certain *yalufa* called Bahram, whose brother was a *ganzibra*, who, having severed the top of his finger while chopping wood, went to the *ganzibra*. The latter said, 'I will give you *maṣwetta* (*maṣbuta*, baptism)—to atone for the blood pollution, but you cannot be a priest now'. Bahram, bitterly grieved, tried to persuade his brother that the decision was harsh, but his efforts were unavailing.

A circumcised man, one who is impotent, and a eunuch are all debarred from priesthood, for the body must be 'pure, sound, and perfect'. If a priest already ordained receives an injury which destroys his manhood or robs him of a limb, he can no longer officiate. Apparently the loss of an eye, or of an interior organ by operation, is not now counted, though, according to the Alf Trisar Shiala, the priest's sight must be faultless. Madness (after ordination) is believed a curable state, although, of course, a man is not permitted to officiate while mad.

Not only the body of a priest, but his genealogy must be sound. He must be of pure Mandaean blood, and his family must be physically and ritually immaculate for several generations back on both sides of the family. Family history is always known with the Mandaeans, especially the priests, who keep long genealogies, usually written in the holy books, going back for five hundred years or longer. If any of his female ancestors within three generations were married when widows or not-virgin, the would-be priest cannot be consecrated. Hence it may be said that every priest is, in a sense, of 'virgin-birth'.

I have been told several times that sex is not a bar to priesthood. There have been women priests and *ganzivri*, though a woman *ganzibra* can only perform one marriage ceremony; moreover, in the Ginza (13th book, rt. side), there is a mention of Mandaean priestesses. The Alf Trisar Shiala says, however, '*zdahar ḏ la titirṣun tagha 'l 'ntha*' (Beware lest ye consecrate a woman as priest). I have never met one, or heard a priestess spoken of as existent, but was assured that there have been priestesses in the past. The names of such occur in the 'Abahathan'.

When a boy has memorized enough of the ritual and prayers, become accustomed to act as *shganda* or acolyte, and studied the holy books under the instruction of a priest and *ganzibra*, he is ready to receive initiation into the first degree of priesthood and become a *tarmida*. The usual age for initiation is soon after puberty. If a young man is married, the matter of consecration is complicated by the question of whether his wife is, or is not, in a state of purity. If during his consecration she menstruates, has a miscarriage, or produces a child, serious pollution invalidates the consecration and all concerned in it starting with 366 baptisms for the officiating ganzibra. If during the rite the wife of the ganzibra becomes unclean, in addition to the 366 baptisms he is debarred from ever becoming a *ris̲h̲ ʿama*.

If the *ganzibra* approves of the personal character of the *s̲h̲walia* (as the novice is called), and finds his knowledge of doctrines, rituals, and holy books satisfactory, the proceedings open on a Saturday.

I have not witnessed the ceremonies, but have had several informants who related the proceedings with great detail, and, as a whole, their descriptions tally. All is prepared beforehand, the reeds, the sacrificial sheep, and all that is necessary in the way of cult objects. The Ṣubba from far and near assemble, for the consecration of a priest is a time for great rejoicing and is spoken of for weeks beforehand. The *ganzibra* who has instructed the novice and is called his 'rabbey' (*rabai*) assembles as many priests as possible—there should be at least seven, with two *s̲h̲ganda*s—and all these baptize each other in the river (or *mandi*-pool). The novice himself receives two baptisms, one at the hands of a priest and one at the hands of his 'rabbey'. A sheep, prepared and ceremonially washed as described on p. 136, is slaughtered beside the water on the usual bed of reeds enclosed by a *miṣra*. This ritual slaughter, a priest explained, is *fidwa*[4] (ransom) for the novice. Then the *s̲h̲walia* (the final *a* is pronounced), is taken within the *mandi*, or into the house of the *ganzibra*, that the assembled priests may ascertain finally that his body is perfect.[5] 'As one who buys a ruby examines it to see that it is clear and flawless, so do they examine the body of the *s̲h̲walia*,' was the expression used by a *ganzibra* in his description. After the examination, the young man resumes his *rasta*, and two women, of an age past menstruation, come to the novice and wash his legs, one the right leg and the other the left.

Next the priests build a reed hut at the southern end of the courtyard of the *ganzibra*'s house. This reed hut, like that used at a wedding, is called the *andiruna*, a word recalling the name given to the women's quarters in a Persian house (*andirūn*). The hut is oblong, has rounded corners, and the north wall bulges to the east of the entrance. (See p. 151 for plan.) Its roof is flat, not gabled. Over the roof is thrown a veil of blue-dyed muslin.[6] So says my most reliable informant (a priest), but one layman told me that a blue mantle (*izār* or *'abā*) was thrown over the hut, and another that it was put beside it. On my questioning some priests they showed themselves reluctant to admit it, and, when pressed, said that the custom had no significance. According to Hirmiz, this blue drapery, whatever it may be, is called '*Ruha*'s *'abā*'. Blue, according to Mandaeans, is the colour of Ruha's mantle, and pale, cornflower, and sky-blue are her symbolical colours. I think it possible that the *andiruna* represents the earthly, or animal, soul, the *ruha* or 'breath-of-life', and that in the minds of the priests this has somehow become associated with Ruha, mother of the planets, and is therefore thought to belong to the 'unofficial', or magic, side of their cults. The symbolism seems simple: the transit of the *s̲h̲walia* from one hut to another shows that he passes out of a life dominated by the earthly spirit into a life dominated by the soul. But I anticipate the ritual.

A *yalufa* of priestly birth related the following:

> 'Once a candidate for priesthood refused to put the blue *'abā* above the reed hut, saying, "Why should one put Ruha's mantle above all?" When he went down to the river to cleanse dates before eating them, something came and struck him to the ground. They picked him up and took him back, and he told them before he died that it was Ruha herself who had struck him. Yes, he died, though no sign of illness had been upon him previously.'

and:

> 'Ruha is of extreme beauty. S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Joda's father, my grandfather, S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Damuk, saw Ruha herself. It was when he was

being consecrated as priest, and Ruha's *izār* (mantle) had been on the *andiruna.* He saw her as he was performing the *rishama* in the river. He described her as being of great loveliness, although he was alarmed and cried, "*Ana dakhīlech!*' (literally one who enters a tent and craves protection—i.e. "thy suppliant").

I am told that formerly a piece of blue cord or thread was inserted between the leaves of holy books as a symbol of, or charm against, Ruha. This was called the '*saham Ruha*', or 'Ruha's portion'. It is now said to be inserted somewhere in the binding, but I have never seen it.

When the hut is ready, the *ganzibra*, priests, and *shgandas* perform their *rishama*[7] and go through the *rahmi.*[8] These preliminaries concluded, the seven priests (including the *ganzibra*) take their stand inside the *andiruna* facing the north, the *ganzibra* standing on the extreme right. Each priest has his Sidra d Nishmatha (Book of Souls, the ritual for full baptism) open before him.

The scene must now be described in detail. The courtyard is full of people (a circumstance which I have left inadequately represented in my rough diagram). A space is left in front of the *andiruna* in which the novice wearing a new *rasta*, with a piece of gold sewn to the right side of the *naṣifa* and a piece of silver to the left, is seated in a chair facing the entrance of the *andiruna*, holding the closed book of the Sidra d Nishmatha between his palms, and with it a sprig of freshly plucked myrtle. Two *dravshi* (banners) are planted one to the right and the other to the left, north of the *andiruna* and south of the candidate on his chair. Beside each *dravsha*, on the left, is a *qintha* (clay box on the lid of which is cult apparatus, see p. 107). In the south-east and south-west corners of the courtyard Mandaean men spectators are grouped. In the north-west corner stand women, girls, and children, who utter joy-cries from time to time. In the north-east corner are women whose task it is to sew the *taghas* or crowns. To the east of the courtyard stand men whose task will be seen below.

Lengths of thick white silk and of cotton web, about a

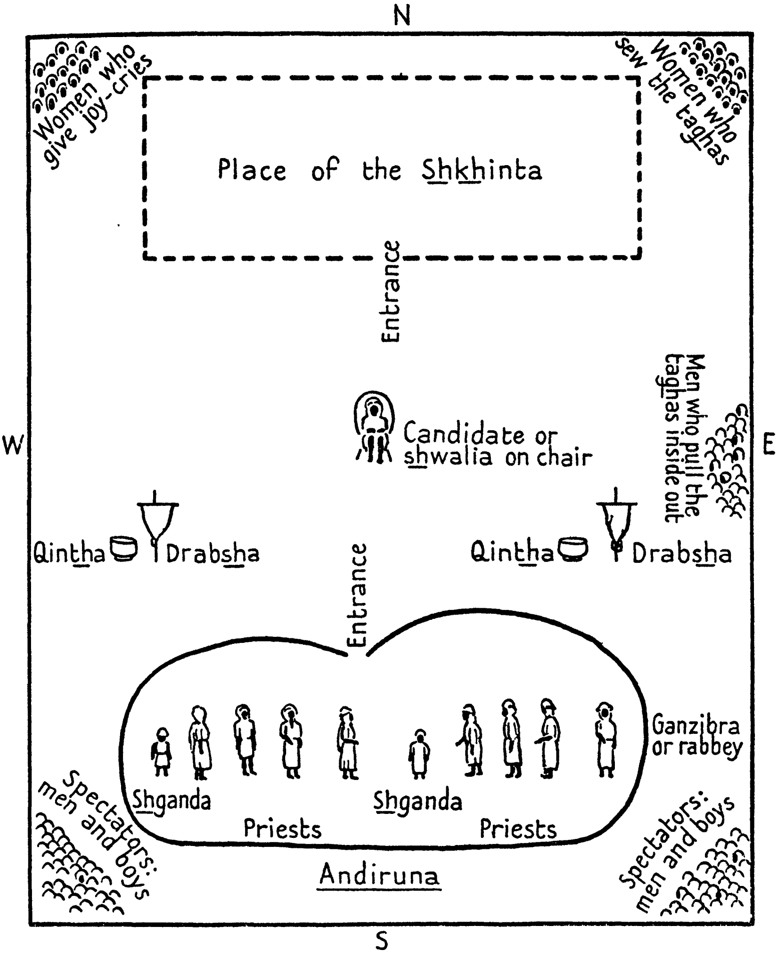

N
Women who give joy-cries
Women who sew the taghas
Place of the Shkhinta
Entrance
Men who pull the taghas inside out
W
E
Candidate or shwalia on chair
Qintha
Drabsha
Qintha
Drabsha
Entrance
Ganzibra or rabbey
Shganda
Priests
Shganda
Priests
Spectators: men and boys
Spectators: men and boys
Andiruna
S

FIG. 8.

dhra in width, are brought to the *ganzibra* in the *andiruna*. The silk is *jazz*, i.e., natural white silk, hand-woven. He cuts this in two to make one *tagha* for himself and one for the *shwalia*. He next takes the cotton and cuts across the breadth pieces about 3 inches wide. If it is the first time he has consecrated a priest, he cuts off 30, if the second, or more, he cuts off 24. These pieces are taken by one of the *shgandi* to the sewing-women, who double them lengthwise, sew the rough edges of each piece together, and one end of each together. The men on the east then take them, turn them inside out, so that the sewn edges are inside, and return them to the sewing-women, who then complete their task by sewing the two ends of the bands together, to form fillets or circlets. These *tagha*s are for the new priest, and prayers of consecration are read over each on the following day.

The *shwalia* recites from memory the whole of the Sidra d Nishmatha, while the priests within the *andiruna* follow with their copies open before them to see that no mistake is made. Before he is considered worthy of priesthood, a novice must be word perfect in the Book of Souls, in the whole ritual of the *masekhtha* (*masiqta*—'raising-up' from *slq* 'to rise', hence, ritual and prayers to help the released soul to ascend to the world of light), and the *rahmi*.[9]

At each successful recital the women utter joy-cries. The novice then rises, is admitted into the *andiruna*, kisses the hand of the *ganzibra* and those of the priests, and takes his seat beside the *ganzibra*. Nine prayers are read over his head, and the time till sunset is spent in devotions. The priests then 'open' (i.e. de-consecrate) their *rasta*s, and they and the *shgandi* go out of the *andiruna*, leaving the *ganzibra* and the novice within, still wearing their *rasta*s.

The priests, helped by laymen, now build a *shkhinta*, exactly opposite to the *andiruna*, its narrow opening (for no cult building has either door or window) exactly opposite that of the *andiruna*, i.e. on the southern wall of the *shkhinta*. This cult-hut is built of reeds in the *jemāli* shape, i.e. oblong and with a pent-roof; in fact, it is like the *mandi*, but not plastered with mud, and not so elaborate (see Chapter VIII). On the east wall it has three uprights and three thwarts; on the west wall, four uprights and four thwarts. It is covered over with white muslin.

Night falls, and the novice and the *ganzibra* spend the night in the *andiruna*, reading from the holy books or chanting prayers. All the sacred books which can be found must be placed in the *andiruna*, but especially two—the Diwan Alma Rishaya and the Diwan Malkutha Ileytha. If these are not present, the proceedings are invalid.

Not only do the novice and his master (the *ganzibra*) keep vigil, but the whole congregation of priests and laymen also, and spend the time in feasting, beating drums, and making merry. If the novice wishes to leave the *andiruna* he may do so for a short time, but the *ganzibra* remains, and if the *ganzibra* goes out, the *shwalia* remains, for the *andiruna* must not be empty.

At early dawn, before the sun is up, the *shwalia* and his *rabbey* (or *ab*, father), i.e. the *ganzibra*, issue from the *andiruna*. Standing between the two huts, the young man again recites the Book of Souls. This ended, he enters the *shkhinta*, while the priests go to the *andiruna*, pull it down, and destroy it. Siouffi says that it is burnt, but this is denied with surprise by all that I have questioned.

In the new hut, the *shkhinta*, the postulant must remain until the next Sunday morning, only withdrawing in order to perform his *rishama*, obey a call of nature, or wash his food in the river. Priests tell me that, in practice, the young man can leave the *shkhinta* as long as an hour if the *ganzibra* takes his place, but I incline to think that in more rigid days this would have been impossible.

At his first entry into the *shkhinta* the *shwalia* puts on a second new *rasta* (he wears a new *rasta* the first day), and the priests, who have consecrated their *rastas* after the preliminary ablutions, invest him with his priestly ring, the Shom Yawar, with his *tagha*s, and the *klila*, and with a *margna*, that is to say, with all the insignia of priestly rank. The prayers are long, and cannot be given here. A needle and thread are then ceremonially dipped, and each piece and knot of the sacred dress is sewn into place. A similar sewing takes place for the *ganzibra*.

The week which ensues must be spent in a state of absolute purity. The *ganzibra* spends much time with the novice in the hut, exhorting him and praying with him, but, as the time is considered one of joy, feasting and fun are kept up outside, and the novice is not debarred from eating mutton, vegetables, fruit, or fish if these have been properly lustrated, prepared and cooked, either by a priest or by a woman of priestly family past the age of menstruation. The novice must make and cook his bread himself, a *ṭoriana* and *brihi* being used for the purpose. These are carefully treated, for if any accident happens to a cult-object during the proceedings many baptisms must be performed. If the *ṭoriana* breaks during the week, or the sixty days' purity which follows it, the *s̲h̲walia* incurs sixty baptisms and his *rabbey* the same. If the *brihi*, both must be baptized by five priests, if the *kangana*, by three priests; if the *margna* floats away or is broken, both have fifty baptisms, if the S̲h̲om Yawar is lost, fifty; if the *tag̲h̲a*, sixty; if *s̲h̲arwala*, *burzinqa*, *himiana*, or *naṣifa* are injured or lost, the novice and *ganzibra* must receive triple baptism from three priests.

The most serious contamination during the week is nocturnal pollution.[10] For this reason, the youth is not allowed to sleep for the whole week, and a perpetual din is kept up to prevent his falling asleep. Drums are beaten, chants sung, guests are entertained, joy-cries pierce the air, and merriment is noisy and perpetual. If the lad nods from time to time, a priest nudges him, but I gather that if the doze is light, a little latitude is given. If, in spite of all precautions, such pollution occurs during the first three days and nights, the *s̲h̲walia* and *rabbey* incur 366 baptisms performed at the end of the entire period. If on the fourth day and night, sixty baptisms are incurred, on the fifth, fifty; on the sixth a triple baptism by three priests and the recitation of twenty-one *rahmis*. If the wet dream occurs before the investiture of the *tag̲h̲a*s, the whole consecration is postponed for a year.

Each day the *s̲h̲walia* wears a new *rasta*, and clothes and food are distributed daily in his name to the poor. Each day he receives the *pihtha* and *mambuha* from the priests. Three times daily he recites the *rahmi* with the prayers for the morning, noon, and afternoon. Each day the *ganzibra* teaches him three secret words (for these words of power are twenty-one). As these are too sacred to be pronounced, the *ganzibra* writes them in the dust.

On the following Sunday morning, very early, after the *rahmi*, the *s̲h̲walia* baptizes the *ganzibra*. The procedure is the same as usual, but the prayers are not all the same as for the ordinary baptism. This baptism is called the Maṣbuta d̲ Zaharaitha, and its virtue is that of sixty baptisms. The *s̲h̲walia* is himself baptized by seven priests or three, one of whom is the *ganzibra*.

The first stage of the consecration is now over, and the *s̲h̲walia* begins the sixty days of purity. During these he must perform the triple immersion (*ṭamas̲h̲a*) three times daily, before the *rahmi* of the morning, noon and afternoon, not changing into dry clothes until he has completed the office. He lives apart from his family, and, if married, may not cohabit with his wife. His diet, according to some priests, should be entirely meatless. Others say that mutton and the flesh of 'pure' (i.e. non-flesh-eating) birds are allowed, but chicken and eggs forbidden. Vegetables, fruit, and milk are his orthodox food, and slaughter is forbidden him. He makes his bread himself, purifying the grain before grinding it seven times. He may not go into the market or a public bath or urinal. He may not remove his *s̲h̲arwala* completely or take off his head covering. So rigorous is this latter rule that even when he performs the immersions he wears a tightly fitting cap. If he wishes to comb his hair, he goes into his room or hut, for he lives apart in his own house for the period of purity, and removes his head-dress under a white muslin covering, such as a mosquito-net. The chance visit or touch of a person or thing in a state of uncleanness may render that day void, and another day with the devotions which should have been performed in it is added at the end of the sixty. Thus the sixty days' purity are rarely accomplished in sixty days.

When these are safely over, the *s̲h̲walia* reads his first *masiqta* (pronounced *masek̲h̲t̲h̲a*), which is in the name of his *rabbey*.

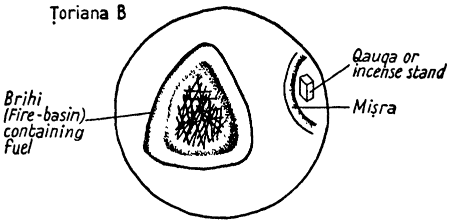
On the Saturday the *mandi* enclosure is dug over and cleansed, the pool cleared out, the water-channels freed from obstructions, fresh mud applied to the cult-hut, and mud plastered into the shape of a triple arch placed round the entrance to the hut. Fuel is given ablution, wheat and sesame washed and prepared, in short, all preparations that can be made for the morrow are carried out before the sun goes down.

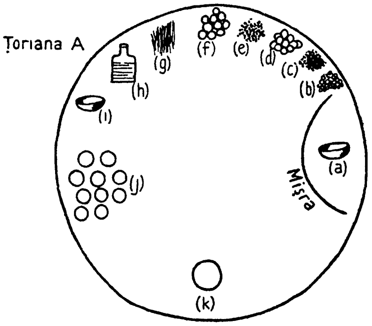
On the Sunday morning the cult-hut is washed inside and out, and the sheep and dove destined for slaughter are brought and sacrificed with the rites described in the last chapter. The *ganzibra*, after performing the *ṭamas̲h̲a* before the sacrifice of the dove, puts on the same *rasta* in which he officiated on the first day of the *s̲h̲walia*'s consecration. Meanwhile, and subsequently, this *rasta* is put away carefully in a box, and the greatest care is taken to prevent any pollution of the *rasta*, for should such occur, there are penalty baptisms. As soon as he has put on this *rasta*, the *ganzibra* must not speak a word.

I must now describe what I passed over with a few words in the last chapter, namely, the *Masiqta*.

The Masiqta of the S̲h̲walia

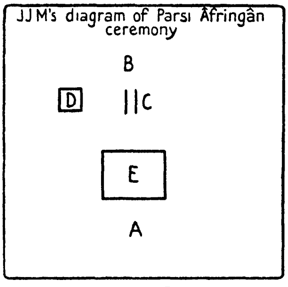
The body of the slaughtered dove is brought inside the *mandi*, and one of the priests assisting removes a few of the breast feathers and cuts out a little of the flesh above the right breast. Salt is placed on this, the meat is taken outside and roasted on the fire, then placed on the larger *ṭoriana* inside the *mandi*. This *ṭoriana* is placed near the eastern wall of the interior, before the *s̲h̲walia*, and between it and the northern wall is the smaller *ṭoriana* upon which is the *brihi* and the *qauqa*.[11] The body of the dove, wrapped in palm-fibre, is put between the roof and northern interior wall, just in front of the two *ṭoriani*, its head facing the


Ṭoriana B
Qauqa or incense stand
Brihi (Fire-basin) containing fuel
Miṣra


Ṭoriana A
(g)
(f)
(e)
(d)
(c)
(b)
(h)
(i)
(a)
(j)
Miṣra
(k)

(*a*) The keptha in which is the misha (i.e. sesame oil and date juice).
(*b*) Sultana raisins.
(*c*) Pomegranate seeds.
(*d*) Coconut.
(*e*) Shelled walnuts.
(*f*) Quince.
(*g*) Dove's flesh, shredded.
(*h*) Qanina of water.
(*i*) Empty keptha.
(*j*) [*Later*] the faṭiri ࡐࡀࡈࡉࡓࡉࡀ (or *qinia*) ten at a time, until all 66 are piled up at (k).

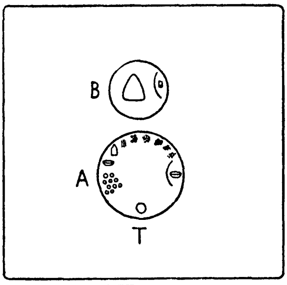
Âfringân.


JJM's diagram of Parsi Âfringân ceremony
B
D
C
E
A

PARSI.

A. Seat of priest.
B. Seat of fire-priest.
C. Fire-vase, ladle and tongs.
D. Tray for sandalwood and frankincense.
E. Tray containing the *myazd*, i.e. fruit, flowers, milk, wine, water, &c.

Masiqta.



MANDAEAN.

T. Officiating priest.
A. Ṭoriana for sacred foods (see Ṭoriana A).
B. Ṭoriana for fire-basin and incense-holder (see Ṭoriana B).

FIG. 9.

officiant at the *ṭoriani*. (In the Taraṣa ḏ Mandi the dove faces the *ganzibra*, whose *ṭoriani* are at the extreme right. The ritual is practically the same, except that all three priests read the *masiqta*, each having a small and large *ṭoriana*, the *ganzibra* consecrating forty-two *faṭiri* and the two priests twelve each. Otherwise, the ritual is triplicated.)[12]

In the western half of the cult-hut is the hand-mill (Mand. *gas̱ẖir*, Ar. *raḥā*).

As it is the *s̱ẖwalia* who must celebrate the *masiqta* alone, the *ganzibra*, in whose name the *masiqta* is to be read, de-consecrates his *rasta*, and becomes a spectator, keeping, however, the S̱ẖarh ḏ Taraṣa ḏ S̱ẖis̱ẖlam Rba in his hand to prompt his pupil if he stumbles. The latter begins by the usual '*S̱ẖarwali 'treṣ*', &c. (p. 32) takes his *margna* and two empty *qanina*s in his right hand, and goes to the *mandi*-pool, where he sets the *qanina*s on the bank while he performs the *ris̱ẖama* and lustrates his staff. Then he fills the *qanina*s, placing one at the eastern post of the cult-hut entrance, and the other on the large *ṭoriana* at which he is to officiate. On the smaller *ṭoriana* (see above) is the fire-saucer and incense, on the larger the various ritual foods. In the *miṣra* of the larger stands a *kepṯẖa* filled with the expressed oil of sesame mingled with date-juice, extracted as described on pages 133–4. Ranged in order round the *ṭoriana* from the northern corner of the *miṣra* are the following:

1. The *ṭabuṯẖa*, i.e. sultana (white) raisins, quince, pomegranate seeds, pieces of coconut, shelled walnuts, and some of the dove's flesh, shredded.
2. A *qanina* of water.
3. An empty *kepṯẖa*.
4. (Later.) The sixty-six *faṭiri* each about as big as a large round biscuit. The dough is prepared without salt by the priests, the *s̱ẖganda* who assists the new priests forms the dough into the loaves, but he does not bake these, merely passes them three times with a circular movement over the fire.

The *s̱ẖwalia*'s place is behind the table of sacred foods, and the fire and incense apparatus (see figure on p. 157 for similar Parsi arrangement at the Âfringân ceremony).[13] When during the ritual he sits, he takes his place either on a log of wood or on a stool of reeds (the *kursi* or throne). The entire recital must be by heart. I shall give, just as Mandaeans give in describing, the first phrase of the various prayers employed: were they to be written in full, as in the rituals in my possession, they would fill an entire book. Here and there, when these prayers are particularly significant, I shall permit myself to quote them.

The *shwalia* begins by the consecration (*taraṣa*) of his *rasta* and *tagha*, inserting the name of the *ganzibra* who initiated him in all the places in the ritual where a mention is made of a name. In the case of a *masiqta* for a dead person, the name of the dead person is inserted, but in the anticipatory *masiqta* for a living person, the name of that person is inserted.

The prayers for this consecration are five in number and are given in Q. and need not be quoted here. After the *Manda aqran* (*Manda qran*), he recites, '*Bshma d hiia rbia asutha uzakutha thuilh lhaza nishimta d Plan bar Planitha d haza masiqta hail kbar*', &c., and closes the *pandama* about the lower part of his face. *He then takes the *qanina*, while the *shganda* puts four raisins in the empty *keptha* on the *ṭoriana*. The *shwalia* reads 'In the name of the Life, thou art Water of Life', &c., and at the words, 'who departed from their bodies', he pours a little water on the raisins in the *keptha*. When in the same prayer he reaches the words 'the soul of this *masiqta*', he inserts the *ganzibra*'s name.

Next, he takes the *qauqa* in his left hand and a pinch of incense from it in his right, and recites '*Hal hiia qadmaiia*' (Hail first Life), &c., and at its end throws the incense on the fire-basin. The *ganzibra* hands him a twig of myrtle. The *shwalia* recites:

1. 'Mn hiia audin', i.e. 'Bshmaihun d hiia rbia haila ushrara ʿmra u shima nhuilh ldilh Plan br P. (name of *ganzibra*) d haza masiqta shabiq haṭaia nhuilh . . .' &c.
2. 'Mn hiia audin utushbihan' . . . &c. When in this he reaches the words *lmirfas ainh ʿltafukia gargilia*, he twists the myrtle into a wreath, and finishes the prayer.

3. The 'Tushbihan' (Bshma d hiia tushbihan lhiia barayia, &c.). During the reading of this prayer, still holding the myrtle wreath, he takes the cup with it into his left hand, and with the right he mixes the raisins with the water, squeezing and kneading them so that their juice mingles with the water.
4. The 'Ilkhun dilkhun' (Bshma d hiia ʿlkhun dilkhun, &c.).
5. The 'Beyth mishqal aini' (Bshma d hiia bit mishqal ainia, &c.).
6. The 'Mishqal ainia'.

The *shganda* then brings the saltless dough, passes it three times over the fire, saying, '*Ushma d Manda d hiia madkhar ʿlakh*' (this is called the *sahada d nura*, or the 'testimony of the fire'. It does not cook the dough, nor is it intended to do so).

The *shwalia* places the cup of water mingled with raisins down on the *ṭoriana* (this liquid is now termed the *hamra*) and, still holding the myrtle wreath, he takes a pinch of the dough about as large as a pea, and recites:

1. 'Bshma d hiia sghidna shahabana umshahbana', &c.
2. 'Saghidna shahbana umshabana lhakh anana kasitha', &c.
3. 'Sighdit ushabath', &c.
4. 'Sighdit ushabath lYawar Ziwa', &c.
5. 'Saghidna shahbana umshabana lhakh shutha d qra Yawar', &c.
6. 'Sighdit ushabath lʿUṣar d ptha pihtha', &c.
7. 'Sighdit ushabath lʿUṣar Nhur', &c.
8. 'Saghidna shahbana umshabana lhakh shutha qadmaiia d ʿhab', &c.
9. 'Mqaimatun hiia qadmaiia d ʿnish', &c.

He then dips his ring, the Shom Yawar, in the cup of *hamra*, saying,

1. 'Biriawish kanna d mia hiia', &c.
2. 'Shumakh yatir hiia asgia ʿqara', &c.

Then he takes the *keptha* containing the *misha*, i.e. the expressed sesame and date juice, placing the *klila* and the *pihtha* (i.e. the morsel of dough, which is now sanctified) on the *ṭoriana*.

He recites:

1. 'Bshma d hiia nhar nhura', &c.
2. 'Zhira umzahara', &c.
3. 'Bshma d hiia asgia Manda d Hiia lkukhbia', &c.

When in this prayer he reaches the words *balbus̲h̲ia d̲ Yuzaṭaq Manda d̲ Hiia*, he wraps the *piht̲h̲a* about the *klila*, and recites on to the end of the prayer. When it is finished, he sits and begins the consecration of the *faṭiri.* The *s̲h̲ganda* places these, ten at a time, on the *ṭoriana.* The *s̲h̲walia* takes them one by one, performing the following ritual upon each, and piling one on the other, until sixty have been piled up.

The Ritual for the Faṭiri

He holds a *klila* over the *faṭira*, and places a little of each of the five *ṭabut̲h̲a* (i.e. four pomegranate seeds, a little scrap of the coco-nut, walnut, and quince, and four raisins), and a fibre of the dove's meat on it, then, dipping his finger into the *mis̲h̲a*, he draws it three times from right to left at the places indicated below:

1. 'Bs̲h̲ma d̲ hiia nuk̲h̲raiya hazin ziwa unhura', &c. During this prayer he performs the threefold signing of the *faṭira* (*a*) at the words *nis̲h̲imta d̲ Plan* (i.e. name of the *ganzibra*), (*b*) *nis̲h̲imta d̲ Plan* (second mention), (*c*) at the end of the prayer (a third mention of the name).
2. 'As̲h̲ar aṣvan' (*As̲h̲ar ṣban*), &c. He performs the triple signing when he reaches the words, *kt̲h̲ s̲h̲ahlalh̲ hazin nis̲h̲imta d̲ Plan.*
3. The 'Ibri ana' (*brh̲ ana*). The signing takes place at the words *dilh̲ baiia.*

Thus he signs each *faṭira* fifteen times in all. When he has completed this ritual on sixty *faṭiri* he begins prayer (1) again, but when he reaches the words, *ns̲h̲imta d̲ Plan . . . lbit Abat̲h̲ur* he inserts the whole of the 'Abahat̲h̲an' or 'invocation of ancestors' prayer. (As this comes more properly under later descriptions of death rituals, I refer the reader to Chapters XI and XII.) He then finishes prayer (1) and recites those two which follow it without 'signing' with the oil. The next formula is so important and sacred that the *ganzibra* who is listening outside the *mandi* dictates it with the words,[14]

Wamur pasqit upart̲h̲it t̲h̲lat̲h̲a rus̲h̲mia bma d̲ ba ubkt̲h̲ s̲h̲ahlalh̲ *d bdinba Brh ana* (And say, 'I have divided and separated the triple signs at the *ma* of the *ba* and at "when it casts off" which is after "I am a son" ').

The *shwalia* thereupon says, with care to be correct, '*pasqit uparthit udarit palgha d ba udarit mn faṭira ʿlaiia ubathraiia*' [and I say, "I cut off, and divided, and took off the portion of the *ba*, and took away (something) from the (top) high *faṭira* and the bottom *faṭira*"]. While repeating these words he breaks off a small portion of the top *faṭira* and the bottom *faṭira* of the pile which he has made before him and puts these pieces with the *pihtha* (see back), removing the *klila* from it and adding a shred of the dove's meat. Then he recites, holding his hands—the *pihtha* in the right hand—over the pile of *faṭiri*:

1. 'ʿngirtha laufa uzakutha', &c.
2. 'Bihrh Yukhashar lbraia', &c.

Next, rising and putting his hand ready to his *pandama*, he recites

3. 'Malil uptha hiia rbia bpumaihun bziwa unhura', &c.

and unfastens the *pandama*. He dips the *pihtha* with its additions into the *hamra*, and, placing it in his mouth, he swallows the morsel whole, after which he drinks some of the *hamra*. The *shganda* hands him another *keptha* and the *qanina* of water which he had placed outside the *mandi* at the entrance earlier in the proceedings. The *shwalia* pours some of this water into the *keptha* and drinks this also.

He must now raise his voice and recite seven prayers, inserting the name of the *ganzibra* at the suitable places:

1. ' ʿthiar miia hiia lshkhinathun', &c.
2. 'Riha basima lathra nisaq', &c. (extending his hand towards the *brihi* or fire-basin).
3. 'Bshma d hiia mshabin hiia qadmaiia mshaba mlalun', &c.
4. ' ʿtimlun hiia bziwa', &c.
5. 'Shkhina hiia brahmaihun', &c.
6. 'Klil almia shahia' &c.
7. 'Almia bmisha shiha', &c.

These seven prayers recited, he stretches his hand over the *ṭabutha*, saying:

1. ‘Bziu d nfish ṣbina’, &c. (pron. *Bziu ad anfesh aṣvina*).
2. ‘Shkhinia hiia bziwaihun’, &c.
3. ‘ʿtriṣtun uʿtqaimatun bathra d ṭabia’ (during this prayer he shifts his *margna* from the left to the right arm), &c.
4. ‘Bshma d hiia mkalalna ushakhibna’, &c.
5. ‘Mnh u mn sharuia’, &c.
6. ‘Binia kasia lziwa’, &c. (pron. *Beyni kassi lziwa*’).
7. ‘Niaha ushalma’, &c.
8. The little ‘Brikhi umshabbi’ (i.e. ‘Brikhia umshabia hiia d lhalin nishmatha’, &c.
9. The big ‘Brikhi umshabbi’ (i.e. ‘Bshuma d hiia brikhia umshabia hiia brikh umshaba shumaihun’, &c.

He then sits and recites, *Ṭab, ṭaba lṭabia*, &c. (This is the prayer always associated with the ritual meal.)

Then the following:

1. ‘Bshuma d hiia ʿngirta d nafqa’, &c. (known as ‘the big’).
2. ‘ʿsira hathima ruha unishimta d Plan’, &c.
3. ‘ʿruthai utushbihthai’, &c.
4. ‘Bshuma d hiia ʿzil bshlam’, &c.
5. ‘Manh bginzia’, &c.
6. ‘Ṭaubakh ṭaubakh nishma’, &c.
7. ‘Habshaba ukushṭa uzidqa’, &c.
8. ‘Zidana umzaudana’, &c.
9. ‘Asliq wasqan minh ulashibaqan bdaura baṭla.’
10. ‘Yuma d nafiq nishma.’
11. ‘ʿtriṣtun uʿtqaimatun’, &c.
12. ‘Brikhia umshabia hiia’ (the little one), &c.
13. ‘Binthh d bainia hiia’, &c. (at this prayer the *margna* is returned to the left arm).
14. ‘Bshma d hiia brikha umshaba hiia’, &c. (the great). * *

He then recites the *Ṭab, ṭaba lṭabia* of Shum son of Noah (Nau, Nu or Nuh), i.e. *Ṭab ṭaba lṭabia utriṣ kinianh ʿl rahmih*, &c.; rises, and recites:

1. ‘Bshma d hiia mshaba ziwa’, &c.
2. ‘Shkhin hiia shkhinta udnabh’, &c.

All this while six *faṭiri* have remained untouched on the *ṭoriana*. The *shwalia* rebinds his *pandama* and repeats the entire ritual from his first binding of the *pandama*, (all the ritual from the point marked with a star in these notes to the point marked with two stars). I have been unable to discover the reason for this curious omission to consecrate the six *faṭiri* with the first sixty, thus necessitating such a long repetition of ritual.

To take up the story from the point marked with two stars: The *shwalia* rises and recites:

1. 'Bshma d hiia mshabin hiia qadmaiia', &c.
2. 'Bshma d hiia bith mishqal aini', &c., the 'Beyth mishqal aini'.
3. 'Mishqal ainia.'
4. The Haiy qirioi, i.e. 'Bshumh d hiia hiia qriuia', &c.
5. 'Bintha d baina hiia ldardari ula baṭlh', &c.
6. 'Kbish hshukha triṣ nhura', &c.

He then recites the 'big' *Brikhia umshabia* again, and the prayers:

1. 'Ṭab, ṭaba lṭabia' (the 'Abahathan qadmaiia' or 'Ancestors' prayer, see pp. 219 ff.).
2. 'Mshaba ziwa rba qadmaiia', &c. (the Shal shultha).

and then gives his right hand in *kushṭa*[15] to the *shganda*, saying, '*Kushṭa asiakh qaimakh!*' The *shganda*, '*Biʿi washka washtema!*' The *shwalia* repeats the *Bith mishqal ainia*, the *Mishqal ainia*, and the *Brikha umshaba hiia* (the 'big' or *rafti*) and then, again, the *Ṭab, ṭaba lṭabia*, &c.

From this moment, the *masiqta* is ended and the *shwalia*, or rather the new priest, administers to himself an ordinary (water and bread) sacrament, with his own name inserted in the prayers instead of that of the *ganzibra*. The *shganda* prepares a *pihtha*—*with salt in it*, and cooked on the fire (it will be recalled that the *pihtha* prepared during the *masiqta* was without salt and unbaked). The water for the *mambuha* is no longer from the *qanina*, but filled (by the *shganda*) from the *mandi*-pool direct. All this is performed with the usual sacramental prayers. At the conclusion of the sacraments the new priest places his *margna* beneath the *ṭoriana* upon which are the *ṭabutha* and piled-up *faṭiri*.

The *s̲h̲ganda* brings him more water from the *mandi*-pool, and the priest (*tarmida*) reads two prayers,

1. ‘ ʿtimlun hiia’, &c.
2. ‘Ṭab, ṭaba lṭabia’, &c. (the ‘Ancestors’ or ‘Abahat̲h̲an qadmaiia’; see pp. 219 ff.).

and throws water over his staff.

He then repeats the *s̲h̲al s̲h̲ult̲h̲a* prayer (in most ritual books: I will not quote here), and the *Tum mn hiia asut̲h̲k̲h̲un*, &c.

The *s̲h̲ganda* goes over his *rasta*, with the usual formula to see that it is all in place, and the new *tarmida* gives him the *kus̲h̲ta*. The latter goes through the prayers and ritual for the de-consecration of his *rasta* and *tag̲h̲a*, and the long rite is over. As for the sixty-six *faṭiri* and the body of the dove, they are wrapped by the *s̲h̲ganda* in a white cloth and buried, as said in the last chapter, somewhere in the *mandi* enclosure, but not to the east of the hut.

A priest told me with pride that at his consecration he had gone through the entire *masiqta* in six hours, but it was an exceptional feat. It is a severe test, not only of the new priest's memory, but of his physical endurance.

NOTES ON CHAPTER IX

1. *Hereditary priesthood.* The *baru* priests of the sun-cult at Sippar were a hereditary caste; priesthood with both Jews and Magians was also hereditary.

2. The *rasta*. See Chapter VI.

3. *Hair.* Possibly because the shearing of the hair, which is symbolical of the rays of the sun, would constitute ‘a sin against the light’. Take the story of Samson, told as a folk-story in Iraq (see Stevens, *Folk-Tales of ʿIraq*). S̲h̲ams̲h̲um, in this tale, is a personification of the Sun, or a sun-hero, and his long hairs, his rays, are shorn by winter and the forces of darkness. He grows weak, but when his rays lengthen in the spring, he grows strong, breaks the bonds of ice and death, rises, and destroys his enemies. Long hair is often found as a dedicatory feature amongst priesthoods which use sun symbolisms for Deity, cf. the Greek Church (sun symbolisms are prevalent in the Christian religion). The Ḥarrānian priests were described by Arab authors as wearing white garments and long hair,

also a girdle. The Yazīdīs, who seem to have a sun-cult, affect to-day the long hair, high hat, and white garments of the ancient Ḥarrānians.

We read in the OT. that Samson's mother made him a Nazarite and let no scissors or knife come near his hair. There seem to have been two kinds of Nazarite (those who have made a vow), a temporary Nazarite, who cut his hair when his vow was over (he did not offer it, however, but made another offering to the Lord (Numbers vi), and the permanent Nazarite, whose hair was never cut from infancy.

It seems that hair on the head is sacred, but that hair on the body is, by Iraqi Arabs and Jews, regarded as something unclean. Demons are pictured as beings with bodies covered with hair, and, before marriage, an Arab or Jewish virgin's body is rendered hairless by the services of a professional plucker. (Mandaeans, on the contrary, have no such taboo.)

Hair on the head, particularly the beard, is a mark of honour. Cutting off the hair, therefore, is, paradoxically, often associated with self-dedication to a deity (cf. tonsure of a monk and shearing of a nun's hair), or is torn out or cut off as a sign of intense personal grief, as an offering to the dead, perhaps. Yazīdī women, when their husbands die, cut off their long hair and twine it about the tomb-stone, or lay it on the grave.

Hair is supposed to have a magic connexion with the person on whom it has grown even after it is cut off, and Iraqis throw their combings into the river, not as an offering, but lest an enemy should take the hair and use it as a spell against them. In Iraq one never sees offerings of hair at shrines, or the tombs of holy persons, as in southern Europe. Moslems are often completely shaven, or partially shaven, but this matter is left to personal taste.

The Mandaean, even if a layman, considers the cutting of the hair of the head or beard impious.

Parsis (Vendidad xvii) are enjoined to bury nails and hair, and it is customary to bathe after shaving or hair-cutting. But this is probably because anything that has grown on the human body is unclean and a source of pollution after it is separated from it. A Parsi friend tells me that Parsi priests do cut and trim their hair, but the cutting must be done by themselves, and not by a barber.

In view of the curious connexion of Legend X with the Sikhs, it is worth mentioning that the Sikh, like the Mandaean, regards hair-cutting as impious.

4. *Fidwa.* The killing of a sheep, or sometimes a bird, to avert ill fortune from a person or house is a custom universally practised in Iraq without distinction of creed. Moslems, Christians, Jews, Yazīdīs, all preserve the custom, especially at weddings, when the bride is made to step over the blood of a slaughtered sheep as she enters her husband's house. At the recent marriage of the King of Iraq the bride's car passed over the blood of a victim whose throat was cut just before she alighted at the door of the palace. Similarly, when a woman whose child had died told me of her loss, the old phrase, *fidwa mālec̲h̲*, 'your ransom' was on her lips. The idea

behind it seems to be that death, or ill fortune, has accepted a substitute. (See Chap. III, note 17.) I have also heard from a person telling me of a death *Qurbānac̲h̲*—'your sacrifice'. These phrases are not used by Mandaeans, however, or if so, I have never heard them.

5. A Parsi candidate for priesthood must also 'be free from leprosy or any wound from which blood oozes, otherwise he would be rejected and the necessary permission refused' (JJM., p. 205). In a note (ibid.): 'It is said, that, in Persia, the candidate is taken to an adjoining room and there made stark naked and examined'.

6. Mandaeans, like Yazīdīs, are forbidden to wear blue. Mandaeans also have abhorrence for black, as this is the colour of mourning and death. Yazīdī faqīrs, however, wear black. Iraqi Christians and Moslems regard blue as a colour which may be worn during mourning.

Bright blue in the form of buttons, beads, turquoises, lapis, or blue tiles, is looked upon as a protection against the evil eye. A bright blue button with seven, five, or two holes, known as a *dahās̲h̲a* or *k̲h̲ed̲h̲erama*, is sewn to children's clothing, placed amongst jewellery, attached to harness, inserted into the pitching of boats and *guffa*s, and threaded into the manes of horses. Its use is universal in Iraq.

7. See pp. 102 ff.

8. The prayers of self-dedication and consecration of garments, &c.

9. Similarly, during the Nâvar, or Parsi initiation into priesthood, the candidate must recite the Mîno-Nâvar Yasna with its ritual in the *yazashnagâh* (in the Fire-temple) (JJM., pp. 204–5), and was expected formerly to have the Yasna, Visparad, and several prayers of the smaller Avesta by heart.

The Parsi novice must have a purificatory bath, wear white, and is solemnly invested with the white turban.

10. Cf. the Parsi initiation into priesthood: 'The candidate is expected to pass his days during the continuation of the whole ceremony which lasts a month, in a kind of retreat, in order to be free from worldly thoughts; he must sleep on the floor and not on a cot, and take his meals at stated times after prayers. According to the present custom, if the candidate has a *pollutio nocturna* during the two Bares̲h̲nums, he is disqualified and has to go through the Bares̲h̲num again . . .' (JJM., pp. 206, 201). (Also, see KRC., 63.)

11. See Chap. VII, p. 106.

12. See last chapter, and note 4 of the same.

13. *The Parsi Âfringân ceremony*. See JJM. pp. 391 ff.

14. Two passages in B.M. Or. 6592 refer to this part of the ritual. As they differ I quote them. The *ba* according to some priests is the dove's meat in the masiqta. (Others say it should be *ma d̲ bh̲*, and that the dove is called the *ba* in Lofani only.)

(a) '*unimar hda utrin ut̲h̲lat̲h̲a piht̲h̲a mn klila bʿuhrh̲ unipaliṭ piht̲h̲a mn* *klila unidra ʿumsa mn faṭira ʿlaia ubat̲h̲raia durh̲ lpalga d̲ ba wamur palṭit upirt̲h̲it udarit palga d̲ ba ulgiṭinun bihdadia ahbidia piht̲h̲a ulguṭ qaninak̲h̲ gawaia wamur kus̲h̲ṭa asink̲h̲un mia bhamra mia bhamra warib mia d̲ qanina bniara d̲ hamra kulhun wamur bil mikal ubil mis̲h̲tia ulh̲ bil nirmia riha . . .*

(b) *unimar pisqit t̲h̲lat̲h̲a rus̲h̲umia ma d̲ ba ukt̲h̲ s̲h̲ahlalh̲ udinbh̲ d̲ abra ana* (*Brh̲ ana*) *unat̲h̲na ʿdh̲ lginzih̲ uniqria ʿngirt̲h̲a laufa uzakut̲h̲a at̲h̲alh̲ lhaza nis̲h̲imta d̲ plan d̲ haza masiqta mn bit hiia unisaika unada t̲h̲lat̲h̲a adiat̲h̲a unimar hda utrin ut̲h̲lat̲h̲a piht̲h̲a mn klila bʿuhrh̲ uʿumṣa mn had faṭira ʿlaia ubat̲h̲raia dirit palga d̲ ba upaliṭ piht̲h̲a mn klila udra ʿumṣa mn faṭira ʿlaia ubat̲h̲raia lpalga d̲ ba walgiṭinun bihdadia udurh̲ lqanina gawaia uqria kus̲h̲ṭa asink̲h̲un mia bhamra mia bhamra kulhun bil mikal ubil mis̲h̲tia ubʿil mirmia riha.*’ The ‘Bel-eating, Bel-drinking and Bel censing’ is curious, and is lacking from another *masiqta* cult roll in my possession.

15. The right hand given in the *kus̲h̲ṭa* should be kissed by its owner on release and carried to the forehead in salute.

X

THE PRIESTHOOD (*cont.*): THE HIGH PRIEST OR GANZIBRA

THE consecration of a *ganzibra* (pronounced either *ganzivra* or *ganzowra*) must be performed by a *ganzibra*, two priests—in cases of dire necessity one has sufficed—and two *s͟hgandi* (acolytes). The *tarmida* who is to be raised to the rank of *ganzibra* must be of high character, respected, tactful, well-versed in ritual and procedure, and able to expound the scriptures. He must not be the son of a *suwadi* or layman, but *melka bar melka*, i.e. of good priestly birth, for the priest's *tag͟ha* or crown (see last chapter) is the symbol of his kingly function as ruler, lawgiver, and leader. Consecration to the ganzivrate can only take place when some pious, aged person in the community is near death. This person must come of ritually pure and priestly stock, have been married and not childless. As soon as it is perceived that such a person is at the point of death, the priests and *ganzibra*-elect are informed, and immediate preparations for the ceremony known as the *'Ingirt͟ha* or 'Message' are made. The priests all perform the *rahmi*, then priests and *s͟hgandi* are baptized, one priest baptizing the *ganzibra* and being baptized by him in return. The *mandi* and its enclosure receive thorough ablution, *miṣri* (furrows to shut out impurities) are made and lustrated, the hut is washed inside and out precisely as at the *taraṣa ḏ mandi* (see pp. 128 ff.) and at the consecration of the priest.

Meanwhile, the dying person, with his death-*rasta*, is brought into the *mandi* enclosure, accompanied by a concourse of Mandaeans, for the consecration of a *ganzibra* is a rare event and the occasion of great rejoicing. The dying person, if he is in a condition to understand, is happy to be the chosen bearer of the *'ingirt͟ha*, for he or she will thereby be purified from all past transgressions and pass into the worlds of light without a sojourn in the *maṭarat͟ha*. Sesame seed is washed, roasted slightly on a fire of ‘purified’ fuel, shelled, pounded with dates in an iron mortar, then placed in a clean white cloth (*gdada*), and squeezed with iron tongs, the liquid expressed falling into a *kepṯẖa*. Some of the oil (*mis̱ẖa*) thus obtained is kept in the *kepṯẖa* for the *masiqta*, but a few drops are transferred to a small phial. This phial is sealed with consecrated clay, and marked with the impression of the ‘S̱ẖom Yawar’ and also with the finger-nail of the *ganzibra*-elect.

The latter enters the *mandi*, reads a *rahmi* in the name of the dying person, consecrates his *tag̱ẖa* with the usual prayers, and binds his *pandama* about his mouth and nostrils. The *mis̱ẖa daḵẖia* (pure unction) stands on the *ṭoriana* before him, and, when his *pandama* is secured, he lifts it and recites nine prayers upon it:

1. ‘Bs̱ẖma ḏ hiia nhar nhura’, &c.
2. ‘Bs̱ẖma ḏ hiia asgia Manda ḏ Hiia lkuḵẖbia’, &c.
3. ‘Bs̱ẖma ḏ hiia ʿngirṯẖa mhaṯẖamta ḏ nafqa minẖ’, &c. (the ‘big ʿngirṯẖa’).
4. ‘ʿsira haṯẖima ruha unis̱ẖimta ḏ Plan’, &c. (the ‘little ʿngirṯẖa’).
5. ‘Bs̱ẖma ḏ hiia bit mis̱ẖqal ainia’, &c.
6. ‘Mis̱ẖqal ainia’, &c.
7. ‘Bs̱ẖumaihun ḏ hiia rbia asuṯẖa uzakuṯẖa haila us̱ẖrara ʿmra us̱ẖima nhuilẖ ldilẖ Plan br Planiṯẖa’ (name of dying person) ‘mn hiia’, &c. (the ‘audin utus̱ẖbihan’)
8. ‘Bs̱ẖumaihun ḏ hiia rbia tus̱ẖbihan lhiia rbia baraiia’ &c.
9. ‘Bs̱ẖumaihun ḏ hiia rbia ʿilḵẖun dilḵẖun’, &c.

He then issues from the cult-hut with a *s̱ẖganda* and goes to the place where the dying person has been laid within the *mandi* enclosure. The latter is soused from head to foot three times with water taken from the *mandi*-pool, stripped, clothed in his death-*rasta*, and then invested with his *klila*. (See next chapter for these death-rites.) When all this has been done, the priest inserts the little phial of *mis̱ẖa* (the oil mingled with date juice) into the *das̱ẖa* (small right-hand pocket) of the dying man’s *sadra*. The *s̱ẖganda* puts his right hand into the right hand of the dying man, and if the latter cannot articulate, he speaks in his stead.

Ganzibra-elect: *Kus̱ẖṭa asiaḵẖ qaimaḵẖ* (The Right make thee whole and raise thee up).

Answer (of the *nafaqa* or departing man): *B'i was̱ẖka wamar was̱ẖtama.* (Seek and find—the priests translate 'Ask and receive'—and speak and hear.)

Ganzibra-elect: *Ana asbarlaḵẖ wanat asbarlẖ lAbaṯẖur.* (I have brought it to thee, and bear thou it to Abaṯẖur.)[1]

The *s̱ẖganda* and *ganzibra*-elect then kiss their hands and touch their foreheads with them. The latter dipping the forefinger of his right hand into the *mis̱ẖa* in the *kepṯẖa* signs the dying person three times across the forehead from right to left, and thrice across the mouth.

When the person has died—usually the shock of the cold water, and the excitement and exertion hasten the end—all the priests assemble and read prayers known as the *haṯẖamaṯẖa* (sealings) over the *ganzibra*-elect.[2] If the death occurs towards evening, the candidate does not change his clothes, but he, and the senior *ganzibra* and other officiants together with all the assembly, watch all night by the corpse, closing the entrance to the *mandi* enclosure lest something should enter and sully the areas enclosed by the *miṣri*. The burial ceremonies take place the next dawn.

If the death occurs early enough in the day to make it possible to perform all the burial rites before sunset, the latter are carried out immediately. The proceeding described above, however, is more usual, even during the longer summer hours of daylight, because the burial ceremonies in themselves take many hours and must be completed before nightfall.

It happens—rarely, for Mandaeans are acute at recognizing signs of imminent death—that the person thought to be dying, recovers. In that case, a *masiqta* is read in his name, but the ceremonies as far as the *ganzibra*-elect is concerned are invalid, and he must wait until another suitable person is near death.

The dead person is accompanied to the graveyard by all the priests, banners, and holy books that can be mustered. The burial does not differ from that of others, except that the little phial of oil is left in the *dasha* of the *sadra* worn by the corpse. The *lofani* of Sam Raia is eaten at the funeral (see next chapter) but the *zidqa brikha* is on a grand scale, for proceedings are multiplied according to the number of banners (see p. 195). The *zidqa brikha* of Sam Raia over, all return to their ordinary clothes.

But the *ganzibra*-elect's house becomes the scene of merriment and festivity. Open house is kept, and the pious add to the feast by gifts of food, so that all who visit may be fed. The *ganzibra*-elect may not sleep for three days and nights lest his purity be sullied by nocturnal pollution (cf. p. 154). During this period he may eat no meat, and must live in conditions of the severest ritual cleanliness, for the interval corresponds to the three days' interval between death and the moment when the soul of the deceased person is fully released from grave and body. On the third dawn after death the seal on the grave is 'broken', i.e. rubbed away, and all the priests, together with the *ganzibra*-elect, repair to the *mandi*, which is washed and cleaned as before. Preparations for a *masiqta* are made like those described in Chapter IX at the consecration of the *shwalia*; in fact, the *masiqta* which must be performed by the *ganzibra*-to-be in the name of the dead person, the bearer of the *'ingirtha*, does not in performance differ from that celebrated by the *shwalia* in the name of his *rabbey* except that two priests enter the cult-hut with the *ganzibra*-to-be (who is presumably in a state of exhaustion), and read the prayers with him so that he shall make no mistake, although he alone signs the *faṭiri* and goes through the ritual. When the *masiqta* is ended, a *zidqa brikha* similar to that which followed the *masiqta* at the consecration of the *mandi* is celebrated. Just as the *ganzibra* in the latter impersonated the dead *rish 'ama*, the *ganzibra*-to-be impersonates the dead carrier of the *'ingirtha*. I shall describe this *zidqa brikha* more fully in the last chapter, because it is peculiarly illustrative of the ideas that underlie this ritual meal. At its conclusion, without removing his *rasta*, the *ganzibra*-elect officiates at a *lofani* in the dead person's name, the *lofani* being that usual on the third day after death (see p. 197). Not until this is over does he return to his own house, where he must live a 'cut-off' existence for forty-five days, the period assigned for a passage through the purgatories.

During this time the *ganzibra*-elect must prepare his own food. His diet is restricted to curds, fish, vegetable, and fruit, and he may touch no meat. He may not cohabit with his wife, and should remain in a room apart, where no chance pollution can invalidate his seclusion. If, in spite of precaution, pollution occurs, the period of seclusion must be re-begun. If nothing has prolonged the retreat, the *ganzibra*, now of full rank, performs the ceremony of marriage for a priest. If no priest is found at the moment who is willing to get married, the *ganzibra*-elect remains in his isolated state. This rarely happens, as polygamy is general, and a priest is usually willing to contract an alliance for the sake of his colleague. If by some chance no opportunity to perform such a marriage were to occur, the *ganzibra*-to-be would remain in his isolation until the day of his death. I have never heard of such a case.

As soon as he has performed this marriage he is released from his seclusion and may assume the full privileges of his rank. Only a *ganzibra* may perform the marriage of a Mandaean virgin to a Mandaean man. As said in another chapter, the marriage ceremony of a non-virgin woman is performed by a *paisaq*,[3] a full priest, who is debarred from any other ceremony but that of wedding non-virgin women.

There is one other degree of priesthood, that of the *ris̲h̲ 'ama*, the 'head of the people'. None exists at present, and none, owing to the languishing state of the priesthood, is likely to exist, for a *ganzibra* acquires this rank automatically when he has consecrated five priests, and the consecration of a priest is now a rare event. For the past eighty years there has been no *ris̲h̲ 'ama*. The *ganzibra* is, therefore, in a very real sense the king of his people, for he is their intermediary in any dispute with the Government, or tribal s̲h̲aik̲h̲s, their guide in all matters, temporal and spiritual, and their ultimate authority.

When a *ganzibra* marries (and most *ganzivri* have at least two wives), the ceremony must be carried out by another *ganzibra*, four priests and two *shgandi*—for the layman, one *ganzibra* and two priests are enough. At the death of a *ganzibra* great care is taken to read the proper *masiqta*, and to have plentiful *lofani* on the first, third, seventh, and forty-fifth days after death. The *masiqta*s do not cost his family any great sum, unless it be as a gift to the officiants, for priests, like doctors in England, do not require payment for services rendered to one of their own profession. Even the food for the *lofani*s, which must be on a generous scale, is partly contributed by fellow priests and pious persons.

Ganzivri and priests must only eat food prepared by themselves, or according to the strictest rites of purity, and their bread may not be baked with that of lay persons. Wine, tobacco, and coffee are forbidden to them, and it is useless to offer them food or drink if they visit you, for they may not accept hospitality. During the days when slaughter is forbidden by Mandaean religious law the diet of the priest is severer than that of the layman—even eggs are forbidden to them. Priests must avoid eating food hot, or heated, and vegetables and fruit should be raw. Thus precept, but priests tell me that they eat cooked vegetables and think it no serious sin. Before eating, everything (a rule which applies to the laymen also) must be washed in the river, and the 'name of the Life and of Manda d Hiia' pronounced over it. Even the grain employed for the priest's bread should be thus lustrated, and a prayer uttered before eating (see p. 188). Water is the only beverage of a priest, and this must be taken directly from the river or spring.

Should a priest commit a grave fault, like adultery, he is debarred from all duties, may not be baptized, and:

'*kth nafiq mn paghrh shaialta bnura ubarda hawia uqaria ulika* '*nish d anilh*'.

(when he departs from his body, he shall be tortured in fire and frost, and call, and none shall answer him).

I have already explained that faults in ritual are not easily expiated. Should a priest assist at the marriage of a non-virgin (and matrons who examine the bride sometimes make a mistake about her virginity), he is debarred from all his duties until he has received fifty full baptisms in new garments, while the *ganzibra* who officiated must go through 360 before he may return to his office. Shaikh Dukhayil and Shaikh Rūmī have both gone through this expiation. The process is hastened, and how this is managed I can best explain by what I saw in Litlata in 1934 when an assistant priest had been polluted in this way. I was present at the beginning of his purification. The proceeding opened by a *zidqa brikha* in the name of the priest who had been defiled. This rite was performed by a *ganzibra* and two priests, one of whom had come from Persia for the purpose. The defiled priest wore an entirely new *rasta* and held a new *margna*, and was mute while his three friends 'ate for the dead' in his name—for he is considered ritually dead. He sat facing the south instead of the north.

The baptism (known as the 'Shitil baptism') followed. The preliminaries of consecration of *rasta*, *klila*, the incense and banner prayers were read by all three officiants together, while the defiled priest sat facing, and slightly to the left of them. While they looped up their *sadri* into their girdles, the desecrated priest rose, and, going to the *mandi*-pool, dipped his staff three times horizontally beneath the water, and then touched his Shom Yawar ring and his myrtle wreath, but in silence. He put on his *tagha*, touching his turban, which he wound about his head in the usual manner.

The actual procedure after this did not differ from the ordinary full baptism of a layman. But the triple immersion, triple dipping of the forehead, triple signing, triple drinking from the hand, was received from the first priest, then from the second, and then from the third, so that each action was repeated nine times. The baptized priest returned to the bank to await the chrism, while the three celebrants, still standing in the water, filled their *qanina*s by passing the bottles round their bodies in the water before they emerged. All three kneaded the sesame with water, and performed the triple signing, so that this action was also repeated nine times. Thus it was with every step of the ritual. Each action, being performed thrice by each of the three celebrants, had nine repetitions, but except for this there was nothing to distinguish this baptism from that administered to a layman on ordinary occasions, when each action is triplicated and performed by one priest only. (See Plate 25).

The whole operation was repeated at noon, and again before sunset, so that the desecrated priest received nine baptisms that day. As soon as fifty baptisms have been performed upon him, a second *zidqa brik̲h̲a* is read over him, and his purification is complete.

The polluted *ganzibra*'s baptisms were performed in a similar manner, but by seven priests, so that in one day he got through sixty-three baptisms. Had they been performed by one priest, once daily, they would have taken a whole year, during which time he would have been excommunicate.

A priest is forbidden to officiate while his wife is in her menses, or until she has been purified after childbirth, nor during these times may he even enter the sacred areas of the *miṣri* during a *masiqta*. He may not administer any religious rite to his own wife, but must call upon another priest to do so.

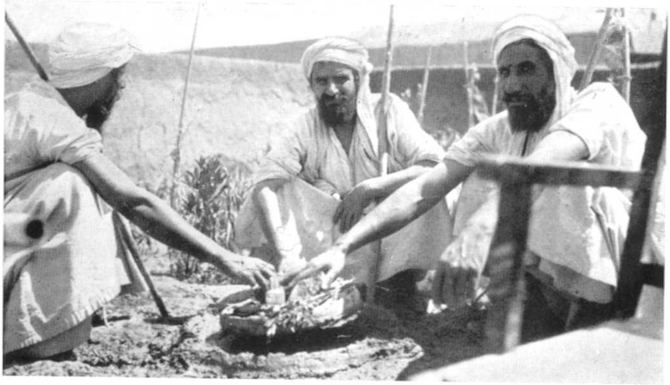
I have only given examples of the difficulties which hedge the path of a priest: to enumerate all would fill a book. It is small wonder that Mandaeans say, 'Our religion is very difficult'.

NOTES ON CHAPTER X

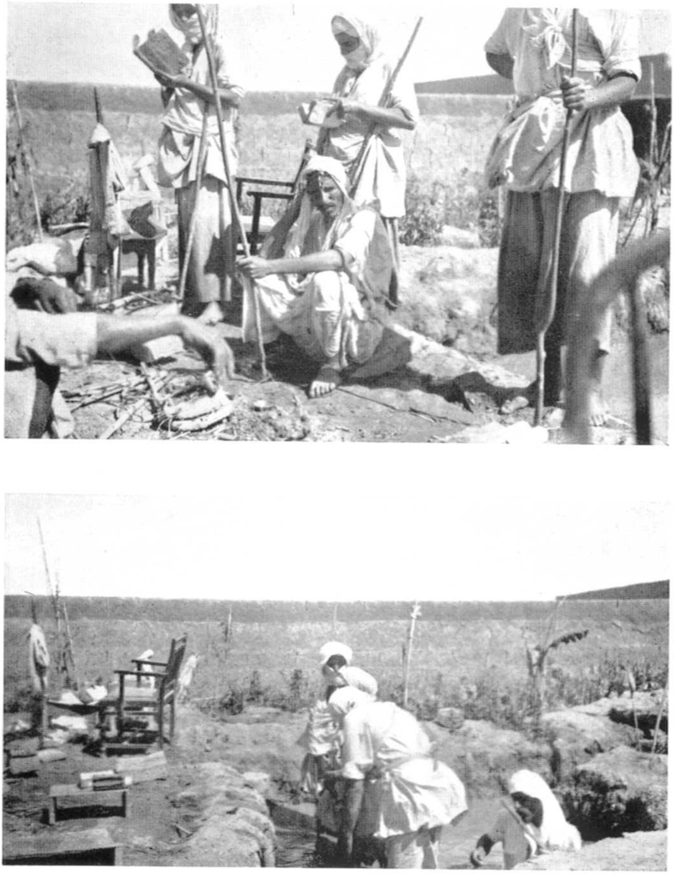
1. Pronunciation: *Kus̲h̲ṭa asiak̲h̲ qaimak̲h̲*
Bi wes̲h̲ka was̲h̲temma
Ana aswarlak̲h̲ wannāt aswarli lAwat̲h̲ur.

The Oxford MS. F, lines 465 ff., gives a description of the ritual: 'The *s̲h̲ganda* says to the dying man: "Seek and find and speak and hear! The '*Ut̲h̲ri* which thou hast worshipped and praised be to thee helpers and

PLATE 25



a. Zidqa Brikha before baptism of polluted priest



b and *c*. Triple baptism of polluted priest

supporters and liberators and saviours in the great place of light and the radiant dwelling, and the Life be praised. And the *s̲h̲ganda* further says to the dying man, "This *Kus̲h̲ṭa* which I have borne thee, take it before Abat̲h̲ur".' (See JB., pp. 2–3.) I was told, however, that the priest spoke and the *s̲h̲ganda* replied.

2. The whole ceremony is very suggestive. The person who, in his state of health, is 'assisted' out of life by the severe nature of the rites performed upon him, may represent the dying 'king-priest' to be replaced by a stronger and younger successor. I know of no modern ceremony which expresses the *leit-motif* of *The Golden Bough* more clearly.

3. The *paisaq* becomes such at his own wish. He is usually a priest who, often because his earnings are slight, or because he is unable to perform his work competently, prefers to return to secular life. He receives the usual fee for performing a marriage.

XI

DEATH AND RITES FOR THE SOULS OF THE DEAD

A PERSON sick unto death is watched carefully day and night so that he may not die in his lay clothes. A complete new *rasta* is prepared for him or her, but the stole (*naṣifa*) is made long enough to cover the feet. On the right side of the stole, at the part which, when worn, will be level with the breast, a small piece of gold, or a few gold threads are sewn; on the left side, silver, or silver threads. (If the sick man be a priest, his relatives prepare for him the complete *rasta* of a priest, and he is buried with his insignia, the *tagha*, staff, and ring.) When hope is abandoned, and death seems near, a priest is asked to consecrate a myrtle wreath. The priest gathers fresh myrtle, twists it into a wreath in the usual manner (see p. 35), and performs the minor ablution (*rishama*), during which he wears the myrtle wreath on the little finger of his right hand. At the end of the ablution, he recites:

'My Lord be praised, the Right give you health! In the Name of the Great Primal Strange Life, from the sublime worlds of light which is above all (created) works; health and purity, strength and soundness, speaking and hearing, joy of heart and a forgiver of sins may there be for me (he names himself) who have prayed this prayer and (performed) devotions, and for the soul of N. son of N. (the sick man), of this *masiqta* (raising-up), and a forgiver of sins may there be for our forefathers and teachers, and brothers and sisters, both those who have left their bodies and those who are standing in their bodies (i.e. alive). In the strength of Yawar Ziwa and Simat Hiia.'

He then recites the four prayers for the crown and wreath, repeating the 'Manda qran' twice, once for himself and once in the name of the sick person. Continuing the *rahmi* he recites the *Baina mn hiia* with his right hand to his head, crouches to recite a secret prayer, rises to recite *Zhir umzahar*, &c., *Kth qaimia 'uthria bshkhinathun*, &c., and *'thiar klil nhur*, &c., removes the *tagha* from his head, taking care not to uncover his forehead, and the *klila* from his finger; kisses the *tagha* sixty-one times, carrying it to each eye alternately, and then repeats the same over the myrtle *klila* for the dying man, repeating over and over again as he does so (i.e. sixty-one times over both), '*Kus̲h̲ṭa*[1] *asiak̲h̲ tag̲h̲ai kus̲h̲ṭa asiak̲h̲ marai!*' (The Right give thee health, my crown! the Right give thee health, my lord!'). The reader is again reminded that the name of myrtle—*asa*[2] (or *as*)—also means 'healed' or 'made healthful', and that the myrtle wreath is actually looked upon as the bestower of health and vigour and not only as the symbol of these qualities.

The priest then takes the *klila* to the sick person's family, so that it may be ready. As death approaches—and sometimes the dying man, conscious to the last, asks that this may be done—water is brought from the river, the sick man's clothes are removed, and he is soused thrice from head to foot.[3] If the weather is cold, part of the water is heated, and then mingled with the rest, so that the shock is less. They then lift him, place him on clean bedding facing the North Star (see Chap. I, note 5) and clothe him in his new *rasta*, not completing the knot of the girdle, or *himiana*. As soon as they see that he is actually passing away (they pull up the eyelids to ascertain this), they complete the knot of the girdle, and put the *klila* in its place beneath the turban, with the green leaves falling over the left temple, securing the wreath by sewing it to the turban so that it cannot be displaced. Similarly, the *rasta* is composed and sewn into place, lest in a dying spasm it should be disarranged. The long ends of the stole are turned up to cover the feet.

Should the sick person, after all these preparations, recover, the *rasta* can be used as an ordinary *rasta* when the stole (*naṣifa* or *gabuʿa*) has been shortened and the gold and silver removed; but it may not be used a second time for a dying person.

As soon as the person has actually died, the final knot and tucking in the ends of the girdle at the sides is performed. Burial cannot take place until three hours after death. If this interval brings the time near sunset, the funeral is postponed until the next morning. Four *hallali*, i.e. four ritually pure men, *suwadi* (laymen), and not priests, are appointed to perform the last offices. These *hallali* must not be blind, deaf, lame, or have any physical blemish, and their *ris̲h̲* (head) or *ab* (father)—the chief *hallali*—must be married and the father of children. When summoned for the burial, these four men perform the *ris̲h̲ama*, put on their *rasta*s, and the *ris̲h̲* slips into his belt a haftless iron knife (*sakin dola*) attached by a chain to the *skanďola* ring which he places on the little finger of his right hand (see p. 37). A priest tells me that the *sakin dola* knife used at burials should bear the inscribed words *Gauriil Is̲h̲liha* (Gabriel the Messenger).

Meanwhile, the women prepare for the *lofani*, or ritual meal. *Laufa*, (pronounced *lofa*) and *lofani* are the words employed generally for ritual eating for the dead. They seem to mean 'knitting together', 'uniting', and may be translated 'communion', since it really does imply that the souls of the departed and the souls of the living are united in the sacramental act of eating, and that strength is imparted by the ritual food and drink both to those living in this world and to those who have left it.

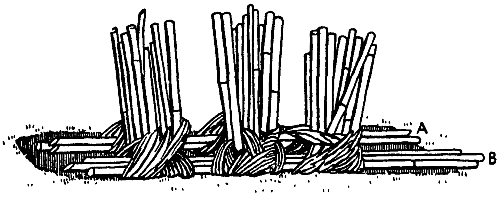
As soon as the news has spread, the neighbours flock in to lend the bereaved family pots and pans, and to assist in the grinding of flour and baking of bread, while vegetables, fruits, fish, and a sheep or birds for slaughter must also be procured as quickly as possible. Weeping is forbidden. Mandaean women must not scatter dust over their heads, nor tear garments and hair, nor beat their breasts and leap in funeral dances like their neighbours, for Moslems, Jews, and Christians of the humble classes all manifest grief in these ways. Tears become a river which the soul of the departed must ford, and torn hair forms entanglements about his feet, say the Ṣubba. (Zoroastrians used the same metaphor: see K.R.C., 76, from the Pahlavi *Virâf nameh*). Nevertheless, passing the house where a Ṣubbi had just died, I heard lamentation coming from the walled yard, and I shall not easily forget the figure of a young girl, who, having just heard of the death of a brother, cast herself repeatedly on the wet ground with shrill cries of grief, until with her hair, face, and clothes matted with mud, she looked like a living clay figure. On the other hand, I was stopped recently in Qalʿat Salih by an old man I knew. His white hair flew in the wind, and his face was shining and ecstatic. 'My brother died this morning! Splendid, splendid! I have forbidden the women to weep!' There was special cause for his joy, for to die at the sacred season of Panja means that the soul of the deceased will fly quickly to the worlds of light, and escape the dangers and tortures of the purgatories.

The dead must be watched constantly, and beside the spot on which he or she died are set a dish of water, constantly renewed, a piece of stone or marble, and a light burning on a chair, table or stool, for there must be no darkness in the room. Some dispense with the lamp by day, saying that the sun itself provides the light. Others call the light 'the fire'. These three, the 'fire' or 'light', the stone (earth?) and the water, remain where they were placed until the third day has passed.

Gaṣab reeds, *bardi* (also reeds but thinner),[4] *jerīds* or palm-frond stalks, and palm-leaf ropes must also be procured, ritually washed, and set ready for the *hallali*. A priest or *hallali* must then construct the *mandelta* (or *mandelt̲h̲a*, both pronunciations are used). This is a triple betyl, set up in the courtyard of the dead man's house. An exact ritual must be followed in its construction.

The Mandelta. An oval hole, about a yard in length, is dug with a spade. It should be a little more than a hand in depth. Into this a bundle of *gaṣab* reeds is placed upright, loose, and not bound, and broken off to about 3 or 3½ feet. Next, three reeds are placed on the ground in front of the bundle, and three reeds behind:

Fig. 10.



The bundle is divided into three loose sheaves. A reed bruised and softened by immersion in water and split into a ribbon, is run beneath A and B, brought twice round the first bundle, and the ends twisted and pushed down between B and the bundle to secure them. The three bundles are thus all bound into compact sheaves, the binder beginning at the right bundle and the softened reed-band being brought round from left to right. A somewhat complicated process follows. A reed band is thrust into the middle of each sheaf and passed round it first on the right half and then round the left, in each case passing round the two horizontal bundles as well, after which a band is brought round the whole sheaf and secured as before, i.e. by twisting the ends and thrusting them down underneath. Thus each sheaf has three bonds. The reeds are then cut even at the top, so that they stand about a foot and a quarter from the level of the ground. Next the six horizontal reeds, A and B, are cut through, so that each sheaf stands separate from its neighbours. Finally, a long, bruised, and softened reed is laid with its head to the right, brought round all three sheaves and fastened in the usual manner. Earth is thrown lightly round the bundles, so that the bonds are slightly covered, and the *mandelta* is complete except for sealing.

The head *hallali* and his three comrades, together with a priest, now assemble in the courtyard of the dead man. The priest has previously performed his minor ablution (*rishama*), said a complete *rahmi*, consecrated his *rasta*, and given all the necessary cult-objects ablution. He has also brought with him the holy books, wrapped in a white cloth.

All take their stand facing the North Star (house of Abathur) and the priest recites:

'*Bshumaihun d hiia rbia laufa urwaha d hiia ushabiq haṭaiia nhuilh lhaza nishimta d Plan br Planitha d haza masiqta ushabiq haṭaiia nhuilh.*'

'In the Name of the Great Life! Laufa (Lofa, communion) and the *rwaha* (lit. causing to breathe again, i.e. re-vivification) of the Life and a forgiver of sins may there be for this soul of N. son of N. of this *masiqta*[5] (*masekhtha*) and a forgiver of sins may there be for him.'

All the *hallali* then bind their *pandama*s over their mouths and noses, placing *jūri* (the common pink roses of Iraq) or other sweet-smelling flowers between the stuff of the *pandama* and their noses, so that 'the smell of death shall not reach them'.

The *Bania.* The *bardi* are laid loosely spread out on the ground, and are according to the size of the dead man—there is no stipulation as to number or length. Four palm-leaf ropes, each four *gamāt* in length, are required for the weaving of the *bania*, which is prepared beforehand. (A *gama* is the distance between finger-tips and finger-tips when a man stands with both arms outstretched.) A loop is tied in the middle of each rope, and these are set to the south of the *bardi*, the workers facing the north. The two ends of the rope are loosely looped over the hands of the weavers to facilitate working, and then they are twisted in and about the rushes with a space between each slender bundle of rushes and the next, forming a light fabric. When this is of the required breadth, work is stopped, and the ends of the ropes are left lying at the North.

The *hallali* must next prepare the *kursi*, or bier.

The *kursi* is made beside the corpse. The method of construction is similar to that of the *bania*, but reeds are used, and the fabric is bound to three palm-frond stems (*jerīd*) which are placed between two layers of reeds, the rope being passed first round a few reeds of the lower layer, then round the *jerīd*, then round a few reeds of the upper layer and then again round the *jerīd* in a reverse direction. No knots are tied. The *jerīd*s (palm-frond stems) form the handles of the bier. During the weaving, the three *hallali*s sit 'facing the rising sun', i.e. east, whilst the head *hallali* sits opposite, facing the 'setting sun'.

When all is ready the *hallali*s, who must be barefoot, like all who take any part in the subsequent burial ceremonies, lift the corpse, place it on the *bania*, then transfer the body on the *bania* to the *kursi.* The body is finally secured by passing the loose ends of ropes left in the *bania* round the whole, passing them through the loops already mentioned. This is to prevent the corpse becoming disarranged, or falling off. The four bearers then shoulder the bier, the *ris͟h* walking at the right of the corpse's head. During the moving of the body, and during the passage to the graveyard, manœuvring ensures that the corpse does not once change its direction facing north, so that if the dead man were stood upright, he would face the North Star.

The funeral procession moves out of the courtyard, and the bearers must step over the *mandelta*. As soon as they have done this, they halt, and the *ris͟h*, turning back, stoops and daubs each of the three betyls with wet mud, after which he seals them with the *skandola*, repeating the formula quoted above. He then resumes his place as bearer, and the procession, accompanied by men only, proceeds to the graveyard. The reason why women are not allowed to follow is that they may be in a state of impurity. This would be harmful to the soul of the dead, and render the death ceremonies useless.

The graveyard is usually in the open spaces about the village or town, and is hardly distinguishable from the ground around it, for a Ṣubbi rarely erects any kind of tomb over the dead. 'What is the good?' I heard them say. 'The body is dirt and rubbish when once the soul has left it!' So, after a while, the mound sinks, and becomes level with the soil, and no mark or stone distinguishes one grave from another. Of late years, however, some wealthier Mandaeans, copying their neighbours, have begun to erect brick tombs with the name of the buried person on a slab. These are condemned by the pious, and are so rare that in a whole Ṣubbi graveyard one or two at most will be seen. There is a tradition that burial in earth was not always a Mandaean custom. I have heard this from several Ṣubbis. To quote S͟haik͟h Nejm:

> 'Once our funeral was like that of the Persians. We placed our dead in an open place, surrounded by a wall, and birds came and ate them.'

Others have added 'wild beasts' and omitted the wall. Of course, the body was watched during the first three days and nights, and only abandoned when the soul was supposed to have left it.[6]

On arrival at the graveyard, the *rish* of the *hallali* takes a spade and digs three times with it into the soil, repeating the prayer quoted above, on p. 182.

Meanwhile the *tarmida* who is to officiate at the *lofani* (if there is no priest available, a *hallali* will do) has followed the funeral procession to the graveyard, bringing with him a *qintha* (see p. 106), a fire-saucer (*brihi*), fuel which has received ablution, a *dravsha* (*drabsha*, banner), and holy books. He makes a *rishama* in the river in the name of the deceased, followed by a *rahmi* (also in the name of the dead man), and sets up his apparatus, with the *dravsha* planted in the ground to the right of it, at a little distance from the tomb, and to the south of it. He then reads from the left side of the Ginza, which is entirely concerned with death and the fate of the soul in the next world. If no priest is available, the *hallali* who takes his place does not read, but, instead, he recites:

(Pronunciation) '*Bshmeyhun ad haiy rabbi lōfa urwaha ad haiy ushaveq hoṭṭoyi nhuili al haza nishimta ad Plan bra Planeytha ad haza masekhtha ushaveq hoṭṭoyi nihuili dabahathan urubanan udahan udahawathan ad anfaq min paghreyhun walqeymi bipaghreyhun timrun qaiāmen haiy bushkhinathun haiy zakhen al kulhun iwadi.*'

('In the name of the Great Life, Laufa (uniting, communion, see p. 180), and the re-vivification of the Life, and a Remitter of Sins shall there be for the soul of N. son of N. of this *masiqta*, and a Remitter of sins shall there be for our fathers and teachers and brothers and sisters, (both) those who have departed from their bodies and those who stand in their bodies. Ye shall say, "The Life is established in its dwellings." And Life is victorious over all its creations.')

Meanwhile, the digging of the grave is in process. The depth is not prescribed, but there must be a hollowed-out space behind the head, left unfilled with earth and called the *laḥad* (Arabic 'niche or cavity in a tomb'). The corpse is then laid in the tomb, always facing the north, and a few stones are placed on the *rasta* of the dead man, and one on his mouth. The legend told to explain this is that once, after a man had died, his family began to die, too, one after the other. They went to the *ganzibra*, who counselled that they should dig up the man who had first died and examine the corpse. They did so, and found that the *kinzala* (stole) had been stuffed into the mouth of the corpse. The origin of this and other precautions is probably fear that the dead man may return and attempt to take his loved ones with him—the result of infectious diseases such as plague, which strikes down member after member of a household. Mandaeans say that for the three days during which the spirit and soul are attached to the body by lessening ties, the uneasy soul wanders backwards and forwards between its own house and the grave. I presume that the *mandelta* is intended to prevent the dead from harming the living. It may be a 'spirit-house' as in China. Sometimes a second *kursi* of *qaṣab* (reeds) is laid above the body. The head *hallali*, facing the north, next takes the spade and throws dust three times over the corpse, saying each time, 'In the Name of the Great Life, Laufa and *rwaha* (see above) of the Life, and a forgiver of sins there shall be for this soul of N. son of N. of this *masiqta*, and a forgiver of sins there shall be for me'.

The grave is filled in by others, and a mound made. Then the head *hallali* stoops, moistens the dust on the four sides of the grave, and seals the mud so made, beginning at the head, with the impression of the *skandola*. After three days he returns and removes these impressions,[7] because all need of 'protecting' the body is at an end. When the sealing is complete, he takes the haftless iron knife attached to the ring (the *sekkin dowla*) and traces a furrow (*miṣra*) round the grave three times in the dust. This ceremony must be of ancient, probably Iranian, origin, since the Parsis have a similar usage.[8]

At the moment that the body is being lowered into the tomb the *lofani* (or ritual meal) is begun. This *lofani* is called the 'Sam Raia' after Sam, son of Noah. The legend is that Sam, who was the progenitor of the Ṣubba race, and a shepherd, lived after the Flood to a great age. When he was 750 years old, he had become infirm, and could no longer perform the *rishama* without help. The Seven Planets appeared to him and began to tempt him with visions of this world, but in vain, for Sam was weary of his body and the imperfections of this world and longed for the world of light. Then he perceived Hibil Ziwa in the shape of a priest, who said to him, 'Rise and make thy *rishama!*' Sam replied that, owing to infirmity, he was unable to do so without help. Hibil Ziwa repeated his command, and Sam, rising, felt that his body had become as strong and light as that of a man of twenty-four. He performed the *rishama*, and Hibil Ziwa offered him the alternative of a continuation of this miraculous youth, so that he might live out a span of a thousand years, or that he should leave his body and proceed towards the worlds of light. Standing there, in all youthful strength, the old man chose the latter. So he died, and Hibil Ziwa instructed the priests and Mandaeans, his children, who had gathered together, how to prepare the body for death, the rites for burial, and how *lofani* must be eaten for the dead. Hence the name, 'Laufa of Sam the Shepherd'. The familiar name in the Arabic mixed with Mandaean is the 'Thuwāb Sām bar Nūh' (Clothes for Sam son of Noah).

The Laufa or Lofani of Sam Raia (for the burial)

A freshly washed piece of white cotton cloth or linen, or a reed mat, or even a bed of reeds, or chopped straw, is spread on the ground, and upon this are laid:

1. Flat loaves of bread. The flour used in baking is ground from grain washed, and dried in the sun on a white cloth. (*Lahma*, often termed *shumbulta* i.e. wheat, at ritual meals.)
2. Baked fish (*brinda* or *nuna*) prepared by the priest. (Must be a 'clean' i.e. lawful, fish.)
3. Roast morsels of fat from the *līyaḥ* (suet at base of tail) of a slaughtered sheep,[9] if the bereaved family can afford one; if not, the roast flesh of such lawful birds as the bee-eater, partridge, or dove, is substituted. If a dove, it is called *ba*.
4. Coco-nut (*nargila*). This is imported from India as there are no coco-nut palms in Iraq.

5. Long almonds (*anguza*). Imported from Persia. None in Iraq.
6. Walnut (*amuza*). Imported from Persia. Rarely grown in Iraq, and then only in the North.
7. Pomegranate (*rumana*). This grows in Iraq, but is not always in season. As this is one of the five most sacred foods (see *masiqta*, p. 158) dried seeds are used when the fruit is out of season.
8. Quince (*sfargila*). Usually obtainable. When out of season in Iraq, imported from Persia.
9. Onion (*kiwara*). Obtainable always.
10. Grapes or raisins (*anba*). Grapes are obtainable locally when in season but raisins usually imported.
11. Salt (*mihla*).

In addition to these essential foods, or *ṭabut̲h̲a*, fruit and vegetables in season are added. I have been told by men of the priestly clan that in early times no meat or fish were eaten at *lofani* for the reason that taking life is a sin, but other priests deny this.

The men who are to partake of the ritual meal sit two and two in pairs. Each pair hold a flat loaf of bread between them with the right hand, repeating the formula pronounced upon all food, (including the daily domestic meal):

> 'The name of the Life and the name of Manda d̲ Hiia are pronounced upon thee, O Good Thing (*ṭabta*) (wholesome food) of Yawar Ziwa and Simat Hiia!'

Ṭabta, pronounced *ṭafta*, plural *ṭabut̲h̲a*, is a word applied not only to ritual foods but to all wholesome and lawful food. The root has a meaning of imparting health, of being healthy, or living. In the colloquial Arabic of Iraq *hua ṭayyib* is used generally as meaning, 'he is alive'. *Nta ṭayyib* is a polite way of announcing a death (the unexpressed being 'He is dead—but') 'thou livest'. *Ṭab ṭaba lṭabia* expresses this idea.

Each pair break the bread in half, eat several mouthfuls, and then all drink out of a common bowl of water freshly brought from the river, saying, while drinking, pair by pair:

A. '*Brik̲h̲at marai ms̲h̲abat*' (Thou art blessed and praised, my lord!)
B. '*Asut̲h̲a nhuilak̲h̲*' (Health be thine!)
A. '*Sut̲h̲a nhuilk̲h̲un ṭabta brik̲h̲ta thuilk̲h̲un*' (Wholeness be yours, blessed *ṭabta* be yours!')

After the bowl has passed from pair to pair, all stretch out their right hands and arms (previously washed) towards the food, holding a fragment of the bread wrapped round scraps of the food in their closed fingers. The priest or lay officiant then says:

' "In the name of the Life and in the name of Manda d̲ Hiia" is pronounced upon thee, O *Ṭabta* (wholesome food). Approach the goodness of the Life and the good things of Life and Manda d̲ Hiia spoke, who pronounced the name of the Life: "*Ṭab*, *ṭaba lṭabia*" (a prayer, viz. Good [health] and goodness are for those who are good) and their names (or family) shall be established who honour the names (of the dead). We seek and find, and speak and listen. We have sought and found, and spoken and listened in thy presence (lit. before thee), my lord, Manda d̲ Hiia, lord of healings. Forgive him (the dead man) his sins and trespasses, follies, stumblings, and mistakes, and forgive those who prepared this bread and *masiqta* and wholesome food. (Forgive) their sins and trespasses and foolishnesses and mistakes, my lords Manda d̲ Hiia and Great Primal Life, also those of the givers (lords) of alms and pious acts, they, their wives, their children, and their priests, and those of N. son of N. of this *masiqta*, and a forgiver of sins may there be for me, and for my father, mother, teachers and wives, children and priests; and for those who prepared this bread and *ṭabut̲h̲a* (life-giving food), and for you, my fathers (forebears) and teachers and tutors and instructors, when ye were supported from the Left to the Right. And ye shall say, "Life is established in its dwellings". And Life is praised, and Life is victorious over all (created) works.'

All the company then carry the handful of food held outstretched to their mouths. When they have eaten the first sacred handful, they consume what is before them until they are satisfied. If there are no Mandaean poor present to finish what is left over, the remainder, with any crumbs or fragments, is thrown into the river, for not the least atom must fall to the ground.[10]

After finishing the *lofani*, all reassemble at the grave, which has by this time been filled in and sealed as described above, and say, 'The Great Life spoke and opened its (their) mouth(s) in its (their) own radiance and light and glory, and Life be praised!'[11]

Then the *hallali*, unfastening their *pandama*s, scatter the flowers that had been bound to their mouths and noses upon the newly made grave. If a priest has led the *lofani* and reading, he unbinds his *pandama* and removes his *tag͟ha* with the usual prayers of ritual, but prefaces them by two prayers (1) (the *baina mn Hiia*) (that the Life and Manda d̠ Hiia, the '*ut͟hri*s and 'kings of the world of light' may accept 'this high treasure', forgive what has been lacking or remiss in it, and forgive the sins of the dead, so that Habs͟haba may free the dead person from the Maṭarat͟ha and take him to the high world of light); (2) A prayer uttered silently in a crouching position.

The people disperse, and the *hallali*, together with all who have touched the corpse or things brought into contact with it, go down to the river and perform the complete, triple immersion (*ṭamas͟ha*).[12]

The same day a *zidqa brik͟ha* (blessed act of piety) should be performed by a priest, several priests, or, if none is available, by a layman. This *zidqa brik͟ha*, viz. that performed the day of burial (for there are several kinds, as I shall presently explain), is called the *zidqa brik͟ha* of Sam Raiia.

The Zidqa Brik͟ha after Burial

This *zidqa brik͟ha* may be performed either in the *mandi* area (though not within the *mandi* itself), in the courtyard of the priest's or *ganzivra*'s house (if they are close enough to the river), or in a place near the river. As said above, if no priest is available, a layman (who should be a *hallali*) may perform this *zidqa brik͟ha*, but the ceremony is then a shortened one, and loses much of its efficacy. The celebrants, or celebrant, must be barefoot.

If the latter is a priest, and has a banner, he plants its iron-shod foot in the ground well to the right and east of the other ritual objects. These are:

1. A *qint͟ha* (box of unbaked clay with a tray-like top, resembling

the *ṭoriana* in that it has a *miṣra* or recess. In the latter stands the *qauqa*, i.e. the incense-cube, and to the left of it, on the lid, stands the fire-saucer). See Fig. 6, p. 107.

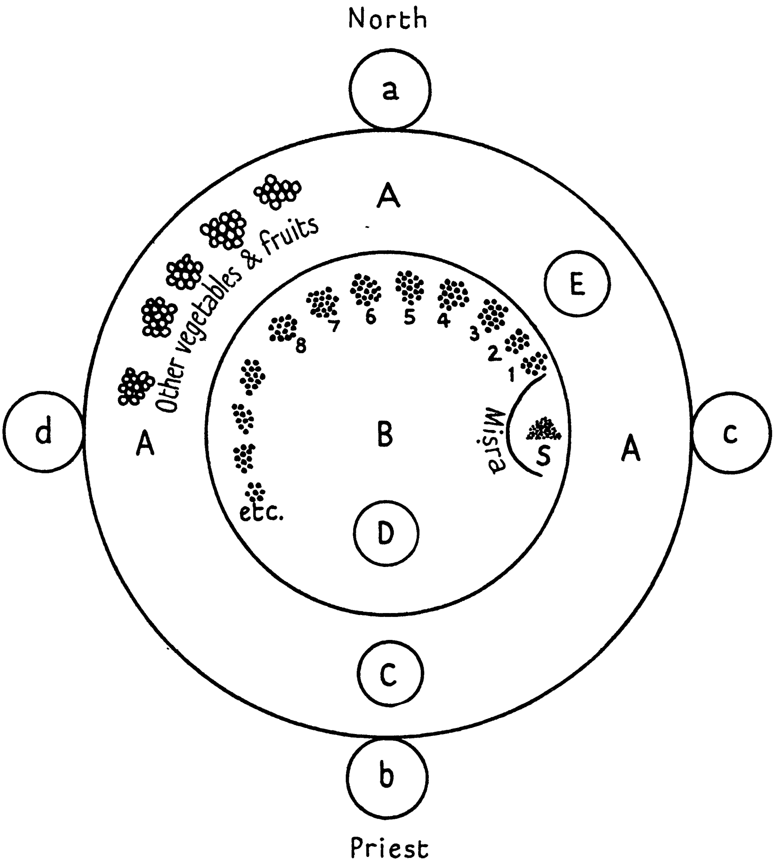
2. A *ṭoriana* or clay table, large enough for several persons to sit around it. If the celebrant has no *ṭoriana*, he digs the ground a little with a spade, smooths it, throws clean water from the river over it, daubs it over with clean wet mud, and when the sun has dried it, sweeps and cleans it, then, taking an iron knife or other iron implement, makes a furrow, or *miṣra*, around it in a circle about the size of a big *ṭoriana*. In addition, he makes four small circles surrounded by *miṣri* at the four points of the compass (*girbia*, *timia*, *madna*, and *marba*), outside and touching the circumference of the larger circle.
3. In the centre of the big *ṭoriana* or its substitute, he places a *kangana*, (ring of unbaked clay) and upon that a small *ṭoriana* of the usual ritual size and pattern (see Plate 11 *a*). In its recess, or *miṣra*, however, a small heap of salt is placed instead of the usual incense cube.

Along the northern edge of the small *ṭoriana* he ranges small morsels of various eatables. These are:

1. Fish (previously ceremonially washed and roasted by the priest).
2. Onion.
3. Pomegranate seeds.
4. Long almonds.
5. Shelled walnuts.
6. Quince.
7. Coco-nut.
8. Grapes or raisins.
9. Any other fruits or vegetables in season.

On the southern side of the smaller ṭoriana (B) in my diagram, is D, the *kepṯha* set ready for the reception of the first three *faṭiri* and the *ṣa*. On the big *ṭoriana* (A), upon which the smaller (B) stands, more vegetables and fruits are heaped, an empty *kepṯha* (E) for water, and another *kepṯha* for two *faṭiri*.

Everything used, except salt and fuel, receives triple ablution in the river and the blessing, 'The Name of the


North
a
A
Other vegetables & fruits
E
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
d
A
B
Misra
S
A
c
etc.
D
C
b
Priest

Arrangement of *Zidqa Brikha* for day of burial.

FIG. 11.

Life, &c. The fuel placed in the fire-saucer on the *qintha* may be of either charcoal or wood. It will be remembered that at the *masiqta* only lustrated wood and reeds may be used.

The Making of the Five Faṭiri and Ṣa

I have described the preparation of the flour above. Salt is sprinkled on it, and a *shganda* holds this ready while the priest washes hands and arms at the river. The assistant, coming to him, then places into the priest's wet palm enough of the flour and salt for one *faṭira*. The *tarmida* mixes it with water, and kneads it in the palm of his hand. The *faṭira* should be about the size of, but thinner than, an English crumpet. When patted into shape, each little loaf is baked in the fire-saucer, then placed on the *ṭoriani*. The first three are placed on *keptha* D as said above, and the other two on *keptha* E. The priest then makes the *ṣa*.

This, kneaded in the hand and baked in ashes like the *faṭira*, is a roll about 4 inches long. In a recent article ('The Kaprana' in *Orient and Occident*, The Gaster Anniversary Volume, London, Taylor's Foreign Press, 1937) I have pointed out the similarity of the *ṣa* to the Nestorian *kaprana*, a dough object of identical shape which plays a part in the *Qurbana*, and appears to be a relic of some ancient fertility and life cult. That the *ṣa* is a phallic emblem one would suspect from its form and size. The reference which puzzled Lidzbarski (Q. 107), *pihla d 'l shum hiia pla*, obviously refers to it. The same expression occurs in a *zidqa brikha* ritual purchased by me in 1936, again with the mention of *ṭabutha*. (See note 9 to this chapter for the context.)

When the *ṣa* is baked, the priest places it above the three *faṭiri* in *keptha* D, performs his *rishama*, and consecrates his *tagha*. He makes an alteration in the first prayer for the *tagha*:

> 'My Lord be praised, the Right make you whole! In the name of the Great Primal Strange Life from the sublime worlds of light, which is supreme above all (works), health and purity, strength and soundness (*sharara*), speaking and hearing, joy of heart and a

forgiver of sins may there be for me, N. son of N. (his own name) who have offered this prayer and devotion, and a forgiver of sins may there be for N. son of N. (the name of the dead person), of this *masiqta*, and our first forefathers and great ones and brothers and sisters, both those who have left the body and those who are standing in the body. In the strength of Yawar Ziwa and Simat Hiia.'

The usual prayers for the consecration of the *tag̲h̲a* follow and at the prayer, 'Manda created me,' he slips a *klila* of myrtle onto his little finger. He goes to the river, dips his right hand and arm in the water, holding the *margna* in the crook of his left arm, and returns to crouch in front of the *ṭoriani*, then repeating in slightly shortened form the prayer given on p. 188: '"In the Name of the Life and in the Name of Manda d̲ hiia" be pronounced upon thee, O Good Thing (*Ṭabta*)', &c.

Taking the *ṣa*, he breaks it in two, and eats a fragment of it thrice; then three morsels from each of the five *faṭiri* and thrice from every kind of eatable on the *ṭoriani*. Next, he fills *kept̲h̲a* E at the river, or from a freshly-filled *qanina* if the river is not close. Sometimes, there is no *kept̲h̲a* E, and he merely scoops up, or pours, a little water into the palm of his hand. He drinks water thrice, saying:

Priest. 'Thou art blessed, my lord, and praised!'
Those present. 'Health be thine!'
Priest. 'The health of Life be yours! Blessed food (*Ṭabta brik̲h̲ta*) be yours!'

He then recites the prayer known as 'our First Forefathers' (*Abahat̲h̲an qadmaiia*)—the *Ṭab, ṭaba lṭabia* given and translated by Lidzbarski (Q. 129), followed by the invocation and blessing of ancestors and the dead beginning with the spirits of light, *melki* and *'ut̲h̲ri*, and then Adam, First Man, son of Qin (i.e. the physical, not the spiritual Adam), famous figures of religious history, and early ancestors whose names have been preserved without any record of why they are so carefully retained in the liturgy; then follows the name of the priest himself, his father, mother, wife, children, teachers, &c., the name of the dead man himself, and his relations, to which may be added names suggested by any present who wish dead to be remembered. After each name is said 'A forgiver of sins may there be for him' (or 'her', as the case may be). I have quoted this prayer in full in the next chapter, pp. 219 ff.

When this prayer is at an end, he puts his hand to his head while reciting the *Baina mn hiia umn maria*, crouches and recites a secret prayer silently, and then proceeds with the usual prayers for the deconsecration of the *tagha*, &c., the *klila* is cast into the river, and he returns with his apparatus and *dravsha* to his house.

This is the simplest form of burial *zidqa brikha*, and the average fee paid by the bereaved family is nine *dirhems* (nine shillings), though more than double that sum is often given.

More elaborate forms of this *zidqa brikha* are performed at the death of a priest, or *ganzibra*, or a person wealthy enough to pay for them. Two, or three, or seven priests may officiate. If there are two priests and *two* banners, the arrangement as indicated in the diagram is simply duplicated, and the ritual duplicated *except* that two *ṣai* —one for each inner *ṭoriana*—are made, and that, at the solemn breaking of bread, the two priests break one *ṣa* between them.

If there are two priests and *one* banner, two *ṣai* are made, but the set or arrangement of *ṭoriani* is the same as for one priest and one banner, except that the priests divide a *ṣa* between them at the breaking of the bread.

If there are three priests and three banners, the arrangements, or sets, are triplicated, and one *ṣa* is made at each set. Two priests sit facing one for the breaking of bread, and the *ṣa* is broken between them.

If there are three priests and one banner, the arrangement is the same as for one priest and one banner, but two *ṣai* are made, one being placed on the inner, and one on the outer *faṭiri*. The three priests sit round the big *ṭoriana*.

If four, or seven priests are taking part, two big *ṭoriani* (or sets of *ṭoriani*, big and small), and two banners are usual. The priests sit, four at the left set (in two pairs), and three, of whom the *ganzibra* is one, at the right-hand *ṭoriana*. Should there be seven banners and seven priests, each has a set, and the arrangements and ritual for one priest and one banner are multiplied by seven.

Even then the ceremonies for the day of burial are not complete. When the *zidqa brikha* is over, the priest goes to the house of the dead person, taking with him the Ginza Rba and other holy books (all are spoken of as *ginzi*, treasures) and his apparatus for *lofani*. The bereaved family have baked many loaves (all bread made by the people of Iraq for ordinary domestic use is flat, unleavened, and round). The average number is about thirty. Upon the ground of the courtyard they spread a reed mat, or a large metal tray, or even an *ʿaba* (cloak-coat of the country), and if these are not absolutely new and clean, a white cloth is laid above the mat, or *ʿaba*, or whatever it may be. Upon this the bread and all foods necessary for *lofani* are placed. The four corpse-bearers (the *hallali*), and all who attended the funeral, assemble round this, and the *lofani* performed at the tomb is repeated. A loaf is broken between each pair, several mouthfuls of everything spread before them are eaten, and all drink from a common bowl of water, the *niara*, with the responses given on page 189. They take a piece of the soft bread, and wrap in it some of the various foods spread before them, then extend the right hand over, or towards, the centre dish, while the priest reads the prayer, 'In the name of the Life' as on page 189.

Then all eat till satisfied, and the women and children follow the men; what is over being either eaten by needy persons (*hasab al-thuwāb* as they say), or thrown into the river. Reading from the holy books, especially from the Ginza, is kept up night and day, either by a priest or *yalufa*, until the morning of the third day after death.[13] This is to help the bewildered and defenceless soul, which still lingers on earth. The links between soul and body are not quickly severed. The Tafsir Paghra likens the gradual quitting of the soul to the gradual extinguishing of wicks of a lamp. A lay Mandaean's account of what happens at dissolution is:

> 'At death, the death angel, Ṣowriil (Ṣauriil: Azrael) comes, but Qamamir Ziwa descends to help the pure soul and defend it from harm. Qamamir Ziwa and S̲h̲ahabriil Ziwa[14] are forms of Hiwel (Hibil) Ziwa. Ṣowriil comes from the Darkness to claim the soul when it leaves the body. When the time comes (i.e. on the third day, E.S.D.) for the soul to part altogether from the body, it is like a thing in a deep sleep, and only gradually becomes aware of its condition. It is heavy—*dī*—! and sees not. Then, suddenly, the soul frees itself of this heaviness. It sees Ṣowriil and Qamamir Ziwa[15] waiting for it, the one a spirit of darkness and the other a spirit of light. When it leaves the body the soul is in the shape of a person, wearing clothes, but it is of air and not substantial. We cannot see it. If an evil-doer, the garments it wears are black, and if it asks, "Why am I clothed in black?" these two *melki* answer it, "Are there not sacred books, given to man since the time of Adam? Hast thou not beheld sun, moon, and stars? Thou hast reason, didst thou ask whether they were the work of man or of God?" The soul says to them, "Let me return into the body again! I will be good, I will become a *faqīr* and do good!" They say to it, "There is no escape! Who that is dead returns? Hast never seen a dead man? Hast never watched a man die?"
>
> 'Then the *nis̲h̲imta* goes to Pt̲h̲ahil, who gave wisdom to Solomon, and is led to its place of purification in the Maṭarat̲h̲a.'

I have already spoken of the belief that the soul passes at dissolution into the cast-off ethereal body of the double.

On release from the body and the tomb, a priest told me, the soul goes 'like a bullet' towards the realm of Pt̲h̲ahil, flying over the great white mountain called Sur, behind which are the Maṭarat̲h̲a. These are literally 'watch-houses' (*nṭr*) and each *maṭarta* is watched over, or ruled, by a planetary spirit or spirit of light. At the 'gate' of Maṭarat̲h̲a, the soul is received with refreshment proportionate to the ritual meals eaten in his name on earth, a banquet of the ethereal doubles of the earthly *ṭabut̲h̲a*, and knows that its kinsmen have remembered it. The third-day *lofani*, therefore, is on as grand a scale as possible, as many as seven sheep being slaughtered for a rich family. Food of all kinds (except those forbidden for *lofani*) are eaten, including rice, cream, honey, and curds.

The first journey through the Maṭaratha takes forty-five days, or in the case of a 'perfect' soul, forty.[16] Having passed through the first gate on the third day it proceeds on its way, strengthened by the private family *lofani*s which are eaten constantly in its name. On the seventh day the soul reaches a second great portal through which it must pass, and a general *lofani* like that which has been performed on the third day is eaten in its name. The *deyvi* (spirits who inhabit the Maṭaratha) offer the soul fresh nourishment.

After the seventh day the women return the pots and pans borrowed from their neighbours, for there is no general *lofani* again until the forty-fifth day, which is the day on which the soul should reach the Scales of Abathur. The meal—a general *lofani*—eaten then on earth by friends and relations, gives the soul life and strength for its ordeal. Its good and evil deeds are weighed against each other. If the evil deeds outweigh the good, or weigh equal, the soul remains in Maṭaratha to receive purification and punishment adapted to its sin.[17] If it has been quarrelsome, it goes to the Maṭarta of Nirigh (Mars), if vainglorious, to that of Bil (Jupiter). Especial purgatories are reserved for priests. Amongst the Maṭaratha not only the seven planets, but the worlds of the seven sons of Pthahil and of Habshaba and others provide places of purification. Expiation is adapted to the crime. Tortures for the evil include fire and ice, being combed with an iron comb, or bitten by snakes, lions, wolves, and dogs. If altogether evil, the soul descends into the belly of 'Ur, which is alternately ice and fire, only to receive final purification at the end of the world, when spirits still undergoing purification are carried upwards by the forces of light and life, or by Habshaba himself, and, by an act of mercy, are dipped into the heavenly waters of the Frash Ziwa, the heavenly *yardna*, in a great final baptism of healing.

If the soul is that of a pious person, its purification does not take long, and after a brief sojourn, it returns to the Scales, and is weighed against the soul of S̲h̲itil, the purest human being. To quote from a *ganzibra*:

> 'After it has passed through *maṭarat̲h̲a*, the soul reaches the Polar Star, Awat̲h̲ur, where it is weighed. (Awat̲h̲ur is not the Polar Star, but that star is his seat.) In one scale of the balance is the soul; in the other, the soul of S̲h̲itil, for S̲h̲itil is the purest of all human souls. His selflessness is shown in the Ginza Rba, in which it is written that after Adam had lived a thousand years, God (*Alaha, for Moslems were present, and the narrator adapted his terms*) wished to call him to Paradise. Adam begged for more time on earth. His request was granted, but, after another thousand years, God sent to seek his soul again. Adam begged and received a second respite. After a third thousand years had passed by, Adam said, "Take S̲h̲itil in my place!" S̲h̲itil said, "I am only eighty years old and have not yet married!", nevertheless, he prepared to die for Adam, only asking to say his *Rahmi.* Then he was taken by the angel of death.'

If the soul weighs heavier than that of S̲h̲itil it is sent back for re-purification, if not, it enters a ship of light and is borne over the river which surrounds the worlds of light to celestial habitations, in which kinsmen long dead are settled. His ultimate dwelling may be in the world of Yus̲h̲amin, or of Hibil Ziwa, or of Simat Hiia, or of some other great spirit of light, for the worlds of light are countless.

I have given the usual account of what happens after death. One *ganzibra*, always inclined to rationalism, declared Maṭarat̲h̲a, with its tortures and wild beasts, nothing but a bogey to frighten evil-doers. 'This world', he said, 'is Maṭarat̲h̲a!' He produced the Tafsir Pag̲h̲ra to prove that the soul was translated, after the third day's release, to the world of Ms̲h̲unia Kus̲h̲ṭa and there, gradually, strengthened by the prayers made and sacred meals eaten in his name on earth, passed through a chrysalis state. Shedding off its impurities like the silk-moth the layers of the cocoon, it rose at last and became one with its light-double, and then, mounting in this transfigured state, passed through the three hundred and sixty gates of that world to ultimate perfection of the self in the world of light.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XI

1. *Kus͟h͟ta*. The word means literally 'Right', 'Right-doing', becoming 'troth', and 'giving the right hand in troth or fealty'. *Kus͟h͟ta* is personified in some passages of the sacred books (e.g. JB. pp. 3–16).

2. The verb *asa* in Mandaean cannot be translated 'to heal' with the exclusive meaning 'making that which is sick well', for it implies rather 'imparting vigour and life magically'. Hence, the noun *asut͟h͟a* is better translated as 'health', 'vigour', than 'healing' or 'salvation'. In the plural, *asawat͟h͟a* = 'means of health', 'life-bestowing gifts'.

3. The Parsis wash the corpse with *gaomez* and well-water. 'In some cases, generally those of old men when they were given up as hopeless, the final bath was, up to a few years ago, *given during the last moments of life*.' (Italics mine). (JJM. p. 54).

4. *Botanical names*. The *bardi* is the *Typha Angustata*. The *gaṣab* is of two kinds: *Phragmites communis* and *Prianthus communis*.

5. 'The soul of this *masiqta*' does not necessarily mean that a *masiqta* is to be performed. It means that the soul is helped to rise by the ceremonies and prayers performed in its name. The ritual of the *masiqta* proper is too costly for all to pay for its celebration. The phrase is used of the recently dead, whose souls are prayed for.

6. With regard to the Ṣubbi tradition (by no means universal) of exposure of bodies in ancient times, this practice is not found only amongst the Zoroastrians, but is also (Doughty, "Arabia Deserta", vol. ii, p. 41), according to their neighbours, practised by the Qahṭān tribe in central Arabia. Evidence of such a custom among early inhabitants exists in Baluchistan, and in the Indus Valley has been found by archaeologists in the shape of fractional burials. To quote Dr. Frankfort (*Archeology and the Sumerian Problem*) these were burials, 'in which the bones were only in part collected and buried after the body had been exposed to beasts and birds . . .' (p. 27). These burials he takes as adding to cumulative evidence that 'the earliest settlers in Mesopotamia, then, were people descended from the Iranian highlands and possessed of a culture which extended eastward to the very borders of the Indus Valley' (p. 30). The Parsis expose the bodies of the dead to vultures in the Towers of Silence, but an indication of an earlier custom when, presumably after the three days' watch, the body was abandoned, is found in the *sag-did*, or bringing a dog to look at the corpse. That this dog, which should be 'four-eyed', i.e. have special markings, is *not* merely symbolical of the four-eyed dogs which guard the C͟h͟invat bridge into the other world, is shown in the earlier proviso that the sight of birds like the *sari-gar*, the black crow, and the vulture may serve the place of the *sag-did*, 'but, in that case, the shadow of these flying birds must fall over the body'. (The *Rivâyât Kama Bohra*.) In modern Tibet the practice is still a common one: bodies are cut up by the lamas before exposure to birds and beasts of prey.

7. Cf. the breaking of the seal on the tomb of Jesus on the morning of the Resurrection, i.e. the dawn of the third day after death. As the Mandaean seal is a pagan seal, it is not likely to have been 'borrowed' from the Christians: although the Nestorians also 'seal' graves (with a cross i.e. a life-sign) which is removed on the third day. The custom has probably a common origin.

8. Moulton says (*The Treasure of the Magi*, p. 154): 'An interesting detail (of a Parsi funeral) is the drawing of the *kasha* three times round the place where the corpse is laid. A *kasha* (Avestan *karša*, Greek τέλσον) is a 'furrow', and it is drawn with a piece of metal. It marks off the ground and interposes a barrier against the excursions of the fiend into the places around.'

9. Pronounced: *Bshmaṭhaiy ubushma ad Manda-ṭ-haiy madkhar illakh ya ṭafta titqabbal ṭabuth haiy uṭabutha d haiy uManda-ṭ-haiy pehla ad al shom haiy ipla ṭav ṭava al ṭavi u itres kiniana d rahmi ushmi nibbi nishka unimmar unishtemma. Bin wushkennin wamrennin wishtamennin mn qodamakh dilakh marey Manda-ṭ-haiy mareyhun ad asawatha ashfaqalli hoṭṭoyi uhovi ueskilathi watqilathi umshabashathi ill men ad hazan lahma umasekhtha uṭabutha aved hoṭṭoyi uhovi uiskilathi uatqilathi* (*tiqlathh*) *umshabashathi neshfaqulli marey Manda-ṭ-haiy haiy rabbi qadmoyi u al marey ad aghra uzedqa hazen nishimta ad Pulan bar Pulanétha* (the deceased) *ad haza masekhtha shaveq hoṭṭoyi nhvili al dili ulab wal ʿim wal rabbey walzowey wal shitley wal tarmidhi irmon dilkhun abhathi urubani umalfani umasvirani kath ismekhetun min ismal lyammen shafeq hoṭṭoyi nhuilkhun wa timrun qaiamen haiy bishkhinathun umshabben haiy uhaiy zakhen al kulhun iwadi.*

10. In Iraq bread is universally considered sacred as an emblem of life. A *fellāh*, walking along a road and finding a piece of fallen bread, will pick it up, brush away the dust, and set it where it will not be trodden upon, mentioning the name of God. In Palestine, until the Great War, it was considered wrong to sell bread amongst the *fellāhīn*—bread should be given, not sold.

11. '*Malil uptha hiia rbia bpumaihun bziwa uʿqara d nafshaihun umshabin hiia.*'

12. Compare Modi's account of the Parsi funeral: 'Only the corpse bearers are allowed to come into contact with the body. If somebody else touches the body he has to go through a process of purification or a sacred bath taken under the direction of a priest' (JJM., p. 55).

The parallels throughout are striking. To summarize: After the washing of the dead, or dying, described in note 3, the body is given over to the charge of two persons who first take a bath, put on 'a clean suit of clothes', perform the Kusti (i.e. re-girdle themselves) and recite part of the Srosh-bâj prayer. Then, holding a *paiwand* or white cloth, between them, they enter the death chamber. The body is placed on the ground in a clean white sheet, and the shroud is placed over it. The face is left uncovered, but sometimes the lower part of the face is covered with the *padân*. The corpse is lifted and put on slabs of stone in the 'front room' but, says Modi, in earlier times was placed on a plot of ground within the area of the house, dug over to the depth of a few inches and covered with a layer of sand. This custom is still observed 'in some of the towns of Gujerât'. Great care is taken to *avoid* the corpse facing north.

'After placing the corpse on slabs of stones, one of the persons draws round the body three *Kashas*'. (See note 8.) 'They then leave the house, with the *paiwand* still held between them, and finish the Srosh Bâj prayer.'

The funeral ceremonies over the body before its removal include the *sag-did* (note 6). A priest wearing a *padân* recites prayers by the sacred fire brought into the room in which the corpse is laid after the first *sag-did* (for the dog is brought to 'look' at the body more than once).

The removal of the body at night is forbidden.

'About an hour before the time fixed for the removal of the body to the Tower, two—or four if the body is heavier—Nassâsâlârs, i.e. corpse-bearers, clothed in perfect white, enter the house, after having said and performed the Pâdyâb Kusti' (minor ablution). 'All parts of the body except the face are covered up.... They enter the house holding a *paiwand* between them' (JJM., pp. 62–3).

Sometimes the offices of the first two persons and those of the corpse-bearers are performed by the same persons. Before the recitation of the Gâthâ (which must take place before the dead body leaves the house) 'two priests perform the Pâdyâb Kusti, and, after reciting the prayers for the particular Gâh, go to the chamber where the dead body is placed, and standing at the door or inside the door at some distance from the body, and holding a *paiwand* between them, put on the *padân* over their faces, take the *bâj* and recite the Ahunavaiti Gâthâ (Yaçna xxviii–xxxiv) which treats of Ahura Mazda, his Ameshâspentas or immortal archangels, the future life, resurrection and such other subjects' (JJM., p. 65). '. . . When the recital of the Gâthâ is finished, the final *sag-did* is performed.... When all have had their last look and paid their respects the corpse-bearers cover up with a piece of cloth the face of the deceased which was till now open and secure the body to the bier with a few straps of cloth so that it may not fall on being lifted up and carried' (JJM., p. 66).

Only male relatives follow the bier to the Tower of Silence, and after the conclusion of the ceremonies and the leaving of the body to the vultures, 'all return home and generally take a bath before following their ordinary vocations'. (JJM., p. 69).

13. The time set for the soul to quit the body and tomb is that taken in a mild climate for the body to show signs of putrefaction. Jesus is represented as leaving the sepulchre on the dawn of the third day.

'According to Parsi Scriptures', says Modi (p. 76), 'the soul of a dead person remains within the precincts of this world for three days under the special protection of Sraosha' (p. 77). 'On the dawn after the third night, it goes to the other world.'

14. *Shahabriil* is variously described in the Ginza Rba as *Mana, Gufna* (Mandaeans translate this word 'tree' not 'vine'), and *'uthra Ziwa*.

15. Cf. the two death angels of the Moslems, Munkir and Nakīr, and the Hebrew Gabriel and Azrael. Gabriel and Gauriil Ishliha correspond exactly to the Zoroastrian Sraosha.

16. This recalls the ascension of Jesus on the fortieth day. Forty is used generally as the Semitic equivalent of 'many', and would not, therefore, be significant were it not for the parallel of the resurrection on the Third Day, and the removal of the seal. It must be remembered that the ritual mass for the soul is the *masiqta*—the 'raising'.

Moslems have a special ceremony with prayers on the fortieth day after death, called 'the Forty', and on that day food is distributed to the poor. The Mandaeans eat *lofani* on the forty-fifth day, while the Parsis have the Sraosh ceremony on the thirtieth day after death. Baghdad Jews eat a vegetarian ritual meal for the dead on the thirtieth day after death.

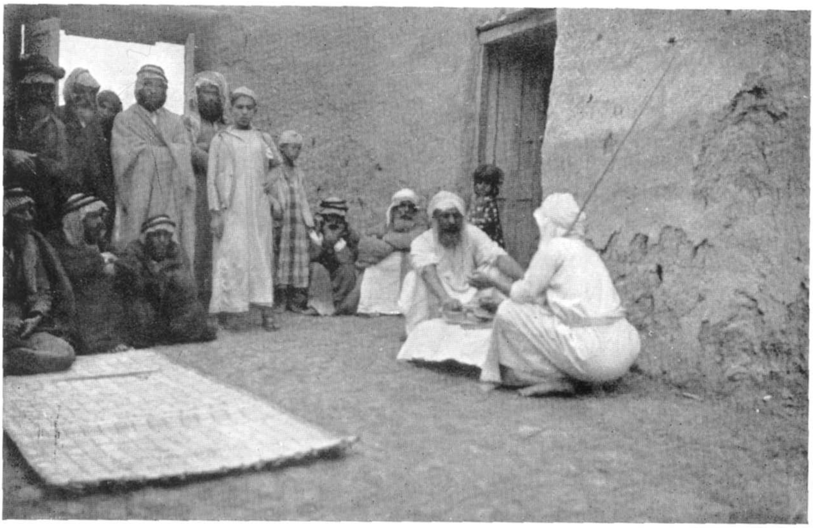
17. *Parsis*. Of the weighing of the dead man's deeds in Meher's scales Modi writes: 'If his good deeds overweigh even by a small particle his misdeeds, his soul is allowed to pass the bridge (Chinvat) to Paradise. If his good deeds are equal to his misdeeds the soul goes to a place called Hameshta-gehân. (Vend. xix. 36). If his misdeeds outweigh his good deeds, even by a particle, he is cast down into hell.' (JJM., pp. 83–4.) (The Hameshta-gehân is the Parsi Purgatory, or place of purification.)

XII

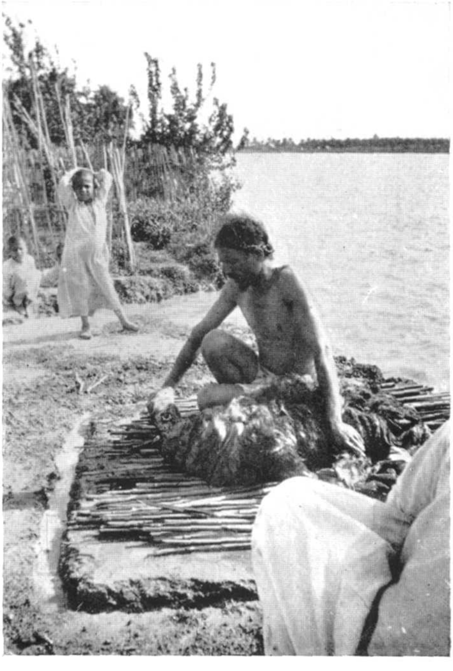
EATING FOR THE DEAD

In the last chapter, and those which preceded it, I have described various ritual meals, such as that eaten at the consecration of the *mandi*, or of the priest, or of the *ganzibra*, at marriage, and at death. I have also indicated the nature and purpose of these ritual meals, the actions which accompany them, and the foods eaten at them. In this chapter they must be considered in groups, and especially in the intensified form in which they are performed, or eaten, at Panja, or Paranoia (Parwanaia).

The meal has degrees of sanctity and efficacy. The simplest form of all is the private, family, or household *lofani*, referred to in the last chapter as distinct from the more ceremonious general *lofanis* performed on the first, third, seventh, and forty-fifth days after death. Two or three or more of the deceased person's family gather together in the courtyard—the meal is eaten in the open air—and, after they have performed the *rishama*, sit around a dish, tray, or clean white cloth, upon which the foods are placed. The five sacred foods of the *zidqa brikha* should be present, and bread, vegetables, and fruit. Fish, mutton fat, or birds' flesh (not chicken) are desirable, but not essential; salt is necessary. All *lofani* food must be absolutely fresh, greenstuff and fruit picked within the hour if possible, and water fetched straight from the river. All dishes, utensils, accessories, and foods used (except salt) must receive triple ablution with the baptismal formula in the river. The ritual is a simple form of the general *lofani*: the master of the house, or his representative, presides, bread is broken between pair and pair, and the right hand grasping a morsel of bread wrapped about fragments of food is stretched forth over the central dish, while the master says, 'In the name of the Great Life, *laufa* (communion) and *rwaha* (revivification) of life and a forgiver of sins may there be for N. son (or daughter) of N.'. The handful is eaten, water is drunk with the



a. Lofani in a private house



b. Panja. Sacrifice of sheep for *lofani* (note *miṣra* and bed of reeds

lofani responses (p. 189), and the meal completed, what is left over being cast into the river.

I described two forms of general *lofani* in the last chapter.

The *zidqa brikha* comes next in sanctity. This ritual meal has variants which differ considerably. The *zidqa brikha*s for a marriage and a burial have already been described in Chapters V and XI. The latter may be celebrated, if no priest is available, by a *hallali*, but the former can only be performed by a *ganzibra* and priests. In my chapter on the consecration of the *mandi*, and in that in which I recounted how a *ganzibra* is consecrated, I mentioned that I was reserving my description of the *zidqa brikha* which is performed at these two ceremonies. It is the most elaborate of all *zidqa brikha*s, and is united with the solemn drinking of *hamra*, and with a myrtle ceremony which is suggestive of the symbolism of eternal life attached to that fragrant and evergreen shrub by the Mandaeans. It will be remembered that in the one the *ganzibra* was for part of the time impersonating a dead *rish 'ama*, and in the other, the *ganzibra*-to-be was impersonating the man whose death enables him to be raised to the ganzivrate.

The arrangement of the sacred foods on the *ṭoriani* differs slightly from that of the *zidqa brikha* for burial. Fat from the base of the sacrificed sheep's tail has previously been brought to the boil on the fire of lustrated wood before the *mandi*. A little white rice (i.e. not the unhusked red *shilib*) is cooked in this, and a *keptha* full of this greasy rice is placed next to the salt in the inner *ṭoriana* (see diagram, p. 192). The arrangement of *faṭiri* (five) and *ṣai* (two) is the same as at the *zidqa brikha* for the day of burial. There is one important addition, however, namely, that of a *qanina* full of *hamra*.

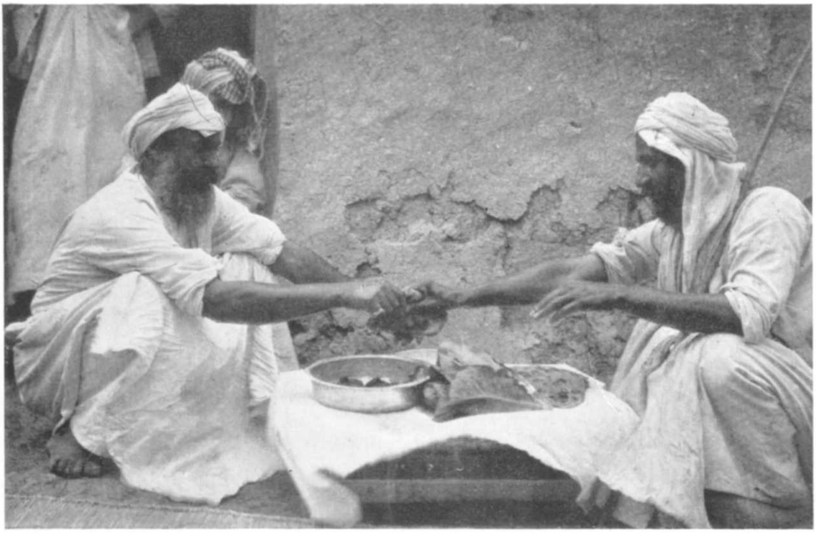
When the priests begin—there are three, including the celebrant assisted by a *shganda*—they take the *ṣai* in their right hands, the celebrant and a priest holding one and the other three the second. The usual formula 'In the Name of the Great Life, *Laufa* and *rwaha* of Life,' &c., is pronounced before the solemn breaking in two (*pratha*) of the *ṣai*. In the case of the consecration of the *mandi* the name of the dead *rish ʿama* is mentioned ('N. son of N. of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*'), in the case of the new *ganzibra* the name of the dead bearer of the *ʿngirtha* ('N. son of N. of this *masiqta*'). The priests then eat thrice of everything on the *ṭoriana* and drink from the common bowl (*niara*), or from a *keptha*, with the formulae I have quoted several times. All then wrap a morsel of bread about small fragments of food, and, grasping this in their right hands, stretch them over the *ṭoriani* and recite the Abahathan prayer, given in full later in this chapter.

The impersonator of the dead *rish ʿama* (or dead bearer of the *ʿngirtha*) does not speak during this first part of the *zidqa brikha*; he sits with the others, but repeats the formulae and the Abahathan in his heart.

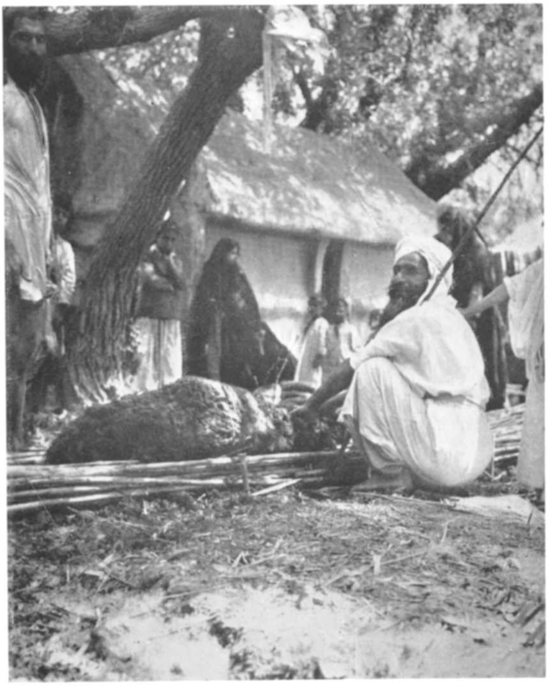
The drinking of the *hamra* follows the Abahathan, and this drinking of fresh fruit juice and water is combined throughout with myrtle ritual and the formal 'smelling of the perfume of the myrtle', thereby intensifying, as I have said, the implied symbolism of evergreen immortality, and of the resurrection forces of spring, germination, and growth. I shall quote some of the myrtle prayers, at the risk of lengthening this chapter unduly, because they prove this point.

The *shganda* takes the *qanina* full of *hamra* and a bunch of freshly plucked myrtle sprigs, and, reciting the prayer, '*Bshuma d hiia rbia mn yuma d prash ayar mn ainia mia lhakha*', &c., he gives both to the celebrant, who, on receiving them, breaks his silence and recites: '*Atha atha shganda rama atha mn bit ab*,' &c. He divides the myrtle, and distributes it amongst his three assistants. As each man receives the myrtle, he pushes it, plume-wise, into a fold of his turban. The celebrant says over each man in turn, as he hands him the myrtle:

> '*Bshuma d hiia rbia byuma d shirsha d asa hadtha qudam malka triṣ malka yaminh pshaṭ ʿlh ul ʿuthria ushgandia ʿhablun wamarlun nsub minai asa hadtha ubrikhta bshkhinatha brukh ubirkhth bshkhinatha wanhar utaqin ʿuthria ushkhinatha d lyaminakh ulsmalakh yatbia mn rish brish.*'



a. Lofani: the breaking of bread



b. Slaughter of sheep for *zidqa brikha*

'In the name of the Great Life! On the day that the fresh plant of myrtle was set up before the King, the King stretched forth his hand to it and gave it to the *ʿuthri*s and *shganda*s and said to them, "Take from me fresh myrtle, and give benison in the dwellings. A benison bestow on the dwellings." And it illumined and irradiated the *ʿuthri*s and the dwellings which are situate to thy right and thy left for ever.'

'*Bshuma d hiia rbia byuma dasgia Hibil alwath Yawar asa alwathaihun asgia lwathaihun ulYawar byaminh ʿhablh wamarlh nsub minai asa hadtha ubirkhta bshkhinatha brukh birkhta brukh bshkhinatha uhaizakh Yawar pihtha lpumh ulHibil Ziwa mbarikhlh mbarikhlh lHibil Ziwa wamarlh brikhit anat abun Hibil Ziwa akwath asa d byaminakh uninfush sharshakh akwath shirshia d asa hadtha unihuilakh hala usaghia akwath mia hiia.*'

'In the name of the Great Life! On the day that Hibil approached Yawar, he brought towards them myrtle, myrtle he brought to them, and gave it to Yawar with his right hand and said: "Take from me fresh myrtle, and bless the dwellings with a blessing! A benison bestow in the dwellings!" Then Yawar opened his mouth and blessed Hibil Ziwa and said to him: "Blessed art thou, our father, Hibil Ziwa, like the myrtle which is in thy right hand, and thy root (race) shall flourish like the fresh myrtle plant, and shall bring thee strength and increase like the living water".'

In distributing the twigs with these two prayers, he begins with the *shganda*, then gives to the priest on the right, and next to the *tarmida* on the left. He then takes a *keptha*, pours a little *hamra* into it and gives it to the priests and *shganda* (in the text they are called the *brukhaiia*). Each recipient drinks thrice from the little bowl, while the celebrant pronounces over each:

Bshuma d hiia rbia nhar gufnia bgu mia u ʿtqaiam kabiria lkalh ltaqnia mia uqaima dmawathkhun uminihra ʿlan dna dna ziwaikhun ʿuthria saghiia watha bhilfa kasia dna ziwaikhun uziwa d malka athia rihaikhun umaziz (mazziz) ʿlan.

This prayer is not so easy to translate but, no doubt, some reader will correct me:

'In the name of the Great Life! Vines (priests translate 'trees') glistened in the waters and grew to their full height to the adornment of the waters (?). And let your counterparts arise and enlighten us, let your radiancy rise, rise upon us, multitudinous ʿ*uthris*, and come in mystic guise. Let your light rise upon us and the radiancy of the king. Let your perfumes come to us and give us strength.’

No matter how this prayer be translated, the general meaning stands clear: it is a piece of imitative white magic: the communicants are endued with the power and strength that the powers of light and life give to growing things.

After all have drunk of the *hamra* they rise, but the celebrant resumes his role of the dead and crouches before them, while a priest reads nine prayers over his head.

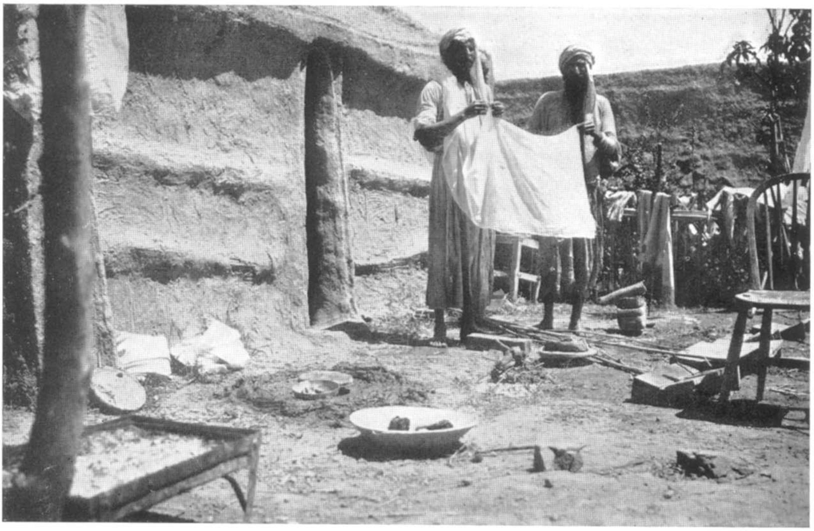
1. ‘Bshuma d hiia mishqal ainia kadfia’, &c. (Q. 65).
2. ‘Mishqal ainia arumia’, &c. (Q. 15).
3. ‘ʿsir yama uʿsirin trin kifh d yama’, &c. (Q. 22).
4. ‘Gimra ana Gimira’, &c. (Q. 23).
5. ‘Zha uʿtazha kulhun ruhia bishatha’, &c. (Q. 24).
6. ‘Bshuma d hiia kth ʿhablia yardna d mia hiia lSam Ziwa Rba’, &c. (Q. 40).
7. ‘Bshuma d hiia ʿsiria hthimia’, &c. (Q. 43).
8. ‘Bshuma d hiia bʿuṣar hiia triṣinin’, &c. (Q. 43).
9. ‘ʿsirna hthimna halin nishimta d Plan’ (the name of the living *ganzibra* not the dead he represents), &c. (Q. 44).

The celebrant then rises and he, or one of the priests, takes the book of prayers in his hand, and reads twenty-four prayers, wordy and vague, some of them being pages long. I do not propose to give them here.

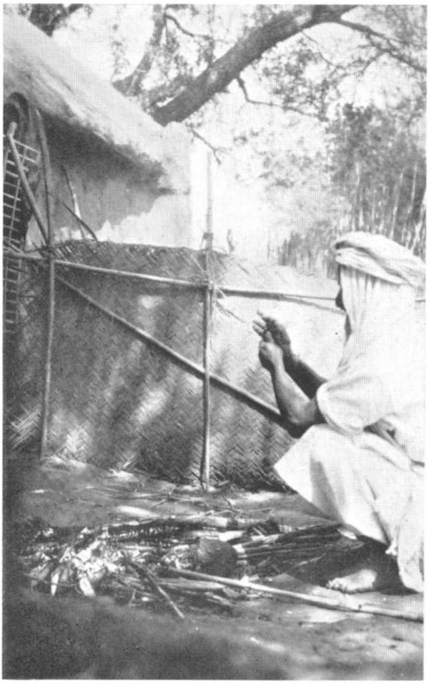
When they are concluded, each takes the myrtle in his right hand and they all repeat after the celebrant:

‘*Asa asa malka nisbh umalka briha d asa mitkarakh*
Malka mitkarakh briha d asa
UlHibil Ziwa mbarikhlh
Mbarikhlh lHibil Ziwa wamarlh
Brikhit anat abun Hibil Ziwa d aithith lhazin shirshia d asa hadthia
Utraṣth bshkhinatha d ʿuthria
Ushkhinatha bziwa nahria briha basimia
Mn rish brish.’

‘Myrtle, myrtle! A *malka* (king, spirit) takes it and a *malka* is incorporated (lit. bound up, wrapped up) in it. A king is lapped in the perfume of the myrtle and he blessed Hibil Ziwa, he blessed Hibil Ziwa and said to him, “Thou art blessed, our father Hibil



a. Zidqa brikha. Preparations



b. Kneading dough for the *faṭiri* (*zidqa brikha*)

Ziwa who has brought these roots of fresh myrtle and set them up in the dwellings of the *ʿuthria* and the dwellings in radiant light inhale its lovely perfume, for ever and ever".'

The celebrant then collects the myrtle from the priests and the twigs that he placed on the *ṭoriani* and pronounces the following prayer:

'*Bshuma d hiia rbia kul man d brihakh nahra ubgauakh mitkarakh shitin haṭaiia kadiria minh nathria ukulhin anania dakiatha d mishtalmibakh mn ʿubadia sainia mitparqan uklilia gadlan ubrishaian tarṣan adinqia muma salqia hazilh lathar nhur.*'

'In the name of the Great Life, all who smell thy perfume and become enveloped in thee, sixty major sins shall flow away from him, and all the pure spouses who are made perfect in thee shall be freed from evil deeds, and twist garlands and set them on their heads and, without blemish, shall rise and behold the place of Light.'

During this prayer all the officiants smell at the myrtle. The Ṣubbi priests told me later that 'sixty sins leave them by the power of the perfume'.[1]

The *ganzibra* then throws the myrtle, together with all the *ṭabutha* (sacred food) that remains, into the *yardna*. The *dravsha* is deconsecrated by two prayers, rolled up, and put away.

There are other *zidqa brikha*s, such as the solemn 'pious act' performed for a person who has commissioned a priest to write one of the holy books for him. This person is considered throughout as impersonating himself after death, i.e. he is taking his *zidqa brikha* as it were, in advance.[2] The ritual for this *zidqa brikha* is a mixture of the *zidqa brikha* just described (for *hamra* is drunk at it, and myrtle is distributed), and the ceremony of the *hava d mani* (*ahaba d mania*) described later on, for the person in whose name it is read wears a new *rasta*, and, if a layman, receives the holy food and drink with veiled hands. Each time that a special name is inserted, the name of the person for whom the holy book has been written, together with the names of his family and ancestors, are mentioned.

The five *faṭiri* and the *ṣa*, the salt, and a range of vegetable foods are the principal features of the *zidqa brik̲h̲a*; the prayers and other ritual differ according to the occasion of the sacred meal.[3]

Highest in sanctity comes the *masiqta*, or 'raising-up', described in the chapters on the consecration of the *mandi*, the priest, and the *ganzibra*.[4] In these there are variations in the manner of performance, the prayers recited, and in details of ritual, but the main features are the slaughter of the dove, the making and consecration of sixty-six *faṭiri*—*without* salt—, the placing of the dove's flesh with the five other *ṭabut̲h̲a* upon the *faṭiri*, their signing with the *mis̲h̲a*, the mingling of grapes or raisins for the *hamra*, and the drinking of the same, and the final burying of the dove and the sixty-six *faṭiri*. It will be noticed that *only* the five kinds of sacred food are used (beside the salt-less bread), and that the drinking of the *hamra* does not replace the ordinary sacraments of bread made with salt and of pure water, which are also eaten and drunk. The *masiqta* is performed, like the *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, for the dead, but also, in an anticipatory fashion, for the living. The number of officiants (as in the case of the *zidqa brik̲h̲a*; see pp. 195–6) differs. To enumerate:

1. *The Masiqta of the S̲h̲walia* (initiate into priesthood). One set of *ṭoriani* is required, and the new priest 'signs' all the sixty-six *faṭiri* in the name of his initiator. This *masiqta* is called the *Masiqta d̲ Buk̲h̲ra* (of the First-Born).
2. *The Masiqta of the Mandi.* Requires three officiants and three sets. The *ganzibra* entering the *mandi* with the *s̲h̲ganda* first consecrates twenty-four of the *faṭiri* in two relays; then, when the priests join him, the three officiants each consecrate fourteen *faṭiri* in relays of twelve and two. It is followed by a *zidqa brik̲h̲a* with *hamra* and myrtle.
3. *The Masiqta of the new Ganzibra.* The *ganzibra*-elect performs the entire ceremony and consecration of the sixty-six *faṭiri* (like the *s̲h̲walia*), but a *zidqa brik̲h̲a* similar to that of 2. follows. (Also called 'of the *'ngirt̲h̲a*').
4. *The Masiqta of S̲h̲itil* (also called '*d̲ Buk̲h̲ra*'). Three priests officiate, one of whom is a *ganzibra*, and the proceeding is the same as 2. This is performed for one who dies without a *klila*.

5. *The Masiqta of Zahrun Raza Kasia.* This is performed like 4. with minor differences. It is celebrated for one who dies on one of the minor *mbattal* days (see p. 88).
6. *The Masiqta of Adam.* Performed by seven priests, with seven sets, each signing and consecrating sixty-six *fatiri* with ritual of 1. This *masiqta* is performed for one who dies on one of the major *mbattal* days, i.e. during the five days before Panja, the day after Dehwa Daimana, the sixth and the seventh days of the New Year, and any Moslem feast-day. Also for a murdered man, one who dies without rites, or from the bite of a dog, wild animal or snake, or sting of a scorpion, or by any other accident except those named in 7.
7. *The Masiqta of Samandiriil.*[5] Performed by eight priests of whom one at least must be a *ganzibra.* This is for one who falls from a palm tree, is burnt by fire, or drowned in a river. Eight sets, each with sixty-six *fatiri* consecrated like 1.

If a man dies in one place and is buried in another, two *masiqta*s are read for him, one of Adam and another of Shitil. If a woman dies in childbirth on the first day of her impurity, the *masiqta* of Adam is read for her; on or after the third day, the *masiqta* of Zahrun Raza Kasia, if on or after the seventh day, the *masiqta* of Shitil. If she dies after the thirtieth day, in her *rasta*, but too ill to have been baptized, the *zidqa brikha d gmāshi* (otherwise *hava d mani* (*ahaba d mania*) which will be described later in the chapter) is performed for her when *Panja* comes, also the *masiqta* of Adam.

If a bride or bridegroom dies during the wedding ceremony or the week which follows it, no *masiqta* at all can be read for him or her, and no *klila* can be placed on his or her head. No *ginzi* (holy books) can be carried in the funeral procession, although *hallalis* act as bearers and *lofani* is read at the grave. The usual *zidqa brikha* cannot be performed on the day of burial, then, or at any subsequent time.

If one of the bridal pair dies after the first seven days, having been prevented by illness from being baptized, a *zidqa brikha māl gmāshi* (*hava d mani*) is read for him or her during *Panja*, and two *masiqta*s are read, that of Adam and that of Samandriil. If there are not enough priests for Samandriil, they substitute that of Shitil.

The *masiqta* of Samandriil costs 160 rupees (i.e. about £12 or twelve dinars), whereas the *masiqta* of Shitil is only about 50 rupees (£3 15*s*.). I asked what would happen if the family was too poor to pay these heavy fees. The priest replied that nothing could be done. Their work could only be performed for fees, 'for we must live'.

The difference between one *masiqta* and another lies in the prayers recited, not in the actual procedure. The bundle containing the *ṭabutha* and sacrificed dove must be buried in a fresh place within the *mandi* enclosure every year, but never on the east side of the *mandi*.

During *Panja* (*Parwanaia*) the duty of eating for the dead, not only for recently dead persons, but for all ancestors, whether spirit-ancestors or actual ancestors, becomes a sacred duty, for these five days are a suspension of the division between the world of light and this world, and 'those who have left their bodies' and those who are still in their bodies enjoy fellowship and unity transcending that of other days of the year.[6]

Not only are the former invoked, but they are thought to be actually present. The Mandaean ritual meal is linked with the *mention of the dead by name*, not only the recently dead, but relations, ancestors, *rabbis*, priests (many of the names convey nothing to their present descendants), back to such remote ancestors as Adam, Shitil, and 'Anush, and, still more removed, to the spirits of light and life who were the first progenitors of mankind. The word for this mentioning of names (the '*Abahathan*') is the *dukhrana*, *the Remembrance or Mentioning*.[7] The meaning of this root *dkr* or in Arabic *dhkr* is best illustrated by an expression commonly used by the ignorant people of Iraq about Khidhr Elias (the Prophet Elijah), who is called the Shaikh of the River. 'If you mention him, he is present.'

The person, soul, or being whose name is uttered in *dukhrana* becomes present, not only in the mind of the utterer, but actually, though invisibly. Hence *dukhrana* becomes an invocation, a summoning, a claiming of attention; the clan, whether in this world or immaterial worlds, is reminded of its unity; and the spirits of ancestors in the worlds of light are made aware of their descendants, especially of the recently dead, of those who are still being perfected in Maṭaratẖa, and of those in the prison of the body upon earth. A Mandaean priest explained the *dukẖrana* thus, 'It is like the ringing of the bell of a telephone'. The simile was apt: not only is communication established, but the attention of distant or divine ancestors summoned and compelled. The Tafṣir Pagẖra pictures *dukẖrania* taking place not only in this material world, but in the immaterial worlds, 'like messages from world to world'.

In the minds of the majority of the Ṣubba the eating and drinking of the ritual meal has a very real replica in the spiritual world. I have heard them murmur, at the end of a *lofani*, during *Panja*, when the names of various dead relatives have been pronounced by the officiant, 'and now they have eaten, all of them!' I have already explained how the souls passing through the Maṭaratẖa are given etherealized banquets and fortified on their journey.

The ritual meal then, especially with *dukẖrana* or mention of names, is, in a most literal sense, conceived of as a 'holy communion', a ritual appeal to the clan spirit and a denial that any member of that clan can cease from existence.

Every ritual meal in Panja is linked with *dukẖrana*, and in *lofani*s, and *masiqta*s and *zidqa brikẖa*s, the words 'the soul of N. son of N. of this *masiqta*' become 'the soul of N. son of N. of this *masiqta* and *dukẖrana*'. In every house *lofani* is eaten, and relatives gather together and remind the officiant of names which they wish included in the list of family names which he reads out. Sheep are sacrificed for these ritual meals, and even the poorest, who cannot afford sheep, will hold their hands over the common dish of fruit and vegetables and eat in the name of the dead of their family.

Those specially remembered, however, are those unfortunate dead who are wandering, outcasts from the world of light, because they have been deprived by fate or accident of their proper death ceremonies. These dead include all persons who have died in a state of uncleanness, such as women in childbirth, or have been cut off by accident without time to say their *rahmi* and make preparations for death. They include those who have died in lay clothes, or those doubly cursed persons who have died through forces of Nature generally friendly and sacred, such as those drowned in the river, fallen from a palm-tree (the date-palm, *sindarka*, is holy on account of its gifts to man), or burnt with fire.

At *Panja* (see pp. 90 et seq.), and only at *Panja*, when the whole body of the church, alive and dead, glorified and unglorified, is aware of the least and most unfortunate of its members, when the forces of spring and resurrection are potent, and the purificatory waters are in flood, redeeming rites can be performed upon these unhappy souls. These rites, called the *hava d̲ mani* (*ahaba d̲ mania*), are performed upon a proxy, who in status, sex, personality, and age closely resembles the dead person. Some priests hold that the Malwas̲h̲a, i.e. astrological aspects, and hence the 'number' of the name (see p. 82) must be the same, but the more usual rule is a near resemblance in condition. For instance, a young woman dead in childbirth must be represented by a young woman who has just had a baby, a *ganzibra* by a *ganzibra*, a priest by a priest, a dead child by a child of the same age and sex, a woman of priestly family by a woman of priestly family. The resemblance must be as close as possible. If a dead priest who has died in impure conditions comes of a family of *suwadi*, or laymen (a rarity), his proxy must be the same. If the dead is the child of a woman who has been widowed and remarried, the proxy must be the same. Careful search is made for the person who most closely fulfils the conditions laid down. In describing the rite, which I have seen several times, I shall refer to this person as 'the proxy' although throughout the rites, and discussion of the rites, priests call him or her 'the dead person'.

The *raṭna* (bastard colloquial Mandaean) term for the ceremony is the *zidqa brikha māl gmāshi*, 'the *zidqa brikha* of the 'clothes', i.e. *rasta*. *Hava d mani* should be performed by two priests, a *ganzibra* and a *shganda*. Sometimes only one priest, a *ganzibra* and a *shganda* officiate.

The sacred foods, *ṭoriani*, *dravshi* (or one *dravsha*), incense apparatus, and so forth are the same as those used in an ordinary *zidqa brikha*. In one that I witnessed three *ṭoriana*s were set in three little circles of beaten and lustrated mud surrounded by a ridge of mud about 2 inches high. The sacred foods were set out on each *ṭoriana*. All is put out ready, either in the *mandi* enclosure, which has gone through its yearly purification and reconsecration, or in a specially lustrated place surrounded by a *miṣra*, i.e. a furrow enclosing a sacred area and cutting it off from contact with what is outside it. The priests and *shganda* and *ganzibra* first perform their *rishama* and 'build' a *rahmi* (a *rahmi* is always spoken of as 'built' not 'read' or 'recited'), consecrating themselves, their *rasta*, and their insignia and cult-objects. One *tarmida* baptizes the *ganzibra* and another the *shganda*. The *ganzibra*, in his turn, baptizes the priests and the *shganda* (the latter for the second time). Then the proxy, wearing his own *rasta*, is baptized by the *ganzibra* and a priest, or by two priests. The priests next mix, knead, and bake the five sacred breads (*faṭiri*) and the *ṣa*, and set these on the *ṭoriana* with the other foods, as in the *zidqa brikha* of the day of burial (see p. 193). The *shganda* takes the proxy down to the *yardna* and 'takes permission of the *yardna*'. The proxy from this minute must not utter a sound throughout the whole ceremony unless the dead person he is representing is a priest. Therefore he repeats 'in his heart' the 'permission' formula after the *shganda*:

> (Pronunciation) '*Bishmeyhun ad haiy rabbi ana athban bhaila uhaili yardna ilawi ushri ithi anheth lyardna aṣtowa* ('*ṣtaba*) *qabbal dakhia urushma elvesh* '*uṣṭli ziwa u atreṣ ibrishi klila rowzi ushmaṭ haiy ushmaṭ Manda-ṭ-haiy madkhar illi*.'

Then, without speaking, the proxy descends into the water, and repeats voicelessly ,'I, N. son of N. (the name of the dead person) am baptized with the baptism of

Bahram the Great, son of the mighty [ones]. My baptism shall protect me and cause me to ascend to the summit.' He submerges thrice, and on emerging puts on a completely new *rasta*. As in the case of a dead person, a piece of gold (*athro*) and a piece of silver (*kesva*) must be sewn to the right and left side respectively of the stole. The proxy then comes and sits before the *ṭoriana* facing the North Star (House of Abathur), while the *ganzibra*, who wears a *klila* (myrtle wreath) on the little finger of his right hand, goes, together with the priests and *shganda*, to perform another *rishama* at the *yardna*.

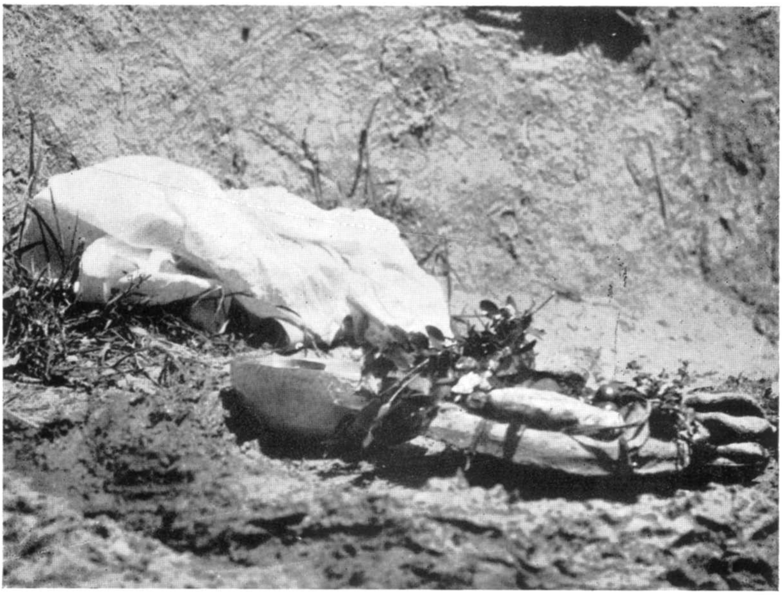
They return and stand in a row facing the north, the *ganzibra* to the extreme right and the *shganda* at the extreme left, and repeat the 'Sharwali ʿtreṣ', &c., touching each part of the *rasta*.

They then repeat:

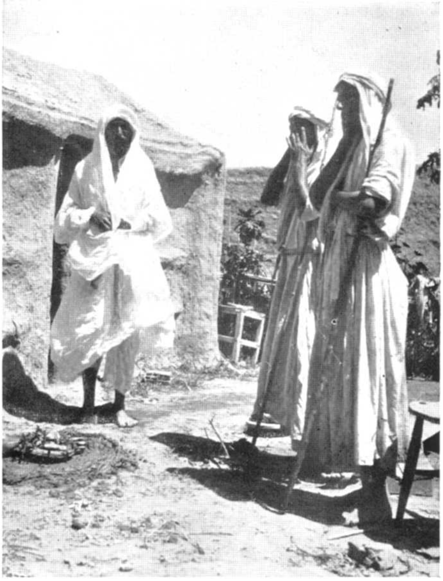
> 'My Lord be praised! The Right heal ye! In the name of the Great Primal Strange Life, from sublime worlds of light, who is above all works; health and purity (or victory), strength and soundness, speaking and hearing, joy of heart and a forgiver of sins may there be for my soul, mine, N. of N. (the name of the reciter), who have prayed this prayer and *rahmia*, and a forgiver of sins may there be for N. son of N. (the name of the dead person) of this *masiqta* (ascension) and *dukhrana* (mention, remembrance), and a forgiver of sins may there be for our fathers, and teachers, and brothers and sisters, both those who have left the body and those still in the body, and a forgiver of sins may there be for me.'

All the officiants recite the prayers together, and all repeat the four prayers for the consecration of the *tagha* (known to the priests as the '*butha ad qashash*', the '*qirioy*', the '*anhaur anhura*', and the '*Manda aqran*'). When the *ganzibra* is reciting the last (the *Manda qran*) he does so in the name of the dead man, while the priests stand round the crouching figure of the proxy. At the close of the prayer, the *ganzibra* puts the myrtle wreath on the proxy's head. The myrtle wreath is worn only by the proxy at *hava ḏ mani* ceremonies; the priests and *ganzibra* wear none throughout.

Next, the *shganda* puts his right hand into the right



a. The *ṣa* (the long object lying on the *ṭoriana*)



b. The *'ahaba ḏ mania'*. *Zidqa brikha*.
The man in a new *rasta* personates the dead

hand of the proxy and says, 'This troth (*kus̲h̲ṭa*) I bring, take it to Abat̲h̲ur'. The proxy replies (silently, in his heart) 'Ask, and find and hear'. The two (the *s̲h̲ganda* and proxy) then each kiss their own right hand, bear it to the forehead, grasp hands again, and repeat the ceremony —three times in all.

The officiating priests go down to the *yardna*, plunge their arms beneath the water, and, returning, squat on their heels round the *ṭoriana*. The *ganzibra* and a priest take one *ṣa*, and the *s̲h̲ganda* and another priest the second *ṣa*, holding it between them with the right hand. If three priests are officiating with the *ganzibra*, two take one side of the first *ṣa*, two take one side of the second *ṣa*, and the *s̲h̲ganda* and *ganzibra* the sides opposing.

They recite:

> 'In the Name of the Great Life, *laufa* and *rwaha* (revival) and a forgiver of sins may there be for this soul of N. son of N. (the dead person) of this *masiqta* (raising-up) and *duk̲h̲rana*; a forgiver of sins may there be for him!'

Then:

> 'In the Name of the Great Life, *laufa* and *rwaha* of Life and a forgiver of sins may there be for N. son of N. (the dead man), and these souls, and those who are united (*mitlafiun*) and called upon (*mitqariun*) in this *masiqta* and *duk̲h̲rana* in thee, (*bgauak̲h̲*), our fathers, and teachers, and brothers and sisters, both those who left the body and those who are still in the body. A forgiver of sins may there be for them.'

They break the *ṣa* between each pair, eat it, take a piece from each *faṭira*, dip each piece in the salt and eat it, then partake of the eatables on the *ṭoriana*, three times of each kind, dipping every morsel into the salt except the dates. The proxy eats with them, but a clean white cloth (the *gdada*) is spread over his or her hands so that they do not come into contact with the food. Should the dead person be a priest, however, the proxy (also a priest) dips his hand and arm into the *yardna* with the others and eats without the *gdada*. If any of those participating wish to eat more than three mouthfuls of anything on the *ṭoriana* they may do so. They then drink water from one basin (*niara*), or from the river or pool itself, with the usual responses: '*Mbrikhat marai mshabat*', &c., (see p. 189).

Then all participants, including the proxy, who must repeat the prayer in his heart if he or she knows it, together with all who are assembled outside the *miṣra* witnessing the rites, stretch out their right hands over or towards the food and repeat the whole Abahathan prayer—or 'Our Forefathers'. I have reserved the transcribing of this prayer until now because it so perfectly represents the spirit of *dukhrana*. The Abahathan text in the books is so ancient and often-copied and recopied that it has become corrupt, and few copies tally. In recitation, *nihuilh*, *nihuilia*, *nhuiliia* are all pronounced *nihuili*, so that the meaning has become vague. I cannot find agreement in the extant texts as to sense, and the interpretation becomes difficult.

'A forgiver of sins may there be "for him", "for her", "for me", or "for them" ' after the names of recently dead persons, when this is a prayer to a spirit of light, or a perfected ancestor, is intelligible, as a definite petition for help to one able to help. But, in many copies, the verb with its suffix is so written that one of the opening sentences may mean 'a forgiver of sins may there be for Abathur' or, 'A forgiver of sins may there be for Habshaba', a petition which seems superfluous, since these beings are already perfect and free from spot.

I am inclined to take the whole prayer as a petition to the ancestors that they should help to free, not only the dead person in whose name the rites are performed, but other dead, and the living on earth, from their trespasses, and provide a saviour or looser of sins.

Under protest, therefore, for all copies of the Abahathan are not the same (and my priest, when reading my copy, altered it 'for grammar'), I give the following version. My copy has, or rather had, what I think the correct version in most cases: i.e. 'a forgiver of sins there shall be ('may there be', or 'is') for him' (i.e. the writer himself, writing of himself throughout in the third person). It is this method of writing out the prayer in the name of living persons which has led to the confusion.

The 'Forefathers' or 'Abahat̲h̲an Qadmaiia'

(The words '*and duk̲h̲rana*' are only used at Parwanaia)

' "In the Name of the Life and in the name of Manda d̲ Hiia" is pronounced upon thee, O Good (food)! Thou shalt approach the goodness of the Life, and Manda d̲ Hiia revealed it, who in the name of the Life uttered: "*Ṭab ṭaba lṭabia*". And their names (race) shall be established who honour the names (of the dead). We seek and find and listen. We have sought and found, and spoken and listened in thy presence (lit. before thee), my lord Manda d̲ Hiia, lord of health-giving powers. Forgive him (the dead man), his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings, and mistakes. And forgive those who prepared this bread, *masiqta*, and these good things (*ṭabut̲h̲a*) their sins, transgressions, follies, stumblings, and mistakes, also charitable and pious persons, such as this soul of N. son of N. (the dead man's name) of this *masiqta* and *duk̲h̲rana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him. Our first fathers, a forgiver of sins may there be for him (the dead man?) [or them?]!

'Yus̲h̲amin[8] son of Dmut̲h̲ Hiia of this *masiqta* and *duk̲h̲rana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him.

'Abat̲h̲ur, son of Bahrat of this *masiqta* and *duk̲h̲rana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him. Habs̲h̲aba and Kana d̲ Zidqa, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'Four-and-twenty '*ut̲h̲ria*,[9] sons of light of this *masiqta* and *duk̲h̲rana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'Pt̲h̲ahil, son of Zahariil, of this *masiqta* and *duk̲h̲rana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them! (sic.)

'Adam, son of Qin, and Eve his wife, of this *masiqta* and *duk̲h̲rana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'S̲h̲itil, son of Adam of this *masiqta* and *duk̲h̲rana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him. Ram and Rud of this *masiqta* and *duk̲h̲rana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'S̲h̲urbai and S̲h̲arhabiil of this *masiqta* and *duk̲h̲rana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'S̲h̲um bar Nu and Nurait̲h̲a his wife, of this *masiqta* and *duk̲h̲rana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'Yahya Yuhana, son of 'nis̲h̲bai Qinta, and Anhar his wife of this *masiqta* and *duk̲h̲rana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'Those three hundred and sixty-five priests who came forth from the place of Jerusalem, the city, of this *masiqta* and *duk̲h̲rana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.[10]

'And for my own soul (the reciter's) N. son (or daughter) of N of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for me, and for the soul of my father, N. son of N., of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him, and for the soul of my mother N. daughter of N. of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for her, and for the soul of my wife (or husband) N. — of N. of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him (or her); and for the soul of my teacher, of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him, and for the souls of my children (names of living and dead children repeated) of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'AND FOR THE SOUL OF N. son of N. (the subject of the *hava d mani*, all joining together again) of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him.

'THE SOULS OF MANDAEANS, (here begins the recital of names of ancestors), Ram son of Sharat Simat, of this *masiqta*, &c., &c., &c.

Zihrun son of Simat, &c.

Anhar, daughter of Simat, &c.

Simat daughter of Hawa, &c.

Ram son of Simat, &c., (and others).

'ALL SOULS OF OUR RIGHTEOUS FOREFATHERS of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

AND FOR THE SOUL OF N. son of N. (the subject of the *hava d mani*) of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him.

'THE SOULS OF THE PRIESTS, Adam Zahrun, son of Mamania of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, &c.

Yahia Anush son of Maliha, &c.

Yahia Adam Zahrun son of Hawa, &c.

Yahia Zahrun son of Mdallal, &c.

Sam Bahram son of Mdallal, &c.

'ALL SOULS OF OUR RIGHTEOUS FOREFATHERS of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them, and FOR THIS SOUL OF N. SON OF N. (the subject of the *hava d mani*), of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins there shall be for him.

'And this my soul, N. son or daughter of N. (the reciter) of this, &c., and of (he or she repeats the names of father, mother, grandparents, teacher and children), &c.

'AND FOR THE SOULS OF THE GANZIBRIA: Yahya Yuhana son of Hawa Simat, of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins, &c.

Sam Bahram son of Simat, &c.

Bihram Shitil son of Maliha, &c.

Zihrun son of Maliha, &c.
Yahya Bayan and his brother Bihram sons of Hawa Mamani, &c.
Ram Yuhana son of Mamani, &c.
Bayan Zanghi son of Simat, &c.
Sam Saiwia son of Anhar Sharat, &c.
Yahia son of Anhar Ziwa, &c.
Ram Sindan and Shadia Sharat, &c.
Hawa daughter of Daya, &c.
Anhar Qumraitha daughter of Simat, &c.
Yahia Ramuia and son of Ramuia, &c.
Sam Bihram son of Mdallạl, &c.
Adam Bahram son of Dahghan, &c.
Adam Barhiia son of Simat Hiia, &c.
Ibrakh Yawar, son of Buran, &c.
Bahram Bishaq son of Hawa, &c.
Shabur son of Dukht, &c.
Mhattam and Shitlan sons of Haiuna, &c.
Anush son of Mihria Zad, &c.
Shayar Ziwa and Shabur son of Kazriil, &c.
Bhiria son of Kushesta (Kujesta), &c.
Zakia son of Hawa, &c.
Ardban Melka Bakhtiar, son of Simat, &c.

ALL SOULS OF MY RIGHTEOUS FOREFATHERS of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of souls may there be for them and for N. SON OF N. (the subject of the *hava d mani*) of this, &c., and for the soul of N. son of N. (the reciter), &c., and for the souls of, &c. (The names of father, mother, brothers, sisters, children, and other relatives are recited here individually).

'THE SOULS OF THE RISH ʿAMIA Adam bul Faraj[11] son of Hawa Mamani, of this masiqta, &c.
Anush Muʿailia son of Hawa Zadia, &c.
Yahia Adam son of Zadia Anush Hawa, &c.
Bihdad son of Shadia Sharat, &c.
Bayina son of Haiuna, &c.
Haiuna daughter of Tihuia, &c.
Ram son of ʿqaimat, &c.
Shganda son of Yasman, &c.
Zazi Guwesta son of Hawa, &c.

'THE PEOPLE, and all Naṣuraiia and priests and Mandaeans, and *ganzibria* and *ganzaiia* from the age of Adam the First Man to the end of the world, and habitations; all who went down into the *yardna* and received pure signs, and did not behave unworthily (*lafakhiun*) of the sign with which they were signed, and did not become estranged from their baptism, a forgiver of sins may there be for them and those of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, themselves, and their wives, and children, and priests, and those who provided this bread and *ṭabutha* (health-giving food), and the forefathers, and teachers and learned ones, when they supported [you?] from the Left to the Right—a forgiver of sins there is for them, and ye shall say: "Life is established in its dwellings, and Life be praised and Life is victorious over all works". *Laufa* and the revival (*rwaha*) of Life be yours!'

The latter sentence is addressed to all present.

The priests and *ganzibra* and *shganda* leave the *ṭoriani*, stand in a row in the same order as before, and begin the de-consecration of the *naṣifa* with the prayer ('*Bayina mn hiia*', &c.), then crouch and recite a secret prayer. Rising, they repeat '*Zhir umzahar*', '*Kth qaimia ʿuthria*', &c., and '*Athiar klil nhur ayar*', &c. When these are ended, they remove the *tagha* (taking care not to uncover the forehead or a penalty of sixty baptisms is incurred), hold the *tagha* before them, kiss it, carry it to each eye, and repeat the process sixty-one times, saying '*Kushṭa asiakh taghai*', &c.

The proxy follows these movements with the *klila* that he has worn, but without speaking. If the proxy is a priest, he wears a *tagha* instead of a *klila*, and is permitted to utter the de-consecration formulae with the priests. After he has kissed his *klila* thrice, the proxy throws it into the water, and goes to remove his new *rasta* in the *shkhinta* (an unconsecrated hut) or in the *mandi*, and to resume his own lay clothes. He has ceased to play the role of the dead, and may speak again and mingle with his fellow men.

As for the dead man, whom he has been impersonating, the priests say, 'The Light King gives him a robe of light, and he eats and is refreshed. Before, he has been weak and unhappy, and wearing a black robe of impurity'.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XII

1. *Smelling the twigs of myrtle.* See note 14., p. 121.

2. Cf. Parsi *Zindeh Râvan*. 'The word *Zindeh-râvan* means a living soul and is opposed to Anosheh-râvan, i.e., the dead (lit. immortal) soul. All the Parsee liturgical ceremonies are performed both in honour of the

living and of the dead. As far as the recital of the prayer goes, the prayer is the same except this, that at the part of the prayer where the name of the person, in whose honour the ceremony is performed, is mentioned in the Dibâcheh, if he is living, the word *Zindeh-râvan* is mentioned . . . if he is dead, the word *anosheh-râvan* is mentioned' (JJM., p. 444).

Just like the Mandaeans, the Parsis perform the 'Sraosh' ceremony (to help the soul in its ascent) during the lifetime as well as after death.

Modi says: 'During the last generation Parsee ladies, when they got their *Zindeh-râvan*' (here Sraosh ceremony for the dead) 'performed, looked to the event with satisfaction . . . from the point of view that, if on their death the necessary Sraosh ceremonies were not performed in their names by their relatives, or if some mishap—e.g. that of dying in an out of the place locality . . . prevented their being performed, the *Zindeh-râvan* as the funeral ceremonies in honour of Sraosh, performed in their life-time would stand them in good stead and would have his protecting or beneficial effect' (JJM., p. 445).

3. The *zidqa brikha* corresponds roughly to the Parsi 'Bâj' of the major order. See next chapter. There are many subdivisions of the *bâj* ritual meal.

4. For a comparison of the *masiqta* and the Parsi Yasna ceremony, see the next chapter.

5. *Samandiriil.* A spirit of vegetation. The name means 'Vine-Blossom', with the suffix *-iil* attached to names of divine persons.

6. See Chapter VI and notes on the same.

7. The *dukhrana* (mentioning, or remembrance) is almost rendered by the Parsi *Yâd* (remembrance).

'All the liturgical services, besides being performed in honour of a particular Heavenly being or beings, are celebrated in the name or in the memory of somebody who is named in the recital. The words used are . . . "may be remembered here". The services may be performed in the name or in the memory of the living or the dead. . . . The recital of the name of the person, whether dead or alive, for whom the ceremony is performed, is followed by a mention of the person who directs that the ceremony may be performed' (JJM., pp. 383–4).

The word *dukhrana* occurs in the Pshitta at the Last Supper, which, with its account of the hands stretched into the dish, and the ceremonial partaking of bread and *hamra*, bears every mark of being a cult meal on the Iranian and Mandaean pattern. Christ uses the word, which the translators from the Greek render 'remembrance'. From this translation, the meaning 'mention' with its magic summoning of the presence of the deceased, is lacking.

The 'feeding of the multitude' with five loaves and fish, by the shores of the Lake of Galilee, and the meal of Acts vi. 1–3, seem to record ritual meals. Tertullian mentions a ritual use of milk and honey. The Agape, or love-feast of the early Christians, is still kept up in the Nestorian Church (see the end of this note). These feasts were so much a feature of primitive Christianity that Pliny the Younger, in his *Rescript* to Trajan, A.D. 104, mentions them as its chief characteristic. In the Canons of

Hippolytus, the agape is a 'memorial feast for the dead'. Notice that *five* breads are common to the Sraosh *bâj*, the Christian meal just mentioned, and the present-day Nestorian *qurbana*, suggesting connexion with the five intercalary days.

Bliss (*The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine* in describing the rituals of the Greek Church) writes: 'On the two Saturdays dedicated to the commemoration of the dead (one falling eight days before Lent and the other on the Saturday before the Transfiguration) each family may bring to the church five oblations, or loaves of their own baking, wrapped in a cloth, with a paper inscribed with names of their dead. Money for the priest is also enclosed. During the preparation the priest takes crumbs from one of the five loaves to symbolize the commemoration of the dead in a particular family. At the end of each mass the head of each family receives back his *qurban*, or oblation (minus the parts used in commemoration), wrapped in the cloth. The rest of the loaves, which at any given time may number scores, are at the disposal of the priest, to break up for distribution, to give away whole, or to take home, as he pleases. This practice is not confined to the Saturdays mentioned above, but may obtain whenever the dead are especially commemorated' (p. 138).

The Moslems (Shīʿa Moslems believe in purgatories) distribute food at the grave. Sometimes on the third day food is eaten at the grave. Food is distributed at intervals, especially on the fortieth day, with the idea that this charity assists the soul in the next world. See also p. 97.

It is likely that the Jewish Passover meal in spite of orthodox interpretation and the text now attached to it, was originally a revivification and fertility rite. The hands stretched over the bread in witness, the word *faṭir* applied by Iraqi Jews to the *maṣoth* and most of the details of procedure suggest this. Moreover Jewish mention of the dead (*dukhrana*, *hashkaba*) is linked in Iraq to a ritual meal eaten in memory of the deceased. This meal must include 'wheat' (i.e. bread), 'fruits of the earth', and 'fruits of trees'.

The Nestorian *dukhrana* with its distribution in the church of bread and other foods and of meat by the church door, its reciting of names of the dead, and the use of the *kaprana* (i.e. the *ṣa* or phallus) in the *qurbana*, is close to Mandaean ritual in many particulars. The word *dukhrana* is also applied to a love-feast, or public distribution of meat which follows the *dukhrana* in church. In this, every member of the community shares.

8. Yushamin, according to the Ginza Rba, was the father of Abathur (GR., p. 173). He is one of the greatest of the Life Spirits. GR., p. 283, speaks of him as 'the Second Life', He plays a considerable part in the fourteenth book of the Ginza Rba (the book of the Great Nbaṭ) right side.

9. These are obviously the twenty-four hours personified.

10. The 365 days of the solar year seem indicated. But these 365 priests are supposed to be those who fled to Southern Babylonia after a persecution in Jerusalem. Cf. the Miriai fragment in the Drasha d Yahia.

11. This Adam bul Faraj is the hero of Legend VIII.

XIII

THE PARSI RITUAL MEALS

I INTENDED to confine my main text to the Mandaeans themselves, but the relationship between Mandaean and Parsi ritual meals is so vitally important that it demands a chapter. There are, of course, points of considerable divergence. The first is that, while the Parsi *yasna* is entirely vegetarian in character, except for the cow-products (butter and milk), the Mandaean *masiqta* embraces the slaughter of both a sheep and a dove. I cannot but consider the Mandaean sacrifices (and under this heading, I include the burial of the *faṭiri*) as survivals of some ancient rite attached to the soil. The only ritual text in which I have found mention of these slaughterings is the recently acquired S̲h̲arh d̲ Parwanaia (D.C. 23), not of early authorship. Sacrifice of victims was Babylonian, Jewish, and also, according to Herodotus, Strabo, and Diogenes of Laerte, practised by the Magians in their time. Hence, one can surmise that it may be a Semitic survival in what appears to be, in the main, a rite of Aryan character.

Secondly, the relative importance of fire and water are reversed, and, thirdly, there is the presence of an egg explicitly forbidden to the Mandaeans. The sacrament with milk only, which is one form of ritual meal with the Parsis, may be taken as the equivalent of the simple water-sacrament of baptism, since both are considered 'life' fluids.

Just as the Mandaeans have a formula pronounced over all food and in an amplified form over ritual meals, the Parsis pronounce a *bâj* before the domestic meal, which is given a more elaborate form at ritual meals. The word *bâj* means, according to Modi,

> 'certain words or prayers religiously recited in honour of particular beings, such as the *yazatas* or angels and the *Fravas̲h̲is* (*farohars*) or the guarding spirits of the living or the dead.' (JJM. 354.)

Again, the Parsis have three forms of prayers to be recited as grace before meals. One of these, the longest, is recited by priests in the inner liturgical services. At the recital of this grace *barsom* is necessary. But it seems that in ancient times *barsom* was a requisite in even the simple forms of grace recited before meals. (JJM., p. 372.)

*Bâj*s accompanied by ritual meals are performed after death, particularly on the dawn of the day after the third night after the decease. On the latter occasion a *bâj* accompanied by the consecration of white clothes and the eating of sacramental bread, is read for the deceased, and *yasna*s, corresponding to *masiqta*s, are performed in his name at the fire-temples. That food and clothes were originally intended to feed and clothe magically the spirit in the other world appears in the *Farvardîn Yas̲h̲t*, which puts the following words into the mouths of departed spirits:

> 'Who will praise us? Who will offer us a sacrifice? Who will meditate upon us? Who will bless us? Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand and with a prayer worthy of bliss?' (JJM., p. 469.)

Here we get the exact intention of the Ahaba d̲ Mania described in the last chapter. In general, the *bâj* corresponds to the Mandaean *zidqa brik̲h̲a*. Modi lays down the conditions for *bâj*s of the liturgical order:

> '(*a*) They must be recited by priests, holding the Bares̲h̲nûm and qualified by a K̲h̲ub.
>
> '(*b*) They must be recited over a Bâj or a collection of certain offerings such as Daruns or sacred breads, fruits, water, milk-products such as ghee or clarified butter.
>
> '(*c*) Fire burning in a vase with sandalwood and frankincense is essentially necessary during their recital.
>
> '(*d*) They must be recited in a specially enclosed place; for instance in the Yazas̲h̲na-gâh of the temples or, when in a private residence, in a place specially cleaned, washed, and enclosed in *pâvis*.' (JJM., p. 358.)

(*c*) and (*d*) are paralleled by the Mandaean *brihi* and incense, and Modi's diagram of the arrangement of the ritual objects within the space shut off by a furrow (*pâvi*) shows the fire and incense in their Mandaean position, i.e. farthest from the priest. Pomegranate seeds, as in the Mandaean ritual, are placed with the 'fruits' and sacred loaves (*daruns*) before the priest.

Just as there are variations of the *zidqa brikha* in the name of holy beings in the Mandaean rite, so there are variations of the *bâj*. *Bâjs* are performed for the dead at intervals after death, and the dead are also honoured by the performance of *jashans*, a combination of several ceremonies ending in a *satûm*, which, to judge by Modi's description, comes near the Mandaean *lofani*.

> 'The Satûm prayer is generally recited over meals. In the Haoma Yasht (Yaçna x. 18) we read: "O Haoma! these Gâthâs are for thee, these satûms (staomayô) are for thee, these meals (chichashânâo) are for thee, these words of truth are for thee." Hence the custom seems to have arisen to have a meal placed in a tray and then to recite the *Satûm* prayer over it. The presentation of the meals is symbolic, showing that there exists a kind of communion, mental or spiritual, between the living and the unseen higher intelligences of the dead. In the case of the dead, the living present their meals, as it were, to the memory of the dead, and, while presenting them as an offering for them, offer at the same time, as said above, an expression of their will to offer their good thoughts, good words and good deeds.' (JJM., p. 428.)

As at the Mandaean *lofani*, incense is present.

Modi says of the word *jashan*:

> 'Some derive the word from 'chash' to taste, to eat, from the fact that the *Jashans* end by a kind of communion, wherein all the persons assembled partake of the Darun (the consecrated bread), and *myazda* (the consecrated fruits and other eatables).' (JJM., p. 456.)

The *myazda* is the *tabutha* of the Mandaeans: cf. the prayer *Zidana umzaudana* (Q. 161).

Elsewhere he describes how the hand of the recipient must be washed, and how he sits with the hand extended. The main ceremony of the *jashan* is the *âfringân*. The *âfringân* is a degree more in sanctity than the lay meal, but less than the *yasna*.

> 'The Âfringân prayers may be recited by all priests, even by those not observing the Bareshnûm and even by those who have

not gone through the second degree of Martab. They are performed generally by two or more priests.' (JJM., p. 376.)

These priests are called the *zoti* (the chief officiant) and the *raspi* (assistant, whose duty it is especially to tend the fire upon which the incense is thrown). The correspondence to the *tarmida* and the *s̲h̲ganda* is obvious. The main features are the reading of the lists of heavenly beings, particularly that of the heavenly being in whose name the *âfringân* is performed, and the *yâd* or remembrance, in which the dead person is named. (See Chap. XII, note 2.) This is the *duk̲h̲rana*, or summoning by name. The *myazd*, or ritual food, is placed on a tray, and after the minor ablution (*pâdyâb-kusti*), the priest and assistant seat themselves on a carpet.

> 'On a sheet of white cloth, the Zoti has before him in his front a tray which contains *myazd* i.e. fruits and flowers of the season. At times, when there is a large quantity of the *myazd*, there are [*sic*] more than one tray. Besides fruit and flowers, there are milk, wine, water, and *sherbet* (syrup) in the tray in small vessels or glasses. Then, next to the tray containing fruit, flowers, and the above things, there is a fire-vase opposite to the Zoti.' (JJM., p. 391.)

Modi says that 'originally' the sacred bread was included in the word *myazda*. (I have copied his diagram on Figure 9, p. 157.)

The offering of sheep's fat at the ritual meal seems to have been formerly a part of the ritual for the dawn after the third day after death. Mod i(KRC., p. 169) quotes from Darab Hormazdyar's *Rivâyat*, where there are orders

> 'give to the fire (something) from a guspand (i.e. a sheep or a ram or a goat). . . . This something is, as the practice was up till late, *charb*, i.e. fat of the goat.'

Entrail fat was, according to the S̲h̲āyast-lā-S̲h̲āyast, the special portion of the Fravas̲h̲is (E. W. West's transl., *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. V, Pahlavi Texts, Pt. I, 237–406).

The five *faṭiri* of the Mandaean *zidqa brik̲h̲a* are paralleled by the five *daruns* of the *panj tū* (i.e. with five twigs of *barsom*). Each loaf is consecrated to divine beings, the first to Sraos̲h̲, the angel concerned with the care of the dead and bringing them into the realms of light.

Modi's account of the *yasna* shows the close resemblance between that meal and the Mandaean *masiqta.*

Place

Parsi fire-temples have separate sanctuaries attached to them known as Dar-i-Meher, sometimes a separate building. Meher (Mithra) is 'the Yazata or angel presiding over light and justice' (JJM., p. 262); anciently, like Shamish, associated with the same virtues of justice; pre-eminently, therefore, a sun genius. (The Mandaean Yawar Ziwa takes a prominent position in the *masiqta*, and I have already pointed out the possibility that he replaces the sun-god.) Within the Dar-i-Meher is found the Yazashna-gâh, the place where the ritual meal is celebrated.

> 'The different Yazashna-gâhs are separated from each other by a *pâvi*' (furrow to exclude pollution) 'which serves both as the limit of each and also as the passage for the water used in the ceremonial. If somebody enters within the limit marked by the *pâvi* while the service is going on, he vitiates the ceremony. If there are two Yazashna-gâhs side by side, they are separated by a narrow strip of space enclosed between two *pâvis.* The Yazashna-gâhs are so constructed as to permit the Zaoti or principal officiating priest to face the south.' (JJM., p. 264.)

Nothing could be nearer to the arrangement in the *mandi* enclosure, in which the *misri* are connected with the pool so as to drain off the water used in the ablutions. See p. 129 and Figure 7, p. 141.

Preliminary Ablutions

The Mandaean *yardna* is replaced by the Parsis[1] by water drawn from the temple cistern (which must be fed from a stream or running water, and not from pipe-water, v. KRC., p. 46) in previously washed utensils. While letting the water-vessel brim over three times, the priest pronounces the name of the Caspian Sea in Pahlavi and Avestan, and then of the river Ardvi Sūra (see pp. xxii and xxiii), thus clearly showing the ablution to be a substitute for immersion in 'living water'. All utensils and objects are dipped thrice. (So also the Mandaean.)

The simple Mandaean ablution of the myrtle twigs (i.e. triple ablution pronouncing the name of the Life) becomes an elaborate ceremony with the Parsis.

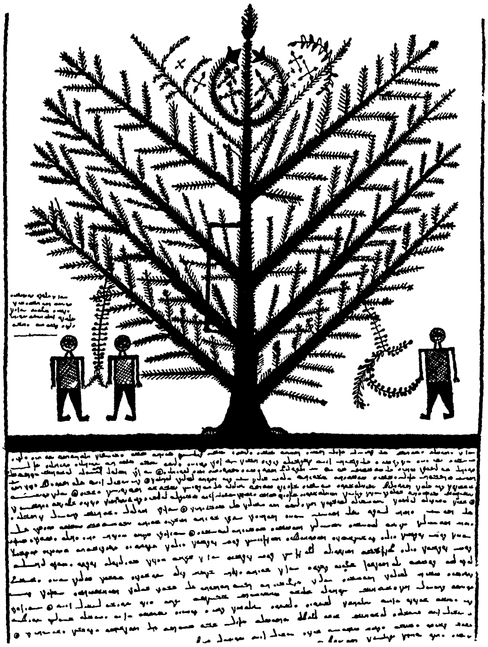


FIG. 12. The ''lana d̲ mrabia yanqia'.

The Parsi *barsom*, originally freshly gathered twigs, is now represented by metallic substitutes, placed in two crescent-shaped metallic stands of brass or silver. Modi comments:

> 'The moon and its crescent (Lat. *crescere*, to grow, increase) give an idea of growth. Again the moon is believed to have some influence on the growth of vegetation. So, Barsam, the symbol of the vegetable world of God has, for its stand, moon-shaped metallic stands.' (JJM., p. 279.)

Here the curious illustration in the Diwan Abat̲h̲ur of the ''lana d̲ Mrabia Yanqia' comes to mind, with its crescent-shaped top. This mysterious Mandaean tree is said to be identical with the Sindarka (Moon-god-tree?) mentioned in the prayers, and the crescent suggests growth and fertility.

The *barsom* twigs are tied together by a strip of date-palm, thus magically imparting to the artificial twigs a quality of freshness and life. Modi has a significant passage with reference to this ceremony. The palm-leaf is cut from the temple palm (cf. the Aina and Sindarka, the 'well and palm' of the Mandaean prayers), with a lustrated knife.[1]

> 'He' (the priest) 'then once more washes it with the *pâv* water and then placing it in the water-pot, carries it to the Yazashna-gâh. There, he divides the leaf into six thin strips, which being divided at first into two groups of three each, are then twisted into one string and knotted at both the ends. It is then placed in a clean *pâv* metallic cup and afterwards used for tying the Barsam. We said above that the Barsam represents the creation of God. The separate twigs or wires of the Barsam represent that the creation consists of various parts. The *aiwyâonghana* which binds or ties together the Barsam signifies union or unity among these parts. It seems to signify that the whole Nature is one. We are one with it. We learn from the Pahlavi commentary on the Yaçna... where *aiwyâonghana* is referred to, that the idea or the main object seems to be that of *ayo-kardgih*, i.e. of unification. The word *aiwyâonghana* is also used in the Avesta for the Kusti or the sacred thread. One of the interpretations about the Kusti is, that it unites into a circle of harmony all those who put it on.' (JJM., pp. 292 ff.)

Aiwyâonghana, then, has the exact meaning of *lofani* which, to the Mandaean, has just this meaning of binding together, bringing into close communion. (See p. 180.)

The ablution is as follows:

> 'In the ritual, the holy water... is poured over the Barsam. Now, this *zaothra* or purified water represents, or is the symbol of, rain, through which the world receives the gift of water from God.' (JJM., p. 282.)

With the Mandaean, the water does not merely symbolize fertility, but revivification, i.e. resurrection or life continued after the death of the body.

Preparation of the Bread (Darun or Myazda)

With the Parsis, the sacred bread may be baked by any ritually pure person of priestly caste. The number of loaves required for different occasions varies.

> 'It is a flat unleavened round bread made of wheat flour and ghee (clarified butter). . . . For the Yaçna, Visparad, and the Vendidâd ceremonies one bread is required. For the Bâj the number varies. For the Bâj in honour of all the Yazatas, four breads are required. For the Bâj of Sraos̲h̲a six are required. Out of these four and six half the number are what is technically known as *nâm-pâdelâ* i.e. named, and the other half are *vagar-nâmnâ*, i.e. unnamed. (JJM., pp. 296–7.)

(Sraos̲h̲a corresponds to the Mandaean Gauriel Is̲h̲liha, as well as to Yawar Ziwa; see above.)

Modi explains that the bread-maker marks the 'named' loaves, the *Darun* proper, with three rows of three marks:

o o o
o o o
o o o

while uttering the words 'good thoughts, good words, good deeds' 'making three marks at each recital' (JJM., p. 279). (The Nestorian marking of the loaves for sacrament with similar marks is extremely close to this. I do not know whether the 'signing' of the *faṭiri* is allied to it; it may be.)

Preparation of the Haoma

The preparation of the *haoma* resembled that of the Mandaean *mis̲h̲a* (see pp. 133–4). Both are pounded in a mortar, the *hâvanim* and *dasta* of the Parsis corresponding to the Mandaean *hāwan* and *dast.*

> '*Haoma* is a medicinal plant which grows in Persia and Afghanistan. It is a species of *Ephedra* (Nat. Ord. *Gnetaceae*). Mountains and mountain-valleys are mentioned as places where the plant grows luxuriantly. In some passages, Mount Elburz (called in the Avesta Hara Berezaiti) is specially mentioned as its habitat. But it must be borne in mind that the name Elburz not only denoted the present Mount Elburz, a peak of the Caucasus, but was applied to the whole range of mountains extending from the Hindu Kush in the East

to the Caucasus in the West. The *haoma* is described as a plant with branches and sprigs, as possessing medicinal properties and as golden-coloured.' (JJM., pp. 303 ff.)

I shall not describe the elaborate washing of the *haoma*-twigs (which are dried), or the prayer used at their consecration. These, to which are added fresh pomegranate twigs, are pounded in the mortar together with a little water. The resultant juice is strained through a strainer. (Cf. the Mandaean pounding of the sesame and dates, and straining through the *gdada* [pp. 133–4] and note that in each case, both that of Parsis and that of the Mandaeans, a *pair* of sacred plants is employed, *haoma* and pomegranate in one case, sesame and dates in the other.)

There is a divergence at this point between the two cults in that, while the *mis̲h̲a* is used for 'signing' the sacred loaves, the *haoma* is later used as the sacred drink, thereby becoming identified with the Mandaean *hamra*. Like the *hamra*, the *haoma* is drunk after the priest has eaten the sacramental bread.

The Arrangement of the Tables, or Stone Slabs, and the Cult Objects

To see how close the arrangement of the *k̲h̲wan*s (stone slabs or stone tables) is to the arrangement of the Mandaean *ṭoriani* (clay tables), comparisons must be made between Fig. 13, p. 235 and Fig. 9, p. 157. The fire-table is bigger in the Parsi set, as one would expect, and a small table upon which a water-vessel is placed is a substitute for the constant Mandaean recourse to the *yardna*, or *mandi*-pool. The *qiblaẖ* for Parsis is the south and for Mandaeans the north, but the relative positions of priest and tables are identical.

The Parsi priest sits on a stone slab (the Mandaean sits on a log or reed stool). Before him, on the main stone slab, are the objects needed in the ritual. Beginning at the south-eastern corner of the table and moving round in a solar direction, these objects are as follows:

(*a*) Cup to hold spare *haoma* juice. A saucer is placed over it.
(*b*) Shallow bowl for the sacred bread and butter.

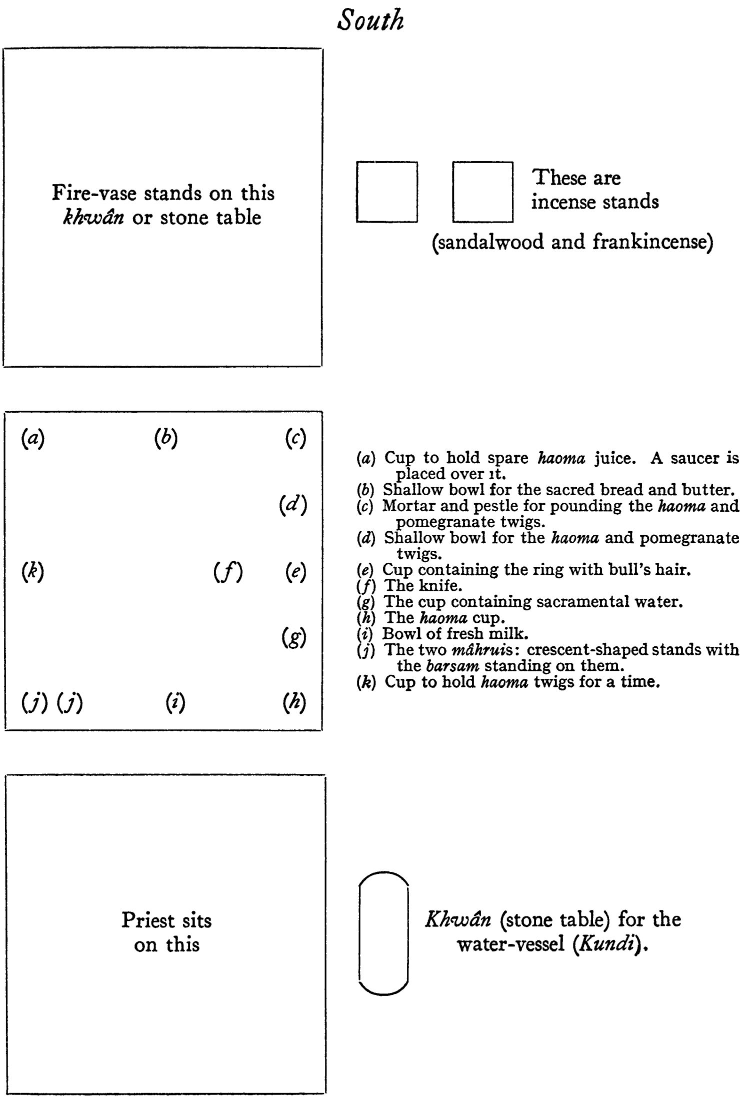
(*c*) Mortar and pestle for pounding the *haoma* and pomegranate twigs.
(*d*) Shallow bowl containing *haoma* and pomegranate twigs.
(*e*) Cup containing the ring (*varas-ni viti*).
(*f*) The knife.
(*g*) The cup containing sacramental water.
(*h*) The *haoma* cup.
(*i*) Bowl of fresh milk.
(*j*) The two *mâhruis*, crescent-shaped stands with the *Barsom.*
(*k*) Cup to hold the *haoma*-twigs for a time.

Beyond this table is the table for the fire-vase, with two small stands beside it for the frankincense and sandalwood. Beside the priest, on his right hand, is the rounded stone-table (the others are square) for the water-vessel (*kundi*).

Something remains to be said about some of these objects. As explained earlier, butter and milk represent the Parsi reverence for the cow and bull as symbols of life and pure sustenance.

The *ring* is entwined with a hair from the sacred bull. Just as the Mandaean ring is brought into contact by dipping it into the cup of *hamra* (p. 160), so the *varas* ring, when the *haoma* is strained, is similarly treated by the Parsi priest.

> 'The *varas* (ring) is put over the strainer.... The priest holds the cup containing the *zaothra*' (pure) 'water in his left hand and places his right hand . . . over the *varas* in the strainer. He recites . . . at the same time pouring *zaothra* water over the *varas*, and rubbing the knots' (i.e. of the hair) 'of the *varas*. He recites two *Ashem vohus*, the second of which is recited in *bâj*' (silently). 'He then holds the strainer with the *varas* in his right hand, and the cup containing the *haoma* juice in his left hand; and repeating *humata*, *hûkhta*, *hvarshta* thrice, pours the *haoma* juice into the strainer, which is held in different positions over the stone slab as the different words of the triad are repeated. While reciting the word *humata* each time, he holds the strainer over the right of the stone slab, so that *haoma* juice falls over it through the strainer. On each recital of the word *hûkhta*, the *haoma* juice is similarly dropped into the cup of *zaothra* water, which has just been emptied into the mortar through the strainer and the *varas* with it. At each recital of the word *hvarshta*, the *haoma* water is allowed to drop into the mortar.


South
Fire-vase stands on this *khwân* or stone table
These are incense stands
(sandalwood and frankincense)
(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)
(*d*)
(*k*) (*f*) (*e*)
(*g*)
(*j*) (*j*) (*i*) (*h*)
Priest sits on this
Khwân (stone table) for the water-vessel (*Kundi*).
North

(*a*) Cup to hold spare *haoma* juice. A saucer is placed over it.
(*b*) Shallow bowl for the sacred bread and butter.
(*c*) Mortar and pestle for pounding the *haoma* and pomegranate twigs.
(*d*) Shallow bowl for the *haoma* and pomegranate twigs.
(*e*) Cup containing the ring with bull's hair.
(*f*) The knife.
(*g*) The cup containing sacramental water.
(*h*) The *haoma* cup.
(*i*) Bowl of fresh milk.
(*j*) The two *mâhruis*: crescent-shaped stands with the *barsam* standing on them.
(*k*) Cup to hold *haoma* twigs for a time.

FIG. 13.

Arrangement of stone tables and cult objects at Parsi Yasna (ritual meal) in the *Yazashna-gâh* (place where the *Yasna* ceremony is performed).

The *haoma* juice cup is now put back in its proper place on the stone slab and the strainer with the *varas* is placed over it. Then all the juice in the mortar—a mixture of the *zaothra* water and the *haoma* juice, or, more properly speaking, the juice of the *haoma* and *urvarâm*' (pomegranate) 'twigs—is poured into the strainer, through which it passes into the *haoma* cup below. After its contents have been emptied, the mortar is once more put in its proper place.' (JJM., p. 311.)

The strainer through which the mixed juice is passed corresponds to the straining of the *misha* through a *gdada*, but the rest of the ritual merges into that of the *hamra*. Like the Mandaean *misha*, the *haoma* is prepared before the ritual meal. The stone slabs are purified by pouring water over them with a cross-like movement, i.e.

'. . . during the first three recitals, he pours the water so as to let it fall from north to south, and then, during the second three recitals, from west to east.' (JJM., p. 273.)

Compare the Nestorian naming of the points of the compass when describing a cross above the holy loaves.

The Parsi preparation ceremonies and rituals, called Paragna, are more elaborate than the Mandaean. I must refer the reader to the pages of Modi. The ritual meal follows.

The Ritual Meal

In the opening prayers the name of the angel who is especially invoked (cf. Masiqta d̲ Samandri'il, Masiqta d̲ Zahrun, &c.) and the name of the person living or dead for whom the celebration is made, are mentioned. The invocation of the various heavenly powers follows (cf. the Mandaean Asuth̲ Malka). Special reference is made to the pure water (*zaothra*) and the *Barsom*, and the 'former invocations and offerings are repeated'.

'He makes several passes with the *Barsam* held in his hands through the crescent curves of the *Mâhrui*' (i.e. crescent-shaped stands for the *Barsam*). 'The Zoti then takes his seat . . .' (JJM., p. 323.)

There are long recitals from the *yasna*, in which the fire-priest occasionally joins. The consecration prayers or recitations over the *Darun* (bread) follow, known as the 'Sraosh-Darun chapters of the Yasna'.

> 'At particular portions of the recital of these chapters . . . the Zoti occasionally takes a handful of water from the *kundi* or water-vessel on his right hand, and drops it on the *Barsam* and on the *aiwyâonghan* which ties the *Barsam* wires. This is a relic of the old times, when, instead of metallic wires used now, twigs of trees were used as *Barsam.* It was to keep these vegetable twigs fresh and green that the water was sprinkled over them formerly.' (JJM., p. 324.)

The two priests then recite, 'I offer these things, this *Darun*, Water, *Haoma*, &c., through righteousness'. The fire-priest places incense on the fire and says: 'O ye men! Ye who have deserved it by your righteousness and piety! eat of this *Myazda*, the meat offering' (JJM., p. 342).

> 'Thereupon, the Zoti, who thinks himself to have been qualified to eat it, recites the formula of Bâj or the prayer of grace, and eats a bit of the sacred bread (Darun) and then finishes the Bâj. . . . The Darun then can be passed out of the Yazashna-gâh and may be eaten by other members of the congregation if present. This is said to be the Darun-châshni or the ceremonial eating of the sacred bread.' (JJM., pp. 324–5.)

Exact parallels are found in the Mandaean ritual.

The *haoma* juice, the preparation of which is described above, is now drunk by the priest after the recitation of the *haoma* chapters.

This corresponds to the drinking of the *hamra*, and I have already explained that *haoma* takes the place of the *hamra* as well as the *misha*. Prayers then follow at great length, then the *haoma* twigs are prepared for the second time, i.e. pounded, squeezed, and strained and afterwards set apart for 'the requirements of the congregation'. Here Modi gives a note that:

> 'there is a custom though not generally observed now, to give a few drops of the *haoma* juice to a newly born child and to a dying man. These drops were given from the second preparation.' (JJM., p. 326.)

(Cf. the *misha* placed on the breast of the dying substitute for the *ganzibra*, p. 170.)

Long readings follow, including amongst other chapters those in praise of Sraosha; and blessings are pronounced upon the house and family of the celebrant. Modi's description of these chapters is too long to be quoted in entirety, but the conclusion is strikingly Mandaean in tone:

> 'The seven chapters from 63 to 69 refer to water and its consecration. The 63rd praises the waters. The 64th is, to a large extent, a repetition of the 50th chapter (the Spentomad Gâthâ) which praises Ahura Mazda who has created the health-giving waters. The 65th forms the Âvân Ardviçura Nyâish and refers to the waters of the river Ardviçura, supposed to be the modern Oxus.' (See note 4, p. xxii, on the relation of this river to the *yardna*). 'The Zoti holds the cup of *zaothra* water in his right hand, gets down from his seat or his *khwân*, and looking to the waters in the *kundi* by his side, recites this chapter. Chapters LXVI–LXIX continue the ceremony of further consecrating the *zaothra* water.' (JJM., p. 328.)

The *hamâzor*, 'a kind of Zoroastrian kiss of peace', is then exchanged by the *zoti* with his assistant, the fire-priest. This means that the right hand of each is enfolded in turn by the hands palm to palm of the other, each man then raising his finger-tips to his mouth. The giving of *kushta* by the Mandaeans is the giving of the right hand only, and the hand-grasp is followed (like that of the Parsis) by each person kissing his own right hand. The Nestorian Christians give the hand-clasp followed by the kiss of finger-tips in the Parsi fashion, at the mass and other services. The 'Bene-Israel' of India, as Modi relates, also have the hand-clasp followed by kissing, and, like the Nestorians, pass on the hand-clasp and kiss throughout the congregation.

The two Parsi priests complete the *bâj* (the Mandaean *rahmia* is a parallel), and perform the *kusti* (cf. Mandaean *rishama*). Then comes a ceremony which again points to a careful identification of the temple cistern or well with a river. Both go to the cistern, the *zoti* holding the *hâvanim* containing the *zaothra* water in his hand.

> 'They face the sun and perform . . . what is called *Zôr-melavvi*, i.e. to mix the *zaothra* consecrated water with the water of the well whence the water was first drawn.' (JJM., p. 329.)

Similarly, all the sacred water left over from the *masiqta*, together with any of the sacred foods left over, is cast into the *yardna*. Life returns to life.

Not only the cult itself, but the ideas behind the cult are identical. Can any doubt remain in the mind of the reader that both these rituals have a common ancestor? Had the Mandaeans 'imitated Parsi cults' after the coming of Islam, one would not find water taking precedence over fire, moreover in the *yasna* ritual there are strong indications that this rite, which is one of revivification and magic formulae for the resurrection of life, was centred originally about the water rather than the fire.

The point of contact, then, lies much farther back. The tradition of the Mandaeans that their religion and its original holders lived in the mountainous country between the Caspian and Harran—i.e. that they corresponded roughly to the Umman-Manda—takes on the colour of probability, and the history of the ritual meal, not only that of the Parsis and Mandaeans, but that of the Jews and Christians, becomes illumined with fresh light.

NOTE ON CHAPTER XIII

1. Cf. in the 'Shal shutha' a prayer at the end of the *rahmia*, 'Praised are the great first Sindarka and Aina (Tree—palm-tree—and Well-spring): praised is the mystic Tana (Brazier?) that rests within that first great secret (or hidden) Wellspring. Praised is Shishlam the Great, who sits by the brink (*kifa*) of the Wellspring and Tree.' All Parsi fire-temples must have a well and a palm-tree within the sacred area.

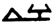
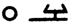
XIV

THE MANDAEAN ALPHABET

The alphabet is called by the Mandaeans the *abaga*. Each letter according to them represents a power of life and light, and the first and last letters, the 'alpha and omega', are the same and represent perfection of light and life. Yet they say this perfection was itself created, it did not create itself. 'When the *a* o (according to another narrator 'Melka d̲ Anhura') was created, he cried, "There is none mightier than I!" As he said this, he saw on the face of the waters the twenty-four[1] letters of the alphabet, like a bridge, and said to himself, "Who created these? I did not, therefore there must be one mightier than I!"' A legend says that the letters were written originally on the *ksuya* or robe of Mara d̲ Rabut̲h̲a. Another represents Hibil Ziwa as teaching Adam his letters.

Hence, Mandaeans look upon their alphabet as magical and sacred. Writing is under the especial protection of the planet Nbu (Enwo in pronunciation). Letters of the alphabet, inscribed on twenty-four scraps of silver or gold, are placed under the pillow of a person who desires heavenly guidance in some matter of difficulty. Each night one is removed, and if the sleeper has a dream bearing upon the matter about which he is troubled, he considers that the spirit belonging to the letter which he has singled and taken out that night has given him a revelation and is willing to come to his aid. The letter is henceforth worn as a charm round his neck. Most magical scrolls begin with the letters of the alphabet given in their order, and often with their vowel modifications as well. The reading of letters aloud is a charm to keep off evil spirits. This reading of the letters, or exorcism, has its own verb—'to *abaga*'. *Abaga* is equivalent to 'he read a spell'.

The first and last letters have as their sign a circle, possibly representing the sun-disk as a symbol of light. They are pronounced like the vowel *a*. It is worth remembering that the Phoenician 'aleph' 𐤀 (our A) is the ox-head, *alpha* meaning 'ox', and that the Bull was symbolical of the sky and of the sun.

The vowels are modifications of this circle,[2] and, similarly, may represent the setting and rising sun, the angular shape having been adopted for the purpose of clarity. The pronunciation of  is precisely the same as it would be if it had been written separately o .

Mandaean explanations of the inner meaning of the symbols are interesting as being traditional, though in some cases the original symbolism has obviously been forgotten. Over some letters there was disagreement and doubt, over others none. One of my informants was a priest, the other a member of a literate and priestly family. I give both explanations when they disagreed.

o (A)	The highest of all—Perfection, Light, and Life, the beginning and end of all things.
Ba	'Ab.' 'The Great Father.'
Ga	(1) 'Gauriil Ishliha', Gabriel the Messenger. (2) 'Gimra anat Gmira', 'Perfection thou art perfect'.
Da	'Dirka'—the 'way' or law.
Ha	(1) Hiia rbia. The Great Life. (2) Hibil Ziwa.
Wa	'Weyli!' (written *Wailh*). 'Woe to him who listens not to the language of light!'
Za	'Ziwa.' The word means radiance, or rather active light. The character is evidently a pictograph of the sun above the horizon, or the sun as a life-giver.
Eh	'This letter is so sacred that it is not much employed. It represents the eye of God.' An unsatisfactory explanation. The letter is used only as a suffix for the third person singular. Nöldeke (N., p. 59) says: 'Ferner wissen wir ja, dass die Nabatäer des Iraq (zu denen wir die Mandäer rechnen müssen), ه für ح sprechen. . . . Diesen Nabatäern waren ع und ح so fremdartige Laute, dass sie dieselben nicht einmal aussprachen, wenn sie arabisch redeten.' The letter coming at the end of the word and meaning 'him', 'her', or 'them', is pronounced '*hi*', '*i*', '*ha*', and '*a*'. It is often written like the aleph suffix, but its proper form is oval.

Ṭa (1) 'Ṭab' or 'Good' (pronounced *Ṭau*).

(2) 'It is the bird (*ṭayr*) representing the soul leaving the body to return' (i.e. to the world of light).

This is clearly the pictograph of a flying bird, symbol of the freed soul, the 'mana' winging its way back to the Great Mana. The *ṭ* in several Semitic scripts recalls the bird—the 'flier'. (See Contenau on the Phoenician Alphabet in *La Civilization phénicienne*, Payot, Paris, 1926.)

To quote from a hymn (left side of Ginza) which deals with the joyful return of the soul after death:

'I abode in the sea
Till wings were formed for me
Until I was a winged creature,
Until I was a winged creature
And my wings lifted me up into the Place of Light.'

Ṭss is a Mandaean word for 'to fly', but the more usual root is *phr* (*pahr*).

Ya (1) 'Yowmono' (the day).

(2) 'Yamin' (the right).

The right is symbolical of Light, the left of darkness, the right of being and the left of non-being.

Ka (1) 'Klila' (the wreath of myrtle).

(2) Kus̲h̲ṭa (Right, right-dealing).

La (1) 'Lis̲h̲an' (the tongue) which praises.

(2) Alma (the world). (Obviously wrong).

Ma 'Mana Rba Kabira.' The Great First Mind or Soul.

Na 'Nhura' (Light).

Sa 'Simat Hiia, mother of all life.'

ʿ 'Ain', the eye or fountain. (Not a guttural in Mandaean: merely a vowel.)

Pa 'Pira anat Haiy'. A priest translated this 'Thou art the tree of life'. I suggested that *pira* meant fruit, but all present persisted that it meant 'tree'. 'Anat-Hiia' (Lidzbarski transcribes *Anath-Haije*) is, according to Lidzbarski, a female spiritual being. '. . . weibliches Wesen, darin hat sich wohl die Gottheit ʿAnath erhalten.'

On various meanings attributed to the word 'Pira' see Brandt ('Die Mandäische Religion', p. 23).

Ṣa 'Ṣauta anat qadmaiia.' (Thou art the first Voice, or sound.)

Qa 'Qala anat qadmaiia ḏ Hiia'. (Thou art the first cry of Life.)

Sha	Shamish (the sun-spirit).
Ta	'Toba.' Repentance.
Adu	(This is counted as a letter always, though it is the possessive particle.)
A	See the first letter.

This alphabet is, in itself, a suggestive commentary upon the traditions and beliefs of those who use it, but its analysis must be left to the skilled student of Semitic scripts.

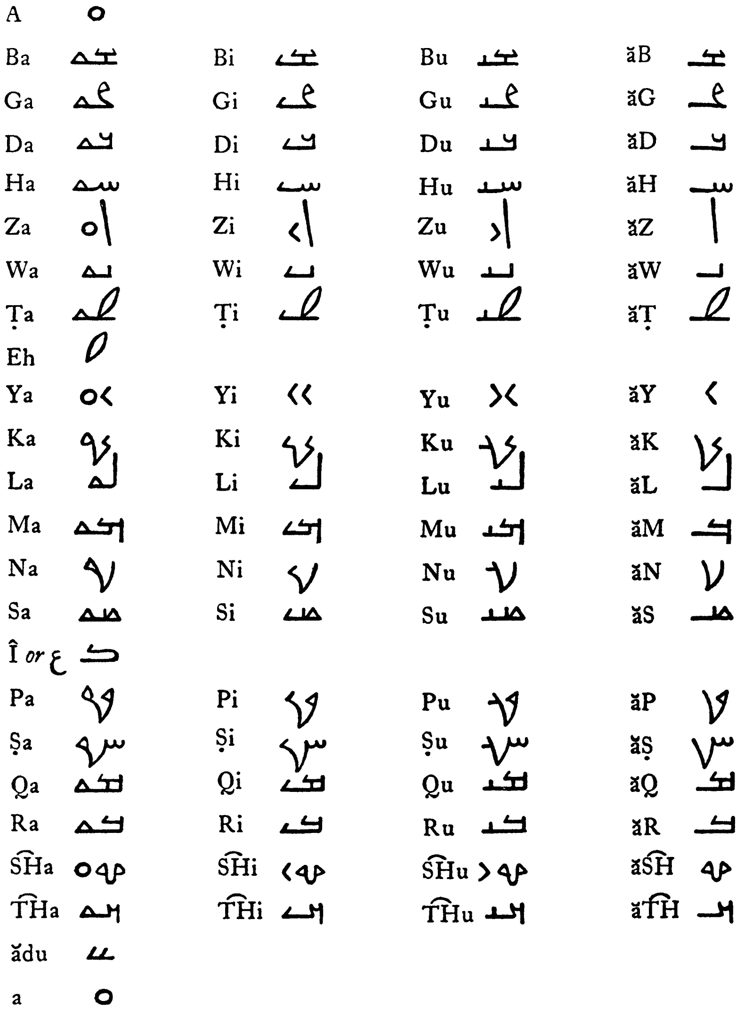
NOTES ON CHAPTER XIV

1. It is indicated that the *ada* and the final *a* were put in so as to make the solar total of 24.

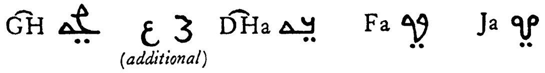
2. The ࡀ is called the *halqa*; the ࡉ the *aksa*, the ࡅ the *-ushenna* (i.e. ࡄࡅ *hūshenna*, ࡊࡅ *kūshenna*, &c.).

THE MANDAEAN ALPHABET

(as given by Hirmiz bar Anhar)


A
Ba Bi Bu ăB
Ga Gi Gu ăG
Da Di Du ăD
Ha Hi Hu ăH
Za Zi Zu ăZ
Wa Wi Wu ăW
Ṭa Ṭi Ṭu ăṬ
Eh
Ya Yi Yu ăY
Ka Ki Ku ăK
La Li Lu ăL
Ma Mi Mu ăM
Na Ni Nu ăN
Sa Si Su ăS
Î *or* ع
Pa Pi Pu ăP
Ṣa Ṣi Ṣu ăṢ
Qa Qi Qu ăQ
Ra Ri Ru ăR
S͡Ha S͡Hi S͡Hu ăS͡H
T͡Ha T͡Hi T͡Hu ăT͡H
ădu
a

Supplementary letters


G͡H
ع ع
D͡Ha
Fa
Ja
(additional)

[a, e, i, u pronounced as in Italian. ă represents a shortened sound as in 'had', a is broader.]

APPENDIX I

THE 'ASUTH MALKA'

THIS prayer of salutation is prayed daily by the priests, at the beginning of the 'Rahmi' and recited before all baptisms and ritual meals, and rites.

TEXT

Kushṭa asinkhun bshumaihun d hiia rbia asutha uzakutha nihuilakh ya baba rba d bit rahmia yaqira asutha uzakutha nihuilkhun abahathan qadmaiia yaqiria asutha uzakutha nihuilakh ginza d hiia rbia qadmaiia yaqira asutha nihuilakh malka Mara d rabutha ʿilaitha asutha uzakutha nihuilakh malka Yushamin dakia br Nṣibtun asutha uzakutha nihuilakh malka Manda d Hiia br Niṣibtun asutha uzakutha nhuilakh Hibil Ziwa asutha uzakutha nihuilakh Malka ʿAnush ʿUthra asutha uzakutha nhuilakh malka Shishlam Rba asutha uzakutha nhuilakh malka ʿShaq Ziwa Rba qadmaiia asutha uzakutha nhuilakh malka Sam Ziwa dakia bukra habiba rba qadmaiia asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Hibil uShitil uAnush asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Adatan uYadatan asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Shilmai uNidbai ʿuthria naṭria d yardna asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun asrin warba ʿuthria bnia d nhura asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun arba gabria bnia shlama asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Anṣab wAnan Nṣab asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Sar uSarwan asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Zhir uZahrun uBhir uBhirun uTar uTarwan asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun ʿUrfi'il uMarfiʿil Yawar Tagmur wasutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Yufin uYufafin wasutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Habshaba uKana d Zidqa asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Malka Barbagh ʿUthra asutha uzakutha nihuilakh Malka Shingilan ʿUthra asutha uzakutha nhuilikh Simat Hiia asutha uzakutha nhuilikh ʿzlat Rabtia asutha uzakutha nhuilikh Sharat Niṭufta wasutha uzakutha nhuilikh Kanat Niṭuftatha asutha uzakutha nihuilikh Bihrat Anana asutha uzakutha nhuilakh Malka Abathur Rama asutha uzakutha nhuilakh Malka ʿUṣṭuna Rba asutha uzakutha nhuilakh Abathur Muzania asutha uzakutha nhuilakh Malka br Zahriil asutha uzakutha nhuilakh Malka Yahia Yuhana asutha uzakutha nhuilakh Malka Adam gabra qadmaiia wasutha uzakutha nhuilakh Malka Shitil br Adam gabra qadmaiia asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun ya malkia wʿuthria umashkhinia uyardnia urhaṭia ushkhinatha d almia d nhura kulaikhun asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun ushabiq haṭaiia nihuilia ldilia P. br P. d haza butha urahmia bit shabiq haṭaiia nhuilia.

TRANSLATION (Comments in Italics)

May the Right heal you! In the name of the Great Life! Health and victory are thine, O Great Gate of Mercies, the beautiful. Health and victory are yours, our dear forefathers! (*first fathers*) Health and victory are thine, Treasure of the Great First Sublime Life. Health and victory are thine, Malka Lord of Lofty Greatness. Health and victory are thine Malka Yushamin the Pure son of Niṣabtun (*lit. Ye-transplanted*). Health and victory are thine, Malka Manda-d-Hiia son of Niṣabtun. Health and victory are thine, Hibil Ziwa. Health and victory are thine, Malka 'Anush 'Uthra (*see* p. 18). Health and victory are thine, Malka Shishlam Rba. (*Shishlan would be 'bound us together', but the final 'm'? Shlam=he perfected*, p. 56.) Health and victory are thine, great Malka 'Shaq (*L. translates 'he-hopped'*), the first great Radiancy (*or 'active light'*). Health and victory are thine, Malka Sam Ziwa, the Pure, eldest, first, beloved. (*L. translates Sam 'He produced' i.e. created*). Health and victory are thine, Hibil and Shitil and Anush. Health and victory are yours, Adatan and Yadatan. (*These are, according to Mandaeans, the two 'pointing stars' at the North.*) Health and victory are yours, Shilmai and Nidbai, guardian '*uthris* of the flowing water (*yardna*). Health and victory are yours, ye twenty-four '*uthris*, sons of the light. (*Are these personified hours?*) Health and victory are yours, ye four beings, sons of perfection. (*The four seasons?*) Health and victory are yours, Anṣab and consort (*lit. cloud*) of Anṣab. Health and victory are yours, Sar and Sarwan (*a pair, male and female, according to Mandaeans*). Health and victory are yours, Zhir and Zihrun and Bhir and Bhrun (*Bhir = 'chosen'; pairs of light beings*), and Tar and Tarwan. Health and victory are yours, 'Urfi'il and Marfi'il and Yawar Tugmur. (?) Health and victory are yours, Malka Shingilan 'Uthra (*He-enraptured-me*). Health and victory are yours, Sunday and Congregation of the Righteous. Health and Victory are yours, Malka Son-of-Bagh 'Uthra. (*According to Chwolson, bagh was the portion of the rising sun which showed first on the horizon: hence a form of the sun-god, later 'god'. Cf.* Sanskrit '*bhaga*'. *Chwolson derives Baghdad from Bagh dad, i.e. 'gift of Bagh'.*) Health and victory are thine, Malka Shingilan 'Uthra (*a repetition*), and health and victory are thine, Simat Hiia (*Treasure of Life, see p. 27*). Health and victory are thine, 'Izlat the Great (*a female genius*). Health and victory are thine, Sharat (*She-was-firm*) Niṭufta (*the Drop or Pearl*). Health and victory are thine, Kanat Niṭuftatha (*Vial-of-Drops*). Health and victory are thine, Bihrat (*She-was-*

Chosen) Anana (*cloud or spouse*). Health and victory are thine, Malka Abathur Rama (*see p.* 95). Health and victory are thine, Malka 'Uṣṭuna Rba (*Great Pillar, or Great Body—'Ur, or Krun?*). Health and victory are thine, Abathur Muzania (*see p.* 95). Health and victory are thine, Malka Son-of-Zahriil (*i.e. Pthahil, see p.* 95). Health and victory are thine, Malka Yahya Yuhana. Health and victory are thine, Malka Adam, First Man, and health and victory are thine, Malka Shitil son of Adam (*this is not the Shitil of the famous triad, Hibil, Shitil, 'Anush*). Health and victory are yours, O malki and 'uthri and indwellers, and flowing waters and outgushings and all the dwellings of the world of light. Health and victory are yours, and may there be a pardoner of sin for me, N. son of N., who have performed these devotions (*rahmia*). May there be a forgiver of my sins!'

I have translated '*nhuilakh*' '*nhuilkhun*' 'are thine' 'are yours', because, though they are more literally translated 'be yours', &c., the idea is plainly that of a *fait accompli*. 'Victory' might equally be translated 'triumphant purity', or 'vindication', but I have followed Lidzbarski here.

BOOK II

LEGENDS, MAGIC, AND FOLK-LORE

NOTE

Some of the legends and stories here collected were obtained from a silversmith, Hirmiz bar Anhar, about whose personality I feel bound to say a few words. He comes of a priestly family, and his grandfather was a *ganzibra* with a reputation for piety and learning. Hirmiz possesses good looks and a handsome grey beard. He is tall, straight, and the owner of an attractive smile. Like his late brother, Zahrun, he is a clever craftsman. He has a genuine devotion to his religion, and is not alone in his reverence for Shamish, for I have heard the expression 'pray to Shamish' on the lips of an orthodox priest. Hirmiz is a mystic and visionary, a poet, and a lover of Nature. He has never been to school, and he can write or read no language but his own.

> 'Just at the first dawn, there comes a sweet breath from the North Star, a pure breeze from the North. We call it Ayar Ziwa' (Bk. I, see p. 58). 'It is then that I have seen a being of light standing before me.'

He describes his visions as being exceedingly lovely.

> 'When I came to myself, I took a pencil and tried to draw what I had seen.'

Another time he told me that he had wept for joy on awaking from a vision like this, and his wife was alarmed, thinking that he had a premonition of evil, for they believe in such powers of the mind as Celts believe in them. When I began to get into order a collection of Arab folk-tales (published in 1931 by the Oxford University Press), I remembered my old Mandaean friend, and wondered if he could furnish me with some Mandaean folk-tales, or introduce me to some one who could. When he understood what I wanted, he answered that he had from his father, who was skilled in such recitals, stories about ancient times and about the unseen world. At first he used Arab terms, *jānn* for *shibiahi*, Allah for the Great Life, and so on, but it was not long before he slipped into the words familiar to him, and I heard the Mandaean legends, gossip, and traditions which he had listened to as a little boy. It has seemed worth while to reproduce what is of doubtful value as legend with the rest, for, amongst dross and nonsense, there is usually treasure in the way of typical customs, magical rites, religious beliefs, and national character. Hirmiz was my first, but not, of course, my only informant. Other Mandaeans, priestly and lay, have contributed, and stories related by Hirmiz I had again from the lips of others. Some have appeared in Siouffi's and Petermann's books. However, I make no excuse for telling twice-told legends and including with them the narrator's comments and explanations, which I always noted with care.

Names with the exception of Sin—pronounced Sén—are written as pronounced; the written version is sometimes given in brackets: In narrative I have written *rabba* for *rba*. The word is pronounced much as an Englishman (not a Scot) pronounces 'rubber' i.e. ignoring the double 'b' and the final 'r' and slurring the first vowel.

I. LEGENDS OF CREATION, THE FLOOD, ETC.

A. *Creation*

BEFORE the All, Melka Ziwa was. When he came into being he created five beings of light, and simultaneously there was darkness, for wherever there is form there are opposites. If right exists, left exists, and the left side of the body, which is the portion of darkness, is the weaker.

As there were five primal beings of light, there were five primal beings of darkness. Their names are: Akrun (Krun), their lord; Ashdum (Shdum); Gaf and Gafan; Hagh and Magh; and Zargi-Zargana (Zartai-Zartana). Gafan and Magh are the female complements of their lords. The darkness produced the three lords of the *skandola* (p. 37), and their names were in the shape in which they appear in the *skandola*.[1]

Melka Ziwa is the source of all life. Rays of light and life come from him and are transmitted to the sun and to the planets by the four *melki* in the North Star, whose names are Arhum Hii, Ziv Hii, ʿIn Hii, and Shom Hii, or Sam Hii.[2] From these four come the strength and life of Shamish.

NOTES ON A

Told by a *yalufa*

[1] i.e. pictographs.

[2] Rhum Hiia (Love[-of?]-Life); ʻIn Hiia (Source-of-Life); Ziu-Hiia (Glory-of-Life); Shum Hii (Name-of-Life), or Sam Hiia (Creation-of-Life).

B. *Creation and the Flood*

The Mandaeans believe in a Supreme Being, Alaha. He deputed the governance of the material world, which is a world of non-reality, and even its creation, to regents (*melki*), spirits of power and purity who sprang into existence as their names were pronounced by the Almighty. Of these beings, three hundred and sixty in number,[1] the most important is Mara d Rabutha (*Lord of Greatness*), but the divine being most directly in touch with this world is Hiwel Ziwa (Hibil Ziwa).[2] He created this world, dark and earthly, Ara d Tiwel (Arqa d Tibil); and a world of light, Mshuni Kushṭa. (Pp. 54–6). Hiwel Ziwa brought a woman named Ruhayya[2] from the seventh underworld of darkness, and she was pregnant. Hiwel Ziwa left her guarded in the upper world of darkness, and returned to Mshuni Kushṭa to say what he had done. He was absent for thousands of years. Ruhayya brought forth the monster 'Ur.[3] When born, 'Ur said to his mother 'Why are we alone, we two, in this world?' She replied that his father was a *melka* named Ashdum (Shdum) and that he had many relatives amongst the *melki*. 'Ur was of enormous size. He shouted until the worlds of light shook. Hiwel Ziwa came down from Mshuni Kushṭa and Ruhayya gave 'Ur a glass with which he could see his people in the world of light. But Hiwel Ziwa was wearing a talismanic face and was invisible, so, without being seen, he snatched the glass from 'Ur, captured him, imprisoned him, and confined him beneath the world in Ara d Nahasha, the Copper Earth,[4] and the seven material worlds were above him. His mother followed him below and became his wife. She bore him seven children, and Hiwel Ziwa put each child into a planet. The planets are creatures of God and each has a spirit in it. The names of these seven are Shamish, Sin or Sera, Nirigh, Bel, Enwo, Liwet, and Kiwan (see pp. 75–81). At a second birth she produced the Signs of the Zodiac. The planets rule this world of darkness. Thus, Nirigh is the ruler of war, Enwo of science and wisdom, Liwet of Love and of inventions such as the aeroplane. The planets are ships in which the *melki* who rule them ride. In the ship of Shamish is a banner, and from it streams the light of God, for it reflects it and transmits its rays to the world. Thus are constituted the world of light and darkness, the world of truth and not-truth.

The son of Hiwel Ziwa, Pthahil, by order of his father opened the sky, cooled the earth, loosed fountains and rivers, founded mountains, made fish and birds, flowers with their seeds, and animals for Adam and his descendants. Awathur (Abathur) and his son (i.e. *Pthahil*) looked at their own bodies and thought of them and so produced the body of Adam Paghra (*the physical Adam*). From Adam's rib was taken Hawa his wife. Exactly as there was an Adam Paghra and a Hawa Paghra, there was an Adam Kasia and a Hawa Kasia (*Occult Adam and Eve*). These and their progeny peopled the world of Mshuni Kushṭa. Adam had six children, three boys and three girls. The names of the three boys were Adam, Shitel, and Annosh. Adam son of Adam took a wife from amongst the children of darkness, for the world was inhabited before the creation of Adam by *shiviahi* (*shibiahia*),[5] children of blackness and darkness. From this union sprang children of darkness, those of humanity who are not Mandai. The Mandai are the children of Adam Paghra and Hawa Kasia. The other two sons of Adam, Shitel and Annosh, followed the teaching which Hiwel Ziwa gave their father. Hiwel Ziwa taught Adam the secrets of life, gave him the holy books, and instructed him in the arts of agriculture and writing.

NOTES ON B

Told by a *ganzibra* to a mixed company of Gentiles: hence the use of the word Alaha for the Supreme Being. This term in Mandaean exorcisms denotes an evil spirit. (See BDM., p. 17.)

1. Siouffi mentions this number also. But the Ginza says that the *melki* and ʿ*uthri* are countless. The number 360 is the number of days in the Mandaean year.

2. The diminutive of the more usual Ruha. In lower Iraq diminutives are much used. For Ruha see p. 256 and below.

3. ʿUr is the mighty Serpent or dragon of the underworld upon whom the material world rests. Above him are the seven material firmaments and below him the seven underworlds of darkness. He has a fiery breath like a flame, and his belly is alternately fire and ice. Souls too impure to undergo the lighter purifications of *Maṭaratha* are drawn into his belly, and amongst these are unbelievers. The whole story of his incestuous union with his mother Ruha, of their offspring, first the Planets and then the Zodiac, &c., is reminiscent of other Central Asian dragons, some features of the myth

being common to all. I have drawn up a table of these. The name may mean 'light', and Lidzbarski sees in 'Ur and Ruha a degraded light-god and his mother-consort.

Chwolson suggests several derivations which suit the Mandaean conception of 'Ur; e.g. the Sanskrit *Uru* 'great' (Avestan *uru*): and 'die Sylbe *Ar* or *Er* scheint in den altsemitischen Sprachen die Bedeutung von Feuer, Kraft und Stärke zu haben'. (Ch.Ṣ., 89 ff.)

'Ur is variously represented in pictures and pictographs. I gave in *Iraq*, vol. i, part ii) a photograph of a drawing in the Diwan Abathur, in which his size but not his dragon nature appears. On the *skandola* he is represented by the snake. I give here a Mandaean drawing of 'Ur, this time, not as 'a snake without hands and feet' as described in the Ginza, but as a louse. The commentary on the picture was as follows:

'The worlds which extend towards the tail, seven in number, are the seven *maṭaratha*. The *Maṭarta* of Shamish is that into which Shamish goes when he is invisible and it is dark. Under 'Ur's belly, which is of fire, there is black water, or the oil which produces fire, and sometimes it gushes upwards in flames. Beneath the black water are seven layers of copper-like earth, and beneath these are the kin of 'Ur: Sargi-Sargani, Hagh and Magh, Gaf and Gafan, Ashdum, and the greatest of them all, Akrun.'

4. *The Copper Earth.* According to the Diwan Abathur the layers of the 'world of darkness' are six: 'the first earth is of copper, the next earth of iron, another earth tin, another earth steel, another earth silver'. A *ganzibra* explained that by the 'first earth' was meant the lowest, and gave the order as copper, iron, brass, steel, gold, silver, dust.

5. *Shiviahi(a).* Whatever the original meaning of the word *shibiahia*—Lidzbarski translates planets, presumably from *shaba aḥia*, 'seven brothers'—it is now used as a general term for the beings Arabs call *jānn*. It is suggested to me that a possible derivation is ܫܒܝܚܐ (*shabīḫā*), plural *shabīḫīn* (*shabīḫayyā*), 'praised ones' (Syriac √ܫܒܚ 'praise'). This might come to mean good spirits (?) hence by euphemism or degradation spirits of any sort or evil spirits. In a long roll in my possession, in a description of the universe before the earthly world was created, I find, 'and from those black waters arose and appeared evil things: from one of them (came) a thousand thousand mysteries, and myriad, myriad *shibiahia*'. In general the *shiviahi* are destructive and death-dealing, but the house *shiviahi* who appear to children, or seek refuge with men in the guise of white hares (see Legend XI) are harmless and often kindly. (See also XV, XVI, &c.)

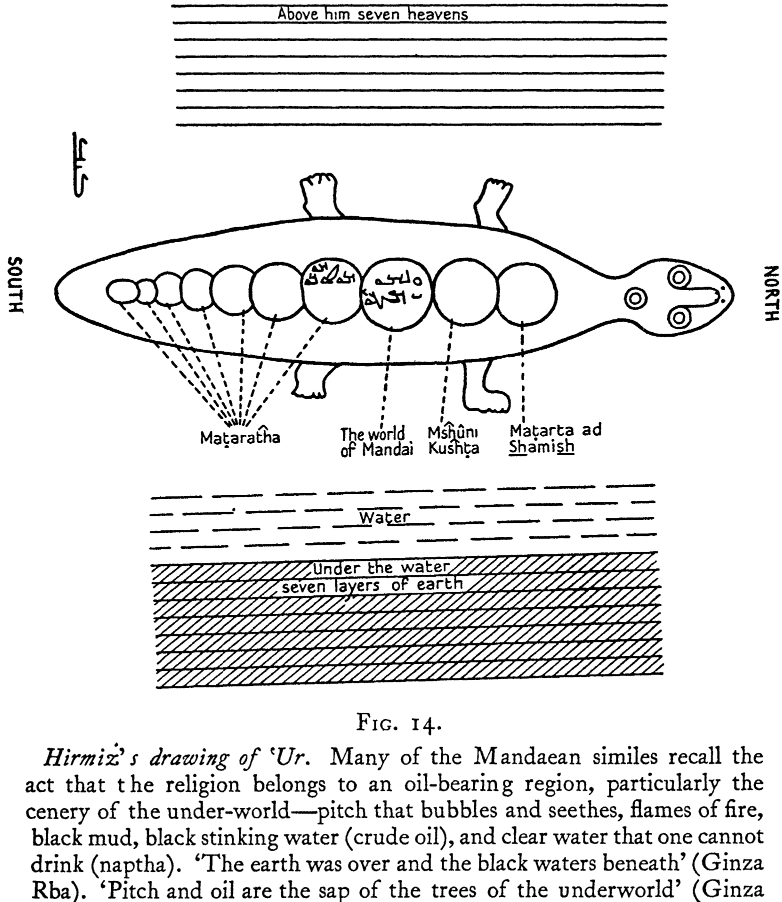

Above him seven heavens
SOUTH
NORTH
Maṭaratha
The world of Mandai
Mshûni Kushṭa
Maṭarta ad Shamish
Water
Under the water seven layers of earth

FIG. 14.

Hirmiz's drawing of 'Ur. Many of the Mandaean similes recall the act that the religion belongs to an oil-bearing region, particularly the cenery of the under-world—pitch that bubbles and seethes, flames of fire, black mud, black stinking water (crude oil), and clear water that one cannot drink (naptha). 'The earth was over and the black waters beneath' (Ginza Rba). 'Pitch and oil are the sap of the trees of the underworld' (Ginza Rba, 6th fragment, 12th book).

Some Central Asian Dragons

	'UR (Mandaean)	*KRUN* (Mandaean)	*TIÂMAT* (Babylonian)	*VṚTRA* (Vedic) *or* *ŚEṢA* (Vedic)	
Description and Attributes	'*A serpent without hands or feet.*' A *dragon*, a monster of *huge size*. *Fire within*, a *sucking mouth* like a vortex. On *skandola*, represented as *encircling*, head and tail together.	A huge *louse*. King of World of Darkness and of *7 regions* and lords of darkness. 'Mountain of Flesh.' *Enormous* size.	*Large dragon or serpent.* Earth-Mother, 'mother of everything'. *Huge* and gross.	'*a serpent without hands or feet.*' Vṛtra was 500 leagues high, and 300 round. Fire issued from his mouth i.e. his belly was of *fire*.	the Serpent of a thousand mouths '*the endless serpent lying upon the waters*'. Encircles himself: called Ananta, the 'endless'.
Place	*South*: above underworld *on the black water*. Later, *supports 7 earths and 7 heavens* (earthly firmaments). Earth called '*copper earth*'. Black water stinks.	*South*: beneath underworld in the *black, stinking, water* (miia siawia). 'Whole visible *world rests on him.*' Earth called '*copper earth*'.	*South*: underworld, on *black water*. Earth called '*copper earth*'.	*South*: lies *on the waters at bottom of the rajas* or aerial space. Macdonell says: 'There can be no doubt that the word vṛtra is derived from the root *vr* to 'cover' or 'encompass'.	Lies on the waters. *Supports the earth* from beneath.
Parent	Ruha, the Earth-Mother, whose dwelling was then the surface of the black water.				
Consort (incestuous)	Ruha, his mother. Her first consort was her brother, Gaf.		*Husband Apsu.* (Watery Abyss or Black Water). He is bound by Ea, god of the waters of the upper world. *Paramour*, her son, Kingu or Tammuz.		
Offspring	The *twelve signs of the Zodiac* and the planets.	The '*seven*' *of the underworld.*	The *twelve signs of the Zodiac* (They included herself and Kingu.)		
Conflict	With Manda ḏ Hiia, Yawar Ziwa, or Hibil Ziwa: ends in his defeat and being bound with iron. He supports the earth and *swallows* evil-doers. Hibil Ziwa *returns triumphant* to the light world.	With Hibil Ziwa (light). Krun *opens his mouth to* suck him in and *swallows him*. Two light spirits fight for Hibil Ziwa and these *thrust light into Krun's jaws*. When Hibil Ziwa is *swallowed* he surrounds himself with swords and wounds the monster. He *returns with a talisman*. On his journey through the underworld, Hibil Ziwa remains in the inferno of Hag and Mag *60,000* years.	With En-lil (sky-god) or Marduk (sun-hero). 'Tiâmat *opened her mouth* to its fullest extent.' Marduk made wind enter her open mouth and distend her, then *slew her with his spear*. He *returns with a 'tablet of destiny'* which he binds on his forehead.	Vṛtra slain after conflict with sky-god Indra. *Swallowed* Indra, but gods making Vṛtra yawn, Indra leapt out and *cast a thunderbolt into his open mouth*. A foul stench came from his blood. As Vṛtra had practised yoga for *60,000* years, Indra had to do penance.	

C. *The Creation of Man*

Ruha and Pt̲h̲ahil tried to make Adam and, when they had finished, he was like a man, but moved about on all fours, had a face like an ape, and made noises like a sheep. They were puzzled and went to the House of Life and told them of their failure, and the House of Life said, We will send Hiwel Ziwa. Hiwel Ziwa came, and the Soul was in his hands. When the Soul saw Adam, she was horrified, and said, 'What! must I dwell in this flesh and blood, this house of uncleanness?' And she refused. Hiwel Ziwa said, 'Dost thou refuse the order of the House of Life?' She said, 'I will accept on one condition only, and that is that everything that is in the world of light shall be in this world—flowers, trees, light, *ayar* (pure air), running water (*yardna*), baptisms, priests, and everything as it is up there.'

Hiwel Ziwa returned and told them (the House of Life) and brought back a letter (*'ngirt̲h̲a*). It would not open, but spoke, and promised that the House of Life would give all that the Soul had asked. So the Soul (*Nis̲h̲imta*) entered the body of Adam and he stood erect and talked, and Hiwel Ziwa taught him reading and writing, how to marry, how to bury the dead, how to slaughter a sheep, and all knowledge. Ruha saw this, and she wished that she might have her race, her people, and her portion. She came to Adam son of Adam, and killed a sheep, and took its skin and made a drum, and of its bones she made a flute, and she and her children the Seven (planets) played and sang and danced. Ruha went to Adam son of Adam and said to him, 'Come, amuse yourself with us!' and he went. Liwet (Venus) made herself like a beautiful woman, and Adam son of Adam took her and became the father of children. Ruha, too, disguised herself as Hawa, and went to Adam, and Adam went into the water with her (i.e. performed purifications after cohabitation). When they reproached him afterwards, saying, 'Did you not see how big she was in the water?',[1] he replied that he had known nothing, for she employed sorcery. The Jews were of the children of Ruha and Adam. Their great men were the children of Ruha; Moses was Kiwan, and Abraham was S̲hamis̲h. They travelled and travelled until they came to 'Ur s̲halam (Jerusalem), which they called "Uhra s̲halam', 'The-road-is-complete'. They wanted books and Melka d̲ Anhura said, 'A book must be written that does not make trouble for the Mandai', and they sent one of the *melki*—Ṭāwūs Melka (i.e. Peacock King, cf. p. 94) to write the Torat (Old Testament). The Jews had no priests, so Anus̲h̲ 'Ut̲h̲ra put seed into the Jordan and the Jewish women drank and became pregnant and brought forth 365 priests. 'Inos̲h̲vey, too, drank of the water, and she brought forth Yahia, and all the men who were born of the seed sown in the Jordan were baptized and became priests.

NOTES ON C

1. The narrator was a priest, a good story-teller, but constitutionally inaccurate. Eve is always represented by Arab folk-lore as of immense size.

Another version of the soul-story (from Hirmiz) was the following:

'The trees and fruits of the world of light resemble those of the earth. When the soul was taken from Melka Ziwa, like a ball of light, and Hiwel Ziwa bore her in his hands to Adam, she wept, 'Why do you bear me to the realms of darkness? I will not go.' He said, 'It is the command of God, and I must take you, but there shall be on earth trees and flowers and fruits which are like those in the world of light'.

D. AND E. *The Flood*

When Hiwel Ziwa told Noh that the world would be destroyed by water, Noh brought wood from the Harrān and built his ark, called in our tongue a *kawila* or *anana*. Noh asked a sign, so he might know when it was to begin. (*The story here follows F, see below, until* . . .) Noh arose, took two of all beasts and put them into the ark through a hole in the top, then he and his family entered and closed the hole, all excepting Sam, for Sam was in the wilds, tending his flock. The thunder came, the sky split, the hail descended, and the waters rose. Sam fled and his sheep followed him but the water came and surrounded them and all were drowned.[1] Sam reached the ark, seized it, clambered up its side and remained on the top. There he stayed and was fed daily by Hiwel Ziwa. Before eating he washed his arms and did all that it is commanded that a *tarmida* should do, performing his ablutions daily. (*The story again follows F. After the return of the dove* . . .) Then Noh cursed the crow and said, 'Henceforward at the time of the ripening of fruit, thou shalt not eat of it!' But he blessed the dove, which is called *mana* 'soul', and is purer and better than all birds.

NOTES ON D AND E

The narrators were a priest and a layman of priestly family.

1. In another narrative, E, Sam, who is identified with the Good Shepherd (see p. 299), managed to save his sheep but had no time to get in himself, so sat on the roof of the ark. Lidzbarski points out that in early Christian representations of the Good Shepherd in the Roman catacombs he is depicted near the Ark.

F. *The Mandaean Nation*

The story of our nation is this. Two hundred and fifty years ago the Ṣubba, who are the true children of Adam Pag͟hra and Ḥawa Kasia, lived in Serandīb (Ceylon).[1] They were all cut off by plague except one pair, whose names were Ram and Rud. These had children who in turn multiplied until at last there were many of them, a race of mankind. But, after 150,000 years, by the command of Hiwel (Hibil) Ziwa, the whole earth broke into flames and only two escaped. These were S͟hurbey and S͟hurhabiel. These had children and multiplied and increased and became a people again. All this was in Serandīb. After 100,000 years an order came from the House of Life to Noh (Noah), three hundred years before the Flood, saying, 'Build a *kawila* (ark), for the world will be destroyed by water'. Sandalwood was brought from the Jebel Ḥarrān, and an ark was built with a length of thirty *gama*,[2] a width of thirty *gama*, and a height of thirty *gama*. A *gama* is the length of my arm. Noh asked for a sign and was told that when an *'angara* (the green shoot of a young reed, or *gasba*) appeared in the oven, that should be the sign. Three hundred years later, Sam's wife, the daughter-in-law of Noh, was taking burning reeds from the *tannūr* (clay oven) and was about to place her bread in it when she saw, in the midst of the fire, a green *ʿangara* growing. She cut it and gave it to Noh, and when he saw it, his spirit was straitened within him. He brought a pair of all animals, even the wild ones, the lions and the hares, and drove them into the ark, and he and his daughter-in-law entered the ark.

But Sam was outside in the *c̲h̲ōl* (wilderness) herding his sheep. The heavens became dark, and for forty-two days and forty-two nights it rained, and water came down from Heaven and the waters of the earth rose. Sam drove his sheep to the mountains, but they were drowned with all living things. He managed to reach the ark and, as it was shut, he climbed on to the roof of it. There Hiwel Ziwa gave him food at the times appointed for eating. The ark was carried to and fro on the water for eleven months. There was nothing but water and the only thing to be seen on the waters was the ark. The mountains, countries, and cities were all covered. At last the wind brought the ark near Egypt, and there it stopped. Noh, understanding that the water had lowered, sent off the crow, saying to him, 'Go, fly about, and bring me news of the world'. The crow flew off, but, seeing a decaying corpse in the water, he forgot the words of Noh and began to eat of it. Noh waited and then, as the crow did not return, he set a dove (*yauna*) free. She flew and saw the crow eating the carrion, and also an olive-tree growing green above the water. She took a piece of the green olive-tree in her beak, returned to Noh and gave it to him. He kissed her, opened the door, and went forth from the ark, together with his daughter-in-law, and they saw Sam, sitting on the roof of the ark.

Noh called to him, 'Descend! I am your father and here is your wife!' Sam descended and embraced his wife and father and praised the House of Life for their safety and health. Then he went out and built a house of clay in which to live, while Noh went forth to amuse himself on the earth, to walk abroad and recover. Ruha[3] came forth and saw Noh and assumed the appearance of his wife. She greeted him saying 'I am Anhuraita, your wife!' and he took her and she became pregnant and brought forth three sons, Ham, Yam, and Yafet. These were the fathers of the human race, Ham becoming father of the blacks, the *'abīd* or slaves; Yam of the white nations, Abraham and the Jews; and Yafet of the gypsies (*Kauliyah*). But Sam and his wife Anhar are the progenitors of the Mandai.

Six thousand years later, the planets, who are the children of Ruha and 'Ur, built the Sacred House, that is 'Ur Shalam—Jerusalem. (The K'aba was built by Abraham.) In Jerusalem Ruha gave a share of her kingdom to Musa (Moses) of the Beni Israiil. Musa was against the Mandai and had quarrelled with them in Egypt. Ardwan (Ardban) Melka of the Mandai had a vision and heard a voice coming out of the House of Life saying, 'Rise, go out of this place because of your health and well-being'. He rose and took the Mandai and they went out of Egypt and came to the sea which became shut off, leaving a road with mountains of sea on either side. Thus they went from Egypt. But Firukh Melka, brother of Ardwan Melka, remained in Egypt and fought with the Jews there and was surrounded and discomfited by them and fled. Seeing the road through the sea still remaining, he went with his people upon it, but when they were in the midst of the sea, the mountains of water closed upon them and they were all drowned.

Ardwan Melka with his sixty thousand Mandai travelled and travelled till at last they came to the Ṭura d Maddai.[4] The mountain opened to them, for it was high, big, and impassable, and they entered and went behind it. It closed again and Hiwel Ziwa said to Ardwan Melka 'Remain here with the Mandaeans, and the Twelve [signs of the Zodiac] and the Seven [planets] shall not rule over you'. Musa pursued them, but when he reached the Ṭura d Maddai, he could go no further and so returned and went to 'Urshalam.

There the Jews lived until Yahia (John the Baptist) was born of 'Inoshwey. Now Zakharia and 'Inoshwey were both old, but it happened like this: she drank water and became pregnant of the water. One of the Jews had dreamt that Zakharia would become a father and that his son would become a prophet, and they waited to kill Yahia. After nine months, nine weeks, nine hours, and nine minutes, 'Inoshwey was delivered of her son, and 'Annosh-'Uthra came and took the child and carried him to the Frat-Ziwa (the heavenly double of the Euphrates) and put him beneath a tree which bore a fruit like teats (*thaddi*). Yahia sucked its milk for thirty days and 'Annosh 'Uthra sent a woman named Sofan Lulaitha to tend him. On the thirty-first day, an *'uthra* came to baptize him in the *yardna* (river). He taught him his ABG, brought him the Book of Souls (Sidra d Nishmatha), put it into his hands, and taught him to read and recite it. He taught him all the Way of the House of Life. When he reached the age of twenty-one, the *'uthri* consecrated Yahia and made him a *tarmida*. They taught him all the rites of the faith and ordered him to accompany 'Annosh 'Uthra to Jerusalem so that Yahia might become a prophet there. They brought a *belum* (boat) and the two travelled and went and came by the Shaṭṭ al-Urdan (river Jordan) to 'Urshalam. When they arrived, 'Annosh 'Uthra began to cry aloud, 'If there is one here who has lost a child, let him come and claim his own!' The servant of 'Inoshwey heard, noted the description, and went back to her mistress with the news, saying, 'His eyes are like those of 'Inoshwey and his face resembled that of Zakharia'.

'Inoshwey was eighty, and had no menstruation, but was clean and pure. Zakharia was very old too. When the servant said, 'I saw a boy resembling you sitting in a *belum* in the river', 'Inoshwey rose, and in her joy went down to the river without an *'abā* (wimple-cloak) covering her head. Zakharia, seeing this, was angry at her immodesty and divorced her. Shamish (the sun-god) saw it and called out, 'I wonder that you divorce your wife without cause! She ran out in joy at knowing that her son was alive'. Zakharia answered Shamish, 'Pardon, my lord! She went forth uncovered, and I divorced her, not knowing the reason'.

'Inoshwey came down to Yahia in the river and rushed into the water, bosom-high, throat-high, and Yahia seized her and kissed her. 'Annosh-'Uthra chided him, 'Why do you kiss this Jewess?' (Lit. 'Why do you love a Jewess in her mouth', *fī ḥalgha*). 'Such conduct is forbidden, why do you thus?'

Yahia replied, 'Pardon, my lord! My Father, the Life, placed me for nine months in the womb of this woman. I lay lightly in her womb because I loved her. She is my mother, and the heart of every son yearns to his mother!'

'Annush 'Uthra said, 'Yea, verily, a man must honour his father and his mother!'

Then Yahia went into 'Urshalam. He opened the eyes of the blind, cured the sick, and made the lame to walk. The priests were angry and came to Yahia and ordered him to leave 'Urshalam immediately. Yahia refused to go and defied them, saying, 'Bring swords and cut me, bring fire and burn me, or water and drown me!'

And the priests replied, 'Yahia, we know that swords will not cut thee, nor fire burn thee, nor water drown thee'.

When Yahia began to read in his Ginza Rabba, the birds of the air spoke, praising God, and the fishes opened their mouths and glorified the Life.

NOTES ON F

The narrator was a Mandaean priest in Iran. The whole is an embroidery of narratives in the Drasha d Yahia, Ginza Rba, and Haran Gawaitha. The miraculous crossing of the sea occurs only in the Ginza, and in its Jewish form. The narrator continued the story of John, but as he kept close to the text in the Drasha d Yahia, it is not worth quoting farther.

1. Al-Bīrūnī quotes Persians and Magians as thinking that 'the first man came into existence on the equator, so that part of him in longitudinal direction was on the north, and part south of the line'. (Sachau's translation, p. 17.)

2. *Gama*—large sword.

3. *Ruha*. See p. 256. The Breath, or spirit, a personification of breath, or physical life. In the Ginza Ruha is the embodiment of the lure of the senses, the enticement of the flesh. Even when called Ruha d Qudsha (Holy

Spirit), she does not lose her bad character—probably a polemical reference. Another name for her is Namrus Zaina. In legend and popular belief Ruha assumes a kindlier character, and is again in harmony with the Great Life. (See Legend XXVIII.) The Tafsir Pag̲h̲ra, a late book, speaks of the ultimate union of *ruha* and *ns̲h̲imta* in the world of light as if they were soul and over-soul.

4. From this point, the story is founded on the Haran Gawait̲h̲a, v. p. 6 ff.

G. *Another Version of the Red Sea Story*

Para Melka was obstinate, and was punished for his obstinacy. The people of Egypt were of our religion, and Musa (Moses), who was brought up with Para Melka, learnt something of our knowledge. The Jews in general worshipped Ruha and her children, especially Yurba, and knew nothing of the Light or the teachings of the children of Light. And even to-day the Jews worship Yurba, who is of the Sun. Yurba is to the sun-ship what a captain is to an earthly ship—he controls it, but he himself is under the orders of the Lords of Light, for the children of darkness and those who are of the portion of Ruha serve the children of Light. So it was that S̲h̲amis̲h̲ gave Musa power.

The people of Musa (i.e. the Jews) and the people of Para Melka (the Egyptians) quarrelled, and Para Melka made it so difficult for the Jews that they wished to escape from the country and pass over the Sea of Suf. When they came to it, they went to the ferry which belonged to Para Melka, and said to the ferryman, 'Ferry us over in your ship'. The ferryman replied, 'I have no orders to ferry you across', and, try as they might, they were unable to persuade him.

Now Musa had a staff, and knowledge of secret names. This staff had been given him by Ruha and opened into two parts and was called *gōs* (?). Musa took this wand and struck the water and uttered names, and the water became solid like the ground, so that people could walk upon its surface like dry land. . . . Then the Jews passed over the Sea, but Musa himself remained standing in the middle and did not remove from it, for, had he come out, the power of the names would have gone with him, and his people been drowned. When the last of them had passed over, he followed them.

Then Para Melka and his people came in pursuit of them. Para Melka asked the ferryman how the Jews had passed over, and he said, 'They did not use my ship, nor did they compel me to give it to them. But Musa struck the water with his staff and spoke secret words over the water and it became dry land.'

Para Melka said 'Strange!' And he knew whence Musa had this secret knowledge, for they had both studied together when children.

Then Para Melka (having the same knowledge) struck the water with his *marg͟hna* (ritual staff, see p. 39) and it became land. But the powers on high, who hate killing and the shedding of blood, saw [and disapproved], for war and killing are forbidden amongst the children of light.

Therefore, when Para Melka passed over, he did not stop in the middle, but crossed over before all his army. Then, as soon as he had reached the other side, the waters closed upon those who were following him, and they sank beneath the surface.

NOTES ON G

The narrator was Hirmiz bar Anhar. This is a common legend and often related. Lofani is eaten once a year for the drowned Egyptians, see p. 89, at the time called As͟huriyah. In the Pis͟hra ḏ Ainia (D.C. 21) Pharaoh is called *Pirun malka ḏ miṣraiia.*

II. OF ABRAHAM AND YURBA

YURBA (pron. Yur-ba) is of the powers of Darkness. Power is given to him, but he acts as the servant of the powers of Light—for the powers of Light rule, and do not serve. Yurba is like the captain of the Lynch boats (i.e. the Lynch Navigation Company), who commands his boat but is himself under the orders of the Gumpania Lynch. It was Yurba who gave the Jews their power, and it was thus.

Abraham was of our people—we called him Bahram.

Yes, he was a Mandai, a Naṣurai. His brother was a *ris͟h 'amma* (head-of-the-people, a king-priest), and they were a family of priests. Bahram developed a sore (*dumbala*) and, because of it, he was circumcised. He was very troubled when this happened, for being thus he could no longer act as a slaughterer or priest. For the Mandai do not accept maimed persons, or those who have lost a finger, ear, or part of any member as their priests. These are henceforth unclean.

He dared not tell his brother, but his brother discovered what had happened and said to him: 'It is written that you may not be a priest any more. No doubt the origin of your sickness was in darkness, and you committed a fault; for, to the pure, no sickness may come.'

And it is so; for, if a person lives purely and does not frequent people of eHs͟huk͟ha (Darkness) and prays and keeps his thoughts clean, disease and sores do not come upon him. If a person is strong in purity and light, he may go amongst evil or sick persons and suffer no hurt: on the contrary, he has power from Mara ad Rabut͟ha (the Lord of Greatness) which goes out from him to them and heals them.

Bahram said to his brother, 'It will be better if I go out from amongst you, and go forth into the desert'.

So he left the city and established himself (for he was rich) in the desert. With him went all the unclean amongst the Ṣubba; the leprous and those who were deficient—and of these *baṣran Sira* (moon-deficients, see p. 326) their descendants are unclean and deficient until the seventh generation. They went, the leprous and the unclean, with their children and their families, and Bahram began to worship Yurba. Yurba came to him on the wind and began to rule him and his people in all that they did. He said, 'Do thus', and they obeyed, Bahram and his people.

Thus Bahram became a large tribe and a powerful people. Yurba had been given power in this world, and he gave to Bahram such magic power that fire was unable to burn him.

Amongst the Mandai and Naṣurai also there were those who quarrelled [with the true believers], and they joined themselves with Bahram, who said to them, 'I have power from Yurba and can conquer'.

They they and Bahram sought to force the Mandai, saying, 'Come with us and be like us, or we will fight with you!'

The Mandai answered them, 'We may not fight, because it is forbidden to us to kill men'.

Bahram said to them, 'Then I shall take you by force'. And he caught them as opportunity offered, on the roads or in the wilderness, and circumcised them by force, thus making them lacking and unclean like himself. If they resisted, he killed them.

The Naṣurai sent to reason with him, saying, 'Why do you seize people thus and circumcise them or kill them? You commit sin and will be punished.'

Bahram replied, 'My power is of Yurba and not from Melka Ziwa: what can you do?'

Now there was a *ris̲h̲ ʿamma* and he had power. Ruha herself used to appear to him. And she came to him and he said to her, 'Bahram is working us hurt by power of Yurba, what can we do against him?'

Ruha replied, 'He has a certain right, for when Melka Ziwa brought me and my children from the realms of darkness, I besought Melka d̲ Anhura (the Light King) that I should have my portion. I said to him "Give me *sahm*, a share, something of my own". And Melka d̲ Anhura granted me this and divided the world into periods in which I and my children had power: one portion was to the water, another portion to the fire and another to war.' (For a gardener who works in a garden has his wage, and from the time of Abraham there was a period of power for Ruha and Yurba.) Ruha took a boy and a girl from amongst the children of Adam Pag̲h̲ra (see p. 253), enticing them away by ornaments and songs and dances, and carried them away to China, where they increased and multiplied and became many. Their worship was of Ruha and her children, and as these have sicknesses and *mikrobāt* and diseases of all kinds in their hands to give or to withhold, they withheld evil gifts from these children of Adam, so that they grew and prospered.

Hiwel Ziwa went to Ruha and reproached her: 'Why dost thou thus?'

She replied, 'You took me away from my people—may I not have my portion from the children of Adam, something of my own?'

He said, 'Those you have taken away may remain yours, but you must not take any others of the children of Adam.'

Thus, likewise, Yurba had power, and it was by this power that Abraham became strong. It was permitted to Yurba and to Ruha and her children, for Hiwel Ziwa had taken Zahariel, Ruha's sister, to spouse, and it was because of this that he listened to the voice of Ruha when she asked for her portion (of power).

And, from that time, the Jews were strong, and the Prophet Musa (Moses), too, had his strength from Yurba.

But Prophet Moses never suffered himself to be circumcised, neither did the prophet Jesus, for Jesus was of our sect, and they do not allow mutilations.

NOTES ON II

'The first Greek book we know of in which the Jews were held up to odium was not written by a Greek, but by an Egyptian, Manetho, who wrote, under the patronage of the Ptolemaic court, a history of his people for the Greek public (early third century B.C.). He gave currency to the story that the Jews were descended from a section of the Egyptian people which had been expelled from Egypt because they were afflicted with leprosy and scrofula.' (E. R. Bevan in *The Legacy of Israel*, p. 33, Oxf. Univ. Press.)

A similar story is repeated by Josephus in his *Against Apion*, vol. v, pp. 206–18, as being an Egyptian calumny about Moses. Al-Bīrūnī (A.D. 973–1048) repeats this story in more or less the Mandaean version:

'The remnant of these Ṣābians (i.e. those who followed Budhasaf, Buddha) are living in Ḥarrân, their name (i.e. *al-Ḥarrâniya*) being derived from their place. Others derive it from Ḥârân b. Teraḥ, the brother of Abraham, saying that he among their chiefs was the most deeply imbued with their religion and its most tenacious adherent. Ibn Sankila (Syncellus), the Christian, relates in a book which he, intending to refute their creed, stuffed with lies and futile stories, that Abraham left their community simply because leprosy appeared on his foreskin, and that everybody who suffered from this disease was considered impure and excluded from all society. Therefore, he cut off his foreskin, i.e. he circumcised himself. In this state he entered one of their idol-temples, when he heard a voice speaking to him, 'O Abraham, you went away from us with one sin, and you return to us with two sins. Go away, and do not again come to us.'

'Therefore Abraham, seized by wrath, broke the idols in pieces and left their community. But, after having done it, he repented and wished to sacrifice his son to the planet Saturn, it being their custom to sacrifice their children, as that author maintains. Saturn, however, on seeing him truly repentant, let him go free with the sacrifice of a ram.'

(Al-Ḅīrūnī denies that the Ḥarranians sacrificed human beings.)

The story seems undoubtedly of Babylonian, rather than Egyptian or Greek origin, and was invented to explain circumcision.

Yurba (Lidzbarski transcribes mistakenly Yorabba) is in Mandaean literature identified with the sun. In the Drasha d Yahya he is called the 'warlike', and in a magic roll addressed to the seven planets Shamish is addressed as Yurba. Since the pronunciation is Yur-ba, and not Yu-rabba, I think we are justified in considering *Yur* another form of 'Ur, or of Yawar, i.e. meaning 'giving blinding, dazzling light', i.e. Yur-Rba.

III. HOW HIBIL ZIWA FETCHED RUHA FROM THE DARKNESS

RUHA was the daughter of Hagh and his wife Magh in the world of Darkness. It was Hiwel Ziwa who brought her out of the World of Darkness of which Akrun is the ruler. With him are Gaf and Gafan, who are male and female, Hagh and Magh of whom I have just spoken, Sargi and Sargani,[1] also male and female, and Ashdum, who had Ruha for consort. The lion, scorpion, and hornet are their symbols.

But I will tell you how Ruha came to the upper worlds.

Once the *melki* and the *'uthri*, twelve thousand of them, wished to see Melek Ziwa (the Light King), the great god of all, for each had a question to ask about the created world, such as 'Why are the trees green?' 'Why does this happen, and why that?' and so on. Each one of them had a question. They mounted vehicles like ships that moved by electricity[2] and they rose from Awathur until they reached the highest heaven. When they had attained the highest heaven, a blinding light fell upon them, and they could not gaze, but fell on their faces. Only Hiwel Ziwa, who was with them, remained upright.

Now with Melek Ziwa are two mighty spirits called S͟his͟hlam Rabba,[3] the Road-Opener, and Yawar Rabba. Hiwel Ziwa begged S͟his͟hlam Rabba to open him a road through the barring light so that he might approach Melek Ziwa, Lord of All Things, and Melek Ziwa gave S͟his͟hlam Rabba permission, saying, 'Go, bring Hiwel Ziwa to me!' The others could not approach, but remained prostrate; but the answers to their questions came into their minds without the asking. Moreover, when the *'ut͟hri* and *melki* yearned to see the Lord of All, they beheld in their minds a Countenance of Light, which was the likeness of God, whose other name is Parṣufa Rabba ad 'Iqara (Great Countenance of Glory). This is his secret Name, which none but the initiated know. I have declared this sacred name to you! When they saw this vision, the *melki* and the *'ut͟hri* began to pray and worship.

As for Hiwel-Ziwa, who had approached nearer than they, he received such sovereign power that whatever he sought, he obtained.

He told the *melki*, 'I am going to descend, and to build a world called Olma ad eHs͟huk͟ha' (World of Darkness, i.e. the physical world).

He descended, and went lower and lower and lower, for years and years, until he reached Akrun Ṭura ad Besera (Krun, Mountain of Flesh) in the depths of creation. The whole visible world rests on this king of darkness, and his shape is that of a huge louse.

When he saw Hiwel Ziwa, Akrun said, 'Why hast thou come to our realm? How didst thou travel hither? Now I will swallow thee up!' and he opened his mouth wide. The throat of Akrun is vast, and it has such power of suction that everything is drawn into it.

Now Melek Ziwa had sent two powerful spirits to protect Hiwel Ziwa, for in the realm of spirits one is more powerful than another, and these fought beside Hiwel Ziwa.

When Akrun wished to shake Hiwel Ziwa from his place and swallow him, these thrust a light like a sword into the throat of Akrun, and the latter feared, knowing that a mightier than he had come and that the power of Hiwel Ziwa was from the King of the Light of Day. For Ziwa means the pure light of the day, while Anhura means the light of the moon.

When Hiwel Ziwa saw that Akrun, Lord of Darkness, was thus smitten, he said, 'This is the work of Melek Ziwa!' and he commanded Akrun, saying, 'I have come to take Ruha. Let Ashdum, her spouse, give her up.' Now Ruha is the breath of life in the created world, and our breath is from her.

Then the powers of darkness gave Ruha to Hiwel Ziwa, and, at that time, she was pregnant. With her, Hiwel Ziwa took a talisman, a seal, upon which were depicted the likeness of Gaf and the scorpion Hagh. This was to protect Ruha when she set out on her journey to the upper worlds.

Ruha asked Hiwel Ziwa, 'Whither takest thou me?'

He showed her the path.

Now, Ruha had a sister, named Zahariel.[4] When she beheld Hiwel Ziwa, Zahariel loved him, and, as nothing was hidden from him, he knew that she yearned for him. So he took her also, with Ruha. She bore him a son, Pthahil. So Pthahil, who takes souls to be weighed and sends his spirits to fetch souls from their bodies, is the child of both Light and Darkness.

NOTES ON III

1. An error. Zartai-Zartanai in the Mandaean MSS. is the name of a single personage: his spouse is Amamit.

2. *Electricity*—a favourite simile with Hirmiz.

3. *Shishlam Rabba.* The name occurs often in ritual, especially in connexion with the banner and myrtle. He is the guardian spirit of Mshunia Kushṭa and the archetype of priesthood.

4. *Zahariel.* Identified with Ishtar and Venus. See pp. 46–7.

The narrator was Hirmiz bar Anhar.

In the 5th book (rt. side) of the Ginza Rba, Hibil Ziwa (here spoken of as the son of Manda d Hiia) goes to the underworld. He reaches the first world of darkness 'in which Ruha lived' and abides there 1,000 myriad years—'in this world I was hidden from your eyes'.

Then he descends into the realm of Zartai-Zartanai and his spouse Amamit. Here he worked as redeemer and helper for 'generations and generations' and 'learnt what was in their heart'.

Next he descended into the realm of Hag and Mag, and spent 60,000 myriad years there.

Next, into the world of Gaf and Gafan, 'many myriads of miles lower'. 'They resemble dragons', and proceed from 'the black, hissing, seething water'. He bound these monsters with their *liliths* and salamanders.

From hence, he rose again and entered the world of Anatan and his spouse Qin. 'Qin, named Mother of Darkness.' Here again, he worked as redeemer and teacher.

Then he approached Shdum, 'king of the dark world', and questioned him about the 'son who would fight against the world of light'. Shdum sent him on to the great Giu who sent him to Karkum (Krun). Hibil Ziwa addresses this being, 'Peace to thee, First Born, King of Darkness, Krun, Great Mountain of Flesh!' The great Krun tries to swallow him, but Hibil Ziwa 'surrounds himself with swords and Krun is wounded and surrenders, crying, "Ye are gods—we are mortal! Ye are great, we are small!"'

Krun furnishes him with a pass or talisman which will enable him to pass without hindrance through the underworlds again. Hibil Ziwa passes through them to the world of Gaf and Gafan and their mother Qin, who gives her daughter to Gaf, her son (Ruha's brother). Ruha becomes pregnant of 'Ur. (Hirmiz is mistaken as to Ruha's husband).

Hibil Ziwa relates, 'I took the form of one of them, but was lovelier than them all. I went then and came to Qin and said to her, "Peace to thee, great Mother, Mother of all the world!". Thereon she spake, "Peace on thee, our great, beloved comrade!". I took her by the hand and said to her, "How many daughters hast thou, so that I may become thy son-in-law and sojourn with thee in this world?"'

Qin goes to Gaf who gives the suitor Zahriil.

There follows a charming description of the wedding, but Hibil Ziwa refuses to eat and drink with them, and does not consummate the marriage, excusing himself, and consummating it later by a proxy, or double, representing himself.

Then he ascends with Ruha, who is pregnant, to the first world and leaves her there, guarded by 'seven walls, an iron wall in her world, so that no-one can take her from her world'.

This accomplished, he returns to the world of light, but makes several visits to the forsaken and weeping Ruha in the guise of her husband Gaf. Her pregnancy lasts thousands of myriads of years, and he tells her, 'When thou has borne 'Ur thou wilt see me no more'.

'Ur is born, and grows into a giant. He desires to see his parents and the world of light, and Ruha, mistress of magic arts, shows him the latter in a mirror.

'Ur decides to fight against the world of light, but is bound and watchers are set over him. Ruha becomes his paramour, and bears first the seven planets and next the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

Yawar, the spirit of light, sets the planets in their ships and lends them their light.

Such is the tale told in the Ginza and its roots go back into the earliest antiquity. See p. 256.

The tale is repeated in a shorter form in the 4th book, rt. side.

IV. THE STORY OF QIQEL AND THE DEATH OF YAHYA

QIQEL was a *yalufa* (literate). He loved learning and piety and was devout. But his heart yearned to see, so that he might have certainty of the spiritual world. He dwelt in the wilderness and in the mountains, wandering from place to place and worshipping God continually. He took with him only a little food and a skin of water, and travelled like that—a *darwīsh*.

He fared on and on, and in the midst of a desert place he saw a domed chamber and a *darwīsh* near it. The *darwīsh* had built the dome of clay, and had fashioned it so that just below the dome there were twelve round openings, thus the sun, as it travelled round the sky, lit each in turn.[1] The place was clean and well-tended. Qiqel gazed at the dome and the *darwīsh* asked him, 'What are you staring at—you?'

Qiqel answered, 'My heart loves this building! It is beautiful!'

Said the *darwīsh*, 'If your heart loves it, it is a sign that your honour is one who knows' (*'ālim*).

Said Qiqel, 'I should like to see what is within this shrine.'

Answered the *darwīsh*, '*Khāṭrak*! For your sake, I will show you!' And he opened the door and they gazed within. At first Qiqel saw nothing but an empty, clean place.

Said the *darwīsh*, 'Enter and sit!' They entered, and Qiqel sat and the *darwīsh* with him.

Then the *darwīsh* said to Qiqel, 'Gaze at that opening', and they both gazed, and the *darwīsh* recited prayers softly, recited softly. Qiqel listened, and by degrees it appeared to him that he was listening to Mandaean invocations. He recognized Mandaean words of prayer and incantation, and, as he glanced into the gloom of the room, there appeared before him suddenly something in the guise of a being of light. The light played and radiated. Then he heard the *darwīsh* recite, 'In the name of the Great Life! I have purified my hands...' a prayer of the King of Light.

Qiqel gazed and he saw light, more light, light, and spirits of light. The more the *darwīsh* read the more radiant the light became.

The *darwīsh* said to him, 'There are ninety *butha* (prayers). Each time, thirty *butha* must be recited.'

After the visions had passed, they talked to each other, and Qiqel asked the *darwīsh*, 'Of what sect (*milla*), of what religion, is your honour?'

The *darwīsh* replied, 'I am alone. There were others like me, but the Jews killed them.'

Qiqel said, 'Nay, but you are a Mandai!'

Said the *darwīsh*, 'From whence knew you the Mandai?'

Qiqel answered him, 'I Qiqel, who sit before you, I am a Mandai!'

When the *darwīsh* heard that, he fell into his arms and they kissed each other and wept, till the *darwīsh* said, 'Why weep? I am happy! My heart rejoices!'

Qiqel said, 'And I too am happy, for I have seen that which I have seen!' and he said to the *darwīsh*, 'We are brothers! Let us live and die together. Do not depart from me, and I will not depart from you. We will pray always together.'

So it was. They saw many visions. They saw a vision of Liwet Qadeshta (Venus the Sacred); they saw the likeness of Shamish and Sin, and the head of 'Ur which is lifted towards Awathur, and the *'uthri* who are with the stars. They saw them in the clay room, from the openings.

And after that they rose and collected some of the Naṣurai and Mandai who had been scattered in the district and they taught them. Ten men, ten pious men, they brought to be of their fellowship. And they made an image of him whom they had seen in the sky—of him at whom they had gazed through the opening. They made images of them all in stone, of Nirigh, of Bel, of Liwet and Sin, and this last, of the moon, had seven heads branching out like a tree. Of Shamish, the sun, they also made an image, but they were unable to make it aright, for he is all light, many-eyed, of various appearances, of different forms which turn and wheel and radiate. But they made an image of a person sitting, of extreme beauty, like one form of Shamish.[2] When one sees Shamish in this form, a sweet wind breathes upon one, and one swoons away because of its great loveliness. All the images which were made and worshipped later in that place had their origin in the images which these two made.[3]

The name of that *darwīsh* was Bahram, and he had a special secret knowledge which he imparted to his pupils. When they knew it, they might be thrown into fire, and they would not burn, and into water, and they would not drown, nor would a sword eat them, for, if a man drew a sword against them it was he who fell, not they. Such power came from them that it repulsed the sword. Their place was in the north—somewhere near Damascus, Jerusalem, and Egypt.

At one time the Mandai were the masters of the north and of this country also. Their origin was of the mountains, and they always loved mountains better than the plains, for in the hills there are springs in which to bathe, in winter warm, and in summer cold. For our people have always loved bathing and washing.

But of these *darāwīsh*, Bahram, Qiqel, and their brethren. Once a tribe, a people, came upon them and asked, 'Who are ye?'

They replied, 'We are *darāwīsh* who have settled here.'

They said, '*Darāwīsh*! What is your occupation?'

They answered, 'We till the ground, and harvest and pray. That is all.' For they had no wives. They had become learned in the knowledge of those who travel in arks (i.e. the planets) and had acquired knowledge of their speech, for all the stars talk in Mandaean. (Each star is far from the other and has a great world attached to it. But one star sees its fellows from afar off, perfectly, and they talk, one with another, through space. When they pray, it is like the singing of birds. All the stars pray. The northern stars pray twelve *butha* and the rest seven *buwath*.[4] A pure soul can hear the prayers of the Sun and the prayers of the stars in their places, like the singing of birds. But one day of the year they chant the name of God in unison, and the music of it is like the music which the Angrezi (*English*) make (*in orchestras*). If a man is pure and knowing, he hears it, he starts from his sleep and prays with them, but men who are not knowing they hear nothing. A man who hears, does not so with his physical ears, he hears the singing within him (*the narrator struck his head*). Lady! a man who knows, hears the sound of prayer always, for everything that exists, *'uthri*, stars, all creation, prays continually!)

The strange tribe said to the *darāwīsh*, 'Teach us your knowledge, or we shall kill you!'

They denied the possession of knowledge.

The people and their leader rose and made a huge fire and said, 'Bring them here and throw them on the fire!'

They threw them on the fire, but the *darāwīsh* began to walk about in the fire and were not burnt. Then they threw more of them into the fire, but they did not burn: they walked in the fire.

The leader gazed, and he thought he saw a light descending from the sky which turned about each one of them, so that the fire could not touch them; and a radiance shone about them. These men could not be killed for their power was from God. Qiqel smiled at their king from the midst of the fire.

The king said to Qiqel, 'Why do you smile?'

Qiqel replied, 'You rule this people, yet have no understanding. You cannot kill us or harm us, indeed, you should fear us! Are you not afraid of such people as we?'

The king's advisers said to him, 'Baba! We are afraid of them! Let us depart! Better let us depart!' But there was with the king a man who had knowledge, but of Darkness. The king said, 'Bring that one!' They brought him.

The king asked, 'What are these people whom we are unable to burn?'

The man replied, 'These worship Melka ad Ziwa and Melka ad Anhura. They have knowledge of the Light and of the Darkness.'

The king said, 'Can you not prevail against them?'

The man said, 'Never! For they do not use magic, but knowledge. Their power, it is of God.'

Said the king, 'Will they not teach us their knowledge?'

The other replied, 'No, they never teach it!'

The king said, 'Can you do nothing against them?'

The wizard said, 'By day I cannot harm them, for my power is of the Darkness.'

Said the king, 'Good! Harm them by night. I want to test the power of your learning.'

The magician arose, and in the night he strewed sand round the Mandai. They looked and understood perfectly what he was doing. The sand changed, and became soldiers, each with a sword in his hand. When the king saw it, he was delighted, and cried, 'Now we can fall upon them!'

He went to the Mandai again, and said to them, 'Either teach us, or these soldiers will kill you!'

Bahram answered, 'These soldiers can kill your soldiers but not us!' Said the king, 'How so?' Bahram said, 'A little patience, and you will see. You and your people are slow of understanding.' Then Qiqel read a *butha* of Pthahil (see p. 95). The soldiers advanced against them and were hurled back. They could not even come near them!

Bahram said, 'Let no harm come to these! Let them return to their place!'

The king went to the magician and said, 'See, your soldiers are being repulsed, they are retreating!' The magician replied: 'My soldiers can do nothing because the power of these men is stronger. Let us depart from them: it will be better.'

Then the king went to Bahram and Qiqel and said, 'I am your suppliant! I crave to know how you get such a result, that, and that only.'

They answered him, 'We are *darāwīsh*! God gave us the knowledge which we possess through prayer. All our power is of God!'

The king said, 'With such power, why do you not become sultans?'

They replied, 'Why should we become sultans? What are sultans? God is the Sultan. Moreover, we have no wish for servants to do this and that for us. We work for ourselves and we prepare our food with our own two hands.'

The king said to them, 'Good! And if I worship and pray?'

They said, 'If you pray and exercise justice, you will become a good man.'

He went, that king, and he left everything, and he became a *darwīsh*, taking nothing with him but a bag and a bowl. Only, he took some precious stones with him so that, if he were in need, he could sell them and get what was necessary. He journeyed and journeyed, until he came to the Jordan, where Yahya was baptizing.

When the king saw Yahya, he said to him, 'Baptize me!' and Yahya baptized him. When the baptism was over, Yahya began to question him, 'Who are you? Whence came you?' He answered, 'I am So-and-So and I saw such-and-such *darāwīsh* in the desert', telling him what had happened.

Yahya said, 'These people are sacred, for they know the true name of God, and fire cannot burn them nor water drown them, nor the sword eat them.'

The king said, 'Your honour—are you not like them?'

Yahya replied, 'Aye, I am one of them. . . .'[5]

Now, as the king and Yahya were talking together a little child aged about three years approached Yahya, and said to him, 'Come, baptize me!'

The king was astonished, and said to Yahya, 'He asks to be baptized at his age!'

Yahya said, 'I am tired and wish to sleep now. Come to-morrow, and I will baptize you, for I have baptized many to-day, and need twelve hours' sleep.'

The boy said, 'Aye, come out of the water now and sleep!'

John came out, and the child gazed at him, and immediately Yahya sank into a deep sleep on the shore of the river. The king stared at the child, who, though so little, had caused Yahya to sleep by looking at him—a strange thing. And Yahya slept the sleep of a night in the space of half an hour.

Then he awoke and said to the child, 'Still waiting? and I have slept a long time! Have you no people? Why did you not go to them?'

The child replied, 'My people are everywhere.'

Said Yahya, 'Your people are everywhere? How can that be?'

The child said, 'Baptize me now, and I will tell you!'

Yahya entered the water, but when the boy stepped into the Jordan, the water rose like a mountain and retreated before him, leaving dry land. The fishes lifted their heads from the water and prayed.

Yahya cried, 'Your honour is no boy! The water flees from before you!'

The child said, 'Baptize me!'

Yahya replied, 'I cannot! The water rises and departs from you.'

The birds saw and came and hovered over their heads crying out the names of God, 'Yu$\underline{\text{kh}}$awar Ziwa!'[6] 'Manda-ṭ-Haiy!' again and again.

Yahya said to the child, 'I am your suppliant! You are no little boy! Disclose to me your nature and your name!'

The child replied, 'Have no fear! I am Manda-ṭ-Haiy (*Manda-ḏ Hiia*), did you not hear the birds proclaim it?'

(And, lady, when the birds cry in the morning, they cry the name of God, each in his own particular tongue—the sparrow, the hoopoe, the vulture, each has his own cry—one sound, whereas the sons of Adam have many different cries and sounds. Yes, one sparrow cries like another! But God gives them the power of distinguishing each other, and a cock-sparrow knows his wife out of thousands!)

The child said, 'I am Manda-ṭ-Haiy and I have come to take your soul above.'

(He came in the shape of a little child, but he could take any shape that it pleased him—fire, cloud, or anything. For just as when you think of a thing it takes shape in your mind, so great spirits can think of things, and they are!)

The child took the hand of Yahya in his, and the soul of Yahya left him and his body died in the river.

The king departed, having seen all, and been enlightened, he went, and spoke to all he met of what he had seen and heard.

Now, when he had left his body Yahya looked down and saw his corpse in the water. The birds descended upon it and began to peck at it, for it began to decay. The vulture flew down, and began to pluck out the eyes.

Yahya gazed at it, and Manda-ṭ-Haiy said, 'Why gaze on that? That is a corrupt thing, of the earth!' And Manda-ṭ-Haiy seized earth and buried it. Yahya was glad, for he had loved his earthly body, which we call *paghra* or *ʿoṣtuna*, and did not wish it harmed. And the grave still appears above the Jordan like a mound, and the Mandai know it for Yahya's grave.

But he was taken and borne to the Realm of Light, and to Shamish and the Lord of Radiance, and joined in the perpetual worship of the Light King.

NOTES ON IV

1. Dimeshqī says:

فمن هياكل الصابية القايلين بتسلسل العلل الى علّة العلل هيكل العلّة الاولّى
وهو سور مستديرة كانه نصف كُرَة منطبقة على الارض انطباق الخيمة وفى اعلاها
ثمانية واربعون كُوّة وفى مشرقه ومغربه كذلك والشمس تشرق كل يوم من كوّة دون
البواقى وتغيب عن نظيرها وترسل نورها من كوة من اعلا الهيكل كذلك عند حالة
الاستواء ولهم فى هذا الهيكل تسبيح وتقديس مخلوط بشركٍ وذلك فى ايّام اعيادهم
المخصوصة بهم والله اعلم وهيكل العقل الاول سور مستدير كذلك بغير كوى وهيكل

السياسة مور مستدير كذلك بغير كوى وهيكل الصورة [الضرورة] وفيه امثلة تخاطيط
الاكرة العشرة وهيكل النفس مستدير كذلك وفيه صورة انسانٍ وله رؤوس كثيرة
منوّعه وايدى وارجل كثيرة .
Ch.Ṣ., vol. ii, pp. 381–2.

2. Hirmiz has an especial Shamish cult. He said to me once, 'I worship all the *melki*, but my especial worship is of the Sun. It is of Shamish. But I love them all, for all are creations of God. Even the Darkness, and for this reason I love even the Darkness and the creatures of Darkness, Akrun, Hagh and Magh, and the other beings of the Darkness. I love them all, for all are of God.'

3. *Images of the planets*. Dimeshqī writes of the Ḥarrānians (Ch.Ṣ., vol. ii, pp. 408–9):

واما الفرقة الاخرى عبدة الاصنام فقالوا فى سبب عبادتهم الاصنام انه لما كان لا بدّ من متوسّط يتوسّل به ويستشفع به وكانت الروحانيات التى هى الملائكة الوسايل والوسايط وكنا لا نراها ولا نُواجِهها ولا يستحقّ التقرّب اليها الّا بهياكلها التى هى الكواكب والهياكل قد ترى فى وقت ولا ترى فى وقت اخر لان لها افولا وطاوعا وظهورا بالليل وخفا بالنهار فلم يصف لنا التقرت بها والتوجّه اليها فلا بدّ من صور واشخاص موجودة قايمة منصوبة نصيبًا عيانًا نعبدها ونتقرب بها ونتوسّل الى الهياكل بها لتقرّبنا الى الروحانيّات فيقرّبونا الى الله تعالى فاتّخذوا اصناما وزعموا انها على اشكال الهياكل السبعة كما تقدّم القول به

4. According to Mandaeans: Shamish (sun) prays 900 *butha* a day, looking towards Abathur; 300 at dawn, 300 at noon and 300 in the afternoon (*'asr*). Sin (the moon) prays 100 *butha*, Liwet (Libat) 500, and so on. Cf. the Yurba fragment (JB. p. 183; I fancy Lidzbarski has mistranslated this particular passage).

5. I omit here a repetition of the sword, fire, and water story. Cf. JB., p. 96: 'The priests spoke unto Yahya in Jerusalem, "Yahya, go out from our places, Yohana, go out from our town. Thy voice has caused the temple to quake, from the sound of thy exhortations the temple quaked, from the thunder of thy speeches the dome of the priests quaked." Thereupon Yahya answered the priests in Jerusalem: "Bring fire and burn me, bring a sword and cut me into pieces!" Then the priests answered Yahya in Jerusalem: "Fire burns thee not, O Yahya, for the Name of the Life has been uttered over thee. A sword cannot cut thee into pieces, Yahya, for the Son of the Life rests here upon thee."' Yahya, the Arabic form of Yuhana, John, pleases Mandaean conceptions because of its meaning, 'He lives'.

6. *Yukabar Ziwa*. Of all the divine beings with the prefix Yu, Yukabar Ziwa is most often named. He is sometimes identified with Kushta, sometimes with the Creator and sometimes with Habshaba.

GENERAL

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar. There is in this legend a mixture of three. The only Qiqil who appears in Mandaean MSS. is the heretic Qiqil of Ṭib in the Haran Gawaitha (see p. 8). The account of the celibate and certainly pagan society of derwishes in the north identified with the Mandaeans is interesting, and their fame as astrologers and star-readers seems to point to some such community as the Essenes. The fire story is a Mandaean version of the legend told by the Arabs of Nimrud and Abraham, and by the Jews of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. The latter story is more Magian than Jewish in character, and the vegetarian diet of Daniel and his skill as magician is Persian rather than Hebraic.

The story of the death of John is told in the Ginza, rt. side (GR., pp. 192–6).

V. NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S DAUGHTER

ONCE on a time the Mandai, the Naṣurai, and the Tarmidi had their dwellings in Jerusalem. The Naṣurai there had a place apart, a building in which they worshipped and practised their rites, so secluded that no one could overlook them and no one might enter it. The daughter of Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon (and she was a Jewess)[1] went to Jerusalem and hired a house next to the building belonging to the Naṣurai. Then she made a hole in the wall, covering it with something transparent, so that she could see through it and overhear what was said, and what was read, and so learn their secret doctrine. She was very learned and quick of understanding, and after she had remained at the hole morning, noon, and night, always listening and studying, she arrived at understanding and learning what they read and their secret knowledge. Their writings, the *Ta'alūm as-Sirāni*, she learnt by heart. When they read from the Ginza Rabba she wrote down the words and conned them, until she had learnt and understood all. She remained in Jerusalem, studying thus, and did not return to her people.

Now the Naṣurai have some secret knowledge (*'ilm*) which they only repeat softly, whispering,[2] and they meet to practise this on the first and fifth days (Sunday and Thursday).[3] She perceived that when they were engaged in this secret rite a light descended upon them, coming and going, giving and taking, between them and Heaven. (*The narrator made the motion of descent and ascent with his hands.*)

One Sunday, one of the Naṣurai remained behind when the others had gone out from their prayer to pleasure themselves in the garden: and he took that secret book containing the ritual which they whispered, and he began to read it aloud. She was listening near him, and she wrote it all down. In this secret ritual they (*the initiates*) conversed with the world of light: with Adam Kasya, the Occult Adam who is of Mshuni Kushṭa, and with the spirits of Light. For we say that there are two Adams, Adam Paghra, the physical Adam, and Adam Kasya, the secret Adam who is of the world of Mshuni Kushṭa. The people of Mshuni Kushṭa are pure and perfect, and only the pure and perfect see them. They converse freely with the *'uthri* and the *melki*.

When the princess had learnt this knowledge, she was very happy. She rejoiced exceedingly, and on the first day she began to do as they did on that day, and to perform their ritual with them: but they did not know that she was performing it, for she was always in her hiding-place. On the fifth day, likewise, she did as they did, and followed their ritual exactly. She had a chapel built in her house which was like their place in every particular, and kept it closed and secret, so that not one of her people knew what was in it. When thus engaged, one Sunday, she saw a light coming from above and falling on her face, and she was enraptured and spoke with the Light, not with words, for the Light entered into the thoughts within her head. She cried, 'I will go to their place! I will see the other World! I wish to see with my eyes, wholly!'

The Light said to her, 'Go to the Naṣurai! They will give you the Way.'

On the first day of the Feast of the Five Days (Paranaia)[4] she rose from her place and went to the Naṣurai, seized the Ginza Rabba, and began to read it. They were amazed. They said, 'Can this girl be a Naṣurai?' and began to talk amongst themselves, saying, 'This knowledge must have been given her by God, for who else could have been her teacher?'

The princess said to them, 'Baptize me! Make me a Mandaean!'

As soon as the Jews learnt of her conversion they rushed to the Mandai and made a great tumult and shouting. The priests, elders, and learned men of the Jews went to her and reasoned with her, saying, 'There will be killer and killed, you must return to your own place and marry there.'

The girl said to them, 'I am not forced to do so, and there need be no killing on my account. Neither do I want a husband. I want neither money nor power, nor marriage. I only wish to serve God wholly.'

They said to her, 'Leave the Naṣurai!'

She replied, 'I will not leave the Naṣurai! You have not the knowledge that they have.'

(Now this girl was the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and he was king of Babylon, and a Jew. Later, he left his kingdom and became a Naṣurai, and the kingdom was taken by the Assyrians, who drove out the Babylonians, as you will hear.)

The priests replied, 'We will kill them or learn their secrets!'

She said, 'Do not be foolish! You cannot kill them and learn their secrets! If you do, God will punish you!'

The Jews assembled in arms and wished to drag her away by force.

The Naṣurai said to them, 'Your daughter came to us: we did not compel her. Take her and go away.'

But the princess would not agree to go with the Jews, and when they tried to take her by force she began to read her secret doctrine, and whenever they approached her, their breath was taken from them by some invisible means. The Jews began to fear, and some of them tried to kill the Mandai. The Naṣurai arose, and by the power which they had on the Sunday they conversed with the spirits (*melki*) who said to them, 'Go to the Mountain of the Mandai.'[5]

Many of the Mandai and Naṣurai went. They prepared themselves for the journey and were led by the Naṣurai. They were given such strength that, in a single day's march, they performed a forty days' journey. Each day they sowed millet, which grew and ripened by the power of God, so that they were never hungry. For forty days they travelled thus, performing in each day a forty days' journey. Thus, quickly and with ease, they reached the Mountain of the Mandai, where they were happy and peaceful, enjoying the beautiful climate. There they could pray and live untroubled, and they said, 'God has saved us from these people'.

Meanwhile, some of the Jews pursued the Mandai. When they had travelled for forty days, they saw the green millet and the marks of the camp fires, and said, 'Now we have them, and will seize them! They must be near.' But they never caught them. At last, after many days, the Jews approached the Mountain of the Mandai, where the Mandai were living with the daughter of the King of Babylon, who had made herself a place where she could worship like the Naṣurai.

When they were within sight of the mountain a light like a sword came down from on high before them, and whenever one of them advanced he died.

Their priests consulted together and said, 'There is no escape! We must return!' and they went back to their place and were sad and cast down.

Now some Naṣurai had not journeyed away with the rest, and the Jews came upon them and seized them.

The Naṣurai said to them, 'What do you want?'

The Jews replied, 'We want your secret knowledge! Teach us and we will not kill you.'

The Naṣurai answered, 'We have no secret knowledge—there is none!'

The Jews said, 'Teach us! Is it not better than dying?'

The Naṣurai answered, 'There is no secret knowledge, so how can we teach you? There is none!'

Then the Jews killed one of them, and then a second, saying always, 'Teach us the meaning of your doctrine, or you shall die like these!'

But the Naṣurai continued to deny them, saying, 'Kill us if you will—secret knowledge there is none!'

They killed them all, and learnt nothing.

Then the Jews went to their Temple in Jerusalem and assembled there—rabbis and cohens—they all went. Their heart was afraid, knowing that they had killed these people (*wrongly*). In the morning they saw a white bird[6] hovering above the Temple. All gazed at the bird, and, as they looked, a fire came from Heaven and consumed all those who had harried and killed the Naṣurai. The rest of the Jews fled into the desert, fearing greatly. The fire was so fierce that it penetrated twelve *nasakh* into the ground.

Some of the Jews fled until they reached Babylon. The King Nebuchadnezzar (*Bukhtanaṣṣar*) said to the rabbis and cohens, 'Why did you thus? Why did you kill these people of your own blood without right?'

They replied, 'The girl was your daughter, and we were angry for your sake.'

He said to them, 'Did my daughter go because she was enamoured of a man?' They answered him, 'No.'

He asked, 'What was her purpose, and why did she go?'

They said, 'The Naṣurai have a secret doctrine, and that was the reason.'

The king replied, 'I myself, and my following, we will go also and become of their company.'

He and his wise men left the Kingdom and went to the Mountain of the Mandai.[5] Then he, and his wise men and all who had accompanied them, were made Mandai, and the king learnt the secret doctrine from his daughter.

But, since that time, because they behaved so wickedly, the Jews (*i.e. Chaldaeans*) have had no king in Babylon.

Whom God wishes to instruct, he causes to learn his doctrine, however secret, and it is my wish that you too, who love knowledge, shall become enlightened, even as this king's daughter!

NOTES ON V

1. i.e. a Chaldean. Both Jews and Chaldeans are called Yahuṭaiia in Mandaean scripts, showing that by the Mandai they were considered one nation. Cf. the apocryphal book of Judith (v. 6) where Achior says to Holofernes, 'This people is descended of the Chaldaeans'. Similarly Josephus (*Against Apion*, vol. v, p. 185) writes: 'Our original ancestors were Chaldaeans, and they mention us Jews in their records because of the relationship between us'. Generally, Nebuchadnezzar is called a Yahuṭai. Race, not religion, is implied. Cf. the English nursery rhyme, 'Nebuchadnezzar, the King of the Jews, sold his wife for a pair of shoes'.

2. The whispered prayer *in bâj* is a great feature of the Zoroastrian rites. See p. 144.

3. Both days especially dedicated to light-spirits. Sunday is the day of Shamish and Thursday of Bel.

4. i.e. *Parwanaia*. The five intercalary days, the feast of the dead, when baptisms take place and meals are eaten for the dead. See pp. 212 ff.

5. Or, of the Madai (Maddai). The Haran Gawaitha speaks of this as the 'Inner Harran'. See pp. 9 ff.

6. The white eagle, usually the symbol of Hibil Ziwa. (See JB., p. 131.)

GENERAL

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

This legend is interesting because it links with the Miriai fragment in the Drasha d Yahya, a second Miriai fragment in the book of prayers for the days of the week, and the account of the 'people from the Mountain of the Maddai' in the Haran Gawaitha. The fragment in the Drasha d Yahya is told in the first person, Miriai relating her conversion (by her 'spiritual sister in Mshunia Kushṭa') and her flight to the Lower Euphrates. It begins, 'Miriai am I, a daughter of the kings of Babylon, a daughter of the mighty ruler of Jerusalem. The Yahuṭaiia (Chaldaeans or Jews, see above) bore me, the priests reared me.' There is no mention of Nebuchadnezzar. Miriai relates how she was forbidden by her parents to leave the shelter of her room or go into the highroads. She was disobedient. 'I opened the inner door and left the outer door open. I went into the highroad, and the Suns of my Master fell upon me. I wished to go to the Temple (*bit 'ama*) but my way led me into the *bit mashkhana* (i.e. Mandaean place of worship). I went thither and found my brothers and sisters standing there, and giving forth doctrines (*drashia darshia*).' (JB., 126 ff.)

Listening to their voices, she became drowsy and slept. 'But thou, my sister in Mshunia Kushṭa, didst rouse me from sleep and saidest, "Rise, rise Miriai! before day dawns and the cock crows the dawn, before the sun casts his beams over the world, before the priests and the sons of the priests go forth and seat themselves in the shadow of the ruins of Jerusalem; and before thine earthly father comes and brings disaster upon thee!"'

Her father discovers her, reviles her, and accuses her of evil conduct. She bids him let her depart. He accuses her of having forsaken Jewry and gone 'to love her lord'. But Miriai refuses to abjure her new faith, and curses Jewry and the priests. The story then breaks into allegory, and Miriai is likened to a grape-vine sheltering birds from tempest. There is a reference, but not a description, of Miriai's flight to the Lower Euphrates. A banner floats above her and a book is placed in her lap.

'She reads in the books of Kushta and shakes all worlds. The staff of living water (*margna*) she holds in her hand, the girdle (*himiana*) is bound about her loins. She prays and preaches and the birds and fishes gather to listen. 'They flock towards the voice of Miriai and have no desire to lay themselves down and slumber. They breathe the perfume of her presence and forget the world.' Her mother appeals to her affection for her birthplace, reminds her how honoured she was in Jerusalem, and bids her 'forget this man who has taken thee captive and brought thee away'. Miriai refuses, refuting with scorn the imputation that she has followed a lover. A white eagle comes, flings the Jewish priests into the Euphrates and returns to bring destruction and fire on Jerusalem. Then he flies back to Miriai, caresses her, and is recognized by her as an '*uthra*. Here the fragment ends.

Lidzbarski deduces from this fragment that the sect was at one time expelled from Jerusalem and driven into Southern Babylonia.

The Haran Gawaitha has nothing of the Miriai fragment but describes a persecution of the People from the Madai mountain, followed by a slaughter, and the escape of a remnant.

Of all these confused and contradictory narratives, the one stable element is the fact that the Mandaeans considered the Mountain of the Madai their true home, Southern Babylonia a place of refuge, and that Jerusalem was not their original centre.

The connexion with Nebuchadnezzar is curious, but also not without value. It appears from the Book of Daniel that at the court of the Persian king a certain group of Jews were vegetarian, magicians, and it would seem with beliefs not far from those of the Essenes: Hence the story of Nebuchadnezzar's vegetarianism ('eating the grass of the field')—the madness and the going-on-all fours sound like the interpretation of scandalized orthodox priests—takes on an interesting character. It is possible that at one time Nebuchadnezzar may have had leanings towards Iranian life-doctrines, and that later he returned to the more orthodox state faith (Daniel iv. 33–6). The influence of his Median wife may have caused his lapse.

VI. SUN STORIES

A. *A Sun Story, and the Rebellion of Shamish*

ONCE there was a *ganzowra* who prayed to Shamish. Shamish came down out of his boat and went to the *ganzowra* and said to him, 'Why have you summoned me?

This time I have come to you at your demand, but if you call upon me again, I shall harm you!'

But the *ganzowra* did not heed this warning, and again made incantations and summoned Shamish. This time also Shamish came, but he was angry and said to the *ganzowra*, 'Did I not tell you not to call me?' And he took the *ganzowra* away with him to his boat, where he was burnt up and destroyed utterly.

(I said, 'Is Shamish then evil?'

No, Shamish is not evil. Does he not pray daily nine hundred *butha* to the Melka d Anhura? How then can he be evil?)

NOTE ON A

The narrator was a priest. Petermann has a better version of this story (*Reisen*, pp. 115 et seq.). Shamish appears in the shape of a lion. The *ganzowra* is punished, not for the prayer, but for praying in anger at the insult of a Moslem, and also because he prayed at noon, when Shamish was busy.

B. *The Rebellion of Shamish*

When Shamish was first set in his ship he consumed and burnt all the living things of the world. Then the souls complained to Melka d Anhura, who took Shamish and imprisoned him for 360,000 years. Then Ruha went and begged that her son might be released, and Melka d Nhura put him back in his place, but he put with him twelve *naṭri* (guardian spirits) to see that he did no harm. The light of Shamish comes from his *drafsha* (*drabsha*, banner), and between Shamish and the *'uthri* there is a curtain. In those days the earth was not solid and its surface was covered with black water. Then Pthahil came and created the world and Adam and Hawwa were made.

NOTE ON B

Narrator: a priest.

VII. THE BRIDGE AT SHUSTER

At Shuster there is a bridge[1] over the river at a place called Pōl. It was made by order of the ruler of that place. Workmen worked upon it, building it well and strongly, and brought it to completion in the space of a year. But the morning following its completion it was found to be in ruins. They built the bridge a second time, and again, when it was ready, it broke to pieces. This happened a third, a fourth, and a fifth time. At the end of the year's work the bridge gave way and was broken to pieces. They went to the wise and learned men of the country and asked them, 'Why should this be?' but not one of them could explain it.

Then they went and asked a *ganzowra* of the Mandai. This *ganzivra* was a *rish ʿamma*, and learned in religion and in magic. He listened when they asked him why the bridge always fell at the end of the year's work, and then replied to them: 'This thing happens because of the children of Ruha (the planets). It is the children of Ruha who bring this about.'

They said to him, 'What shall we do? Show us a way out of the difficulty!'

The *ganzowra* replied, 'When you have completed rebuilding the bridge, I will watch by night and see who it is that destroys it.'

Accordingly, the night that the rebuilding was complete, the *ganzowra* went to watch on the bridge, and took with him his daughter, who was wise and understanding; added to that, she was very beautiful. They stood there, and watched and waited, and at midnight the daughter saw a huge man standing in the air like a cloud. She asked, 'Who art thou?' He replied, 'I am Chachowa, son of Chachowa.'

The girl's father listened, and wrote down the name,[2] and, as soon as he had written it, he began to read spells over him and over the people of the air, and to compel him and take his powers away by the names of the Powerful. By virtue of these, the demon's strength left him and he cried to the *rish ʿamma*, 'Why dost thou bind me? Why hast thou compelled me?'

The *rish ʿamma* replied, 'I cannot permit you to harm this bridge and wreak evil on the world.'

Chachowa answered the *rish ʿamma*, 'I will desist from evil in the future and will abstain from wrecking the bridge.'

The *rish 'amma* said, 'Good! Yet I will not free you until you have promised to perform a task which I shall set you.'

Said the demon, 'What work do you want from me?'

Answered the *rish 'amma*, 'I want you to transport me to the abode of the Naṣurai and *tarmidi* and the Mandai.'

The demon replied, 'I will take you thither if you will free me from the bonds wherewith you have bound me. The abode of the Naṣurai is far, and I must carry you for forty days in order to reach it, and to take you thither I must delve under the ground.' Then he told the *rish 'amma* that he and those who wished to go with him to the abode of the Naṣurai must assemble together at a place now called Cham Ṣubbi in Ahwaz.

The *rish 'amma* then freed him, and returning to his place, he assembled all the Mandai of the place and told them what had happened, asking them, 'Who wishes to come with me? He who does not desire to go to the place of the Naṣurai, as he wills, be it! But the willing ones must wait with me at Ahwaz.'

They gathered together, the willing ones, and for twenty days nothing happened, nothing! Onlookers said, 'Why have ye assembled here waiting? Do not believe this man, he is telling you lies! It is all an illusion. Let every man go back to his work.'

Then some of the Mandai that were silversmiths began to say amongst themselves, 'Indeed, it is lies! We will return and work!' and they left and returned to their place, they and their families. But others believed, and waited in Ahwaz with their families. At the end of forty days nothing had happened, and the remainder of the silversmiths, with the ironsmiths and carpenters all departed, unbelieving, each to his own work, and took their families with them. In the end, only the *rish 'amma* and his family were left.

Then, the piece of ground upon which they sat—a large piece of ground, going deep into the earth—lifted itself up into the air and flew. The people in the fields, the shepherds in the desert, and the villagers in the villages saw it flying in the air like an aeroplane and began to scream, and the dogs to bark at the sight. It flew over Baghdad and the people there saw it and marvelled, the children yelled, the cattle lowed, and the dogs barked as it passed over the city.

The people of Ahwaz, when they rose the next morning, saw a vast chasm in the ground where the earth had been, and the Moslems remarked that the *ris̲h̲ ʿamma* and his family had disappeared, and gazed and cried, '*S̲h̲inu hāi*—what can this be!' They called the name of that hole Nasat aṣ-Ṣubba.

No one knew whither those blessed people had gone, and, pity it was! we, the silversmiths and craftsmen, went not, and saw not like they!

NOTES ON VII

1. There are many legends about the S̲h̲uster bridge, which Persian tradition says was built by the captive Valerian for Sapor.

2. As soon as an exorcist knows the *name* of a demon he already holds him in power. Hence the use of secret names. The same belief in the power of names appears in Babylonian magic.

GENERAL

Narrator: a silversmith.

There are several versions of this story. Petermann (*Reisen*, p. 100) quotes the story: the name of the demon given to him was S̲h̲am Ban bar Tchachowa.

VIII. THE FIRE-WORSHIPPER AND ADAM BUL FARAJ

God gave Adam bul Faraj the power of transporting himself to the place to which he desired to go. He read a spell, and he was there! As a bird flies whither it wills, so he went whither he wished—to S̲h̲uster, to Amarah, or elsewhere. Once he came thus with his wife from Mendeli to S̲h̲uster. God had taught him the spell which enabled him to travel so quickly, like *darāwīs̲h̲* who fly in an instant where they would be. In a single day they went, and arrived at S͟huster at the time of evening prayer. Both of them wore white clothing like *darāwīs͟h*, for they had put on the *rasta* (see Chapter III). The Ṣubba in S͟huster beheld them and asked them, 'Whence come ye?'

Adam bul Faraj did not answer, 'I am a *ris͟h ʿamma* and came in such-and-such a manner,' but held his peace. The old men amongst the Ṣubba came and asked him, 'From whence come ye? What is your trade?'

Adam bul Faraj replied, 'I am a *darwīs͟h*.'

Said they, '*Darwīs͟h*! But what is your trade?'

Answered he, 'I am your shepherd.'

They thought that he must mean a shepherd of sheep, whereas he meant shepherd of souls.[1]

They said to him, 'We have water-buffaloes, cattle, and sheep! Take them into the desert and look after them. Why should you remain here idle?'

He answered, 'As you will!' and took the flocks and went out of the town. He traced a line round the flocks so that they could not stray,[2] and read a spell which summoned spirits to prevent the cattle from crossing outside the limit and to shepherd them.

Then Adam bul Faraj sat in the midst of them.

One day there came to him an old woman, who thought that he must be a *darwīs͟h*, an enlightened one, à wise man. He looked at the old woman and saw that she was troubled and asked her, 'Why is thy throat constricted? What is thy grief?'

She answered, 'I wanted a Ginza Rabba from a *tarmida* (priest), but as I have no money, he will not write me one.' Now a person who possesses a Ginza Rabba, his name will remain in this world, and in the world to come the Ginza Rabba protects his soul from harm just as a tree spreads its branches to shelter his head from the sun.

Replied Adam bul Faraj to the old woman, 'Bring paper and ink and I will write the Ginza Rabba for you and take no money for it.'

He wrote the Ginza Rabba for her, and when he came to the *tārīk͟h*[3] he inscribed these words, 'O Naṣurai, Mandai, and *tarmidi*! I came amongst you. There will be tribulation amongst you and (when it occurs) come to me. I am in Mendeli.'

Then he took his wife and returned to his place.

After forty days there came to S̱huster a wise man, deeply learned in magic, and he appeared to the Ṣubba and said to them, 'What miracles can ye work?'

They asked him, 'What do you want of us, you?'

Now he was of the sect of fire-worshippers,[4] and he replied, 'If you cannot show me a miracle, I shall force you to be of my religion. I have a stick, and when I command it it is turned into a snake and bites whomsoever I will. I have a lion and at my command he eats whomsoever I will. I have, too, a mud wall (*tōf*), and when I bestride it, it will gallop like a mare. There is no escape for you! You must come over to my faith, or the lion will eat you and the snake bite you, one by one, and cause you to die!' Then he showed them yet another miracle; a carpet, which, if spread on the water, did not sink, but allowed him to sit on it as if it were a ship.

They were all very frightened. . . . They consulted together and looked in the Diwans,[5] in the Asfar Malwas̱ha, and in all the books which they possessed, but saw no means of escape. They despaired. Then came the old woman, who said to them, 'The *darwīs̱h* who was here made me a Ginza. Perhaps there is something in it which may help us.'

She brought it, and they read the inscription, 'I am Adam bul Faraj. I came amongst you, and you made me a shepherd of sheep. If there is tribulation amongst you, come to see me at Mendeli.'

Then they went to the fire-worshipper and begged for a respite of forty days, and four of the Mandai, two of whom were wise men, set off, riding on mares, to Mendeli, for in those days there were no trains, no *motorcarāt*. They were thirty-eight days on the journey and arrived in Mendeli and went to Adam bul Faraj's house, and cried, '*Dak̲h̲īl*! Your protection!' They told him all that had happened.

Adam bul Faraj began to laugh and said, 'Fear not!'

They answered him, 'But in two days' time the lion and the serpent will begin to devour our priests and our learned men! There is no time left to succour them!' And they wept, out of their alarm.

He repeated, 'Fear not! I can go there quickly!'

But they were not comforted, and said amongst themselves 'How can he be there in two days!'

He replied, 'Do not fear! We shall leave Mendeli to-morrow and shall be in S̲h̲uster by the evening.'

Then they began to be heartened and to talk amongst each other, and to wonder, 'How shall this thing be?'

The next day was the thirty-ninth day. Adam bul Faraj rose and said, 'Come! Let us go!' He led them to a pool by the river (i.e. *mandi*-pool, see p. 125) and said, 'Come! make your ablutions!'

They all put on their *rastas*, and entered the water and prayed and made complete purification. Then he sat and said, 'Come!' One of the Mandai sat on his right shoulder, another on the left, and the two others sat, one on his right knee and the other on his left. Then he began to read (spells) but softly, so that they heard not what he said. Then he commanded them, 'Shut your eyes!' and they shut them. A light came upon them and took them off the ground, so high up into the air that the world was not visible. Adam bul Faraj said to them, 'Look not too much!' for the light was powerful, very powerful! It was the magnetism (*mag̲h̲natis̲h̲*)[6] that was carrying them. At ten o'clock, and the time was the afternoon, they descended and saw the ground. Adam bul Faraj said, 'Open your eyes!' and they opened their eyes and lo! they were in their own country of S̲h̲uster.

They cried, 'Sahib! Is this S̲h̲uster?'

He said, 'Aye!'

Said they, 'How can this be?'

He replied, 'Have no fear, but return quickly to your own homes.'

They said to him, 'We fear that this is a dream, the deception of sleep!'

He answered, 'This is not dream (*ṭeyf*), it is truth, and you are indeed in your own place.'

The four Mandaeans went to the old *ganzowra* and said to him, 'Adam bul Faraj has come!'

Now the priests, acolytes, and the elders of the people were gathered together at the *ganzibra's* house, and the rest of the Mandaeans were hiding in their own houses and weeping because of that which was to happen on the morrow.

The *ganzibra* asked, 'How did you come?'

The four answered, 'We came in four hours from Mendeli!'

Then all cried, 'We have escaped!' and the men began to smile, and the women and children to utter joy-cries. It was like a great feast! All rejoiced together and cried, 'Where is he?'

They replied, '*Yibra*k͟h! He is praying in the garden!'

All went to seek him, priests, smiths, women, and children, all!

The *ganzowra* and the priests and the *s*h͟*gandi* went to kiss his hand, and cried, '*Da*k͟h*ī*l*a*k͟h! We knew you not! We made you a shepherd of sheep and knew you not!'

He replied, 'It matters not!'

The fire-worshipper came in the morning. The Moslems, Persians, and Jews, men, women and children, all the people of S͟huster, gathered together to see what the Ṣubbi would do. The Ṣubba, led by Adam bul Faraj, marched into the great plain outside S͟huster and the onlookers formed a circle to see what would happen.

The fire-worshipper came before them, and read (spells) upon his stick, and it became a serpent. He said to the serpent, 'Go! Bite that man, Adam bul Faraj!'

Adam laughed and said to the serpent, 'Thou art a stick, by what power art thou a serpent?' and it became a stick as before.

The fire-worshipper read and read, but the stick remained lifeless. Then he said to the lion, 'Go, devour that man!'

Adam bul Faraj addressed the lion, saying, 'What is thy work, thou? Thou art a beast of the desert and hast no business here! Return to thy place!' And the lion took and fled to the desert.

The fire-worshipper called after him, 'Lion, lion!' but he would not return. He went and disappeared from their sight.

Then Adam bul Faraj said, 'What other miracles hast thou?'

The fire-worshipper replied, 'I have yet another miracle!' and he got astride the mud wall, and it began to move and to gallop with him as if it were a mare.

The people were frightened and began to run away, crying, 'The wall moves, it moves!'

Adam bul Faraj cried, 'Stop!' and the mud wall stopped in its place. The fire-worshipper read and read, but it remained immovable and would not stir more.

Adam bul Faraj said to him, 'Hast thou other miracles?'

The other said, 'Aye! I have a carpet which I spread on the water and ride thereon as if it were a ship.'

Adam bul Faraj said, 'Perform this miracle and I will see.'

The fire-worshipper spread his carpet on the river and sat on it, and the people marvelled when they saw how it moved on the water and sank not.

Adam bul Faraj had a spell by which he summoned S͟helmay and Nedvay,[7] the spirits of the water. They came and were beside Adam bul Faraj, who said to them, 'I wish that man to sink in the water, he and his carpet! Tease him, torture him a little! Let him experience pain!'

The carpet sank beneath the water, then came again to the surface, and plunged beneath again, so that the fire-worshipper was half-drowned. He cried, 'Mercy! Loose me! Free me!'

Adam bul Faraj said to him, 'Why did you torment these people? Why did you frighten them and their women and children? Do you not fear God that you acted thus, saying that your lion would devour them and your serpent bite them?'

The other replied, 'I repent! Mercy! I will never do so again!'

Adam bul Faraj took him from the water, and the fire-worshipper said to him, 'I wish to see your miracles!'

Adam bul Faraj said to him, 'As you will! I will show you something; but our miracles are not magic, for we worship God, and only what he permits will be!'

Said the fire-worshipper, 'I should like to see something of your powers!'

Now Adam bul Faraj had brought with him a *ṭir khurr* (a carrier pigeon, a breed with an enlarged beak-wattle). He said to this bird, 'There are no dates in Shuster. Bring me a date!'

It went, and flew back with a date which Adam bul Faraj gave to the fire-worshipper, saying 'Eat it!' and the magician ate it. Adam bul Faraj took the date-stone from him, washed it in the river, and put it into the ground.

Now there are spirits (*'uthri*) which dwell in the sun and these give growth, colour, and scent to flowers. The scent and colour of flowers are of the world of light and not of this world, and it is the *'uthri* who bring them to the earth. Therefore, Adam bul Faraj asked the *'uthri* to give power to the date-stone so that it should become a date-palm, for he was in favour with God, and received the benefits of Heaven.

As he spoke, it was, and the *'uthri* caused the stone to germinate and sprout. It sprouted and grew, *dī*, *dī*, *dī*, *dī*! and it became a large date-palm. Then it bore blossom, which became fruit and reddened and ripened. In one hour it brought forth ripe fruit! The fire-worshipper marvelled and said, 'How can this be! A palm-tree so quickly!'

Adam bul Faraj said to him, 'Go up and eat the ripe dates.'

The fire-worshipper climbed and saw that the fruit was ripe: the dates were perfectly formed and ready to eat, and he ate of them.

Now the winds are moved by *'uthri* who stir the air.[8] Adam bul Faraj called them and said to them, 'Let the

Winds be summoned—North Wind, South Wind, East Wind and West Wind! Let them blow (*tehabb*) and use their strength!'

Then the winds began to blow and the palm swayed in the air this way and that, so that it beat the ground from side to side, and struck the fire-worshipper, who began to cry, '*Dakhīl*! I have repented and will work no more harm! I will leave your people to follow their religion in peace! I will never hurt them more! *Dakhīl*, *dakhīl*!'

Adam bul Faraj said to him, 'All religions, Mandai, Jewish, Moslem, and Christian, were created by God.[9] God created them and desired them, and you should not have sought to harm them. God created them thus and ordered them thus!' He permitted the winds to cease and the fire-worshipper descended. Then Adam bul Faraj asked him, 'From whence was your power? By whose might did you cause sticks to become serpents, and lions to obey you, the wall to move beneath you and the carpet to bear you on the water?'

The fire-worshipper answered, 'My strength is from Qarṭus Deywa!'[10]

And he was repentant and escaped.

Thus the Ṣubba learnt the name of Qarṭus Deywa. And if the *jānn* have breathed into such a one, and his spirit is clouded, they say into his ear, 'O Qarṭus Deywa! Cure this man! Open!' And he is cured. A big prince of the *jānn* is Qarṭus Deywa, and from that time the Ṣubba know his name and can use it. As for the fire-worshipper, he returned to his place.

NOTES ON VIII

1. The simile is a favourite one. In the Drasha d Yahya 'I am a shepherd and love my sheep' refers to Manda d Hiia. Lidzbarski comments, 'the term is applied to various pagan deities, notably Hermes'. (JB., p. 43.) The term is still older, it is used of Enlil in the *Ritual of Kalu*—he is called a 'faithful shepherd'.

2. Hirmiz interjected here, 'Aye, and I have seen the like myself! I saw Shaikh ash-Shubān read over a serpent and trace a circle about it, and the serpent was unable to cross the line or issue from the circle!'

3. At the end of every Mandaean manuscript is the name of the person

who copied it, with his genealogy, and the genealogy of the person who copied the copy from which the writer copied it, and so on; also the year in which the manuscript was completed, and sometimes descriptions of public events which happened in that year. This is called the *tārīk̲h̲*.

4. *Fire-worshippers*. These are called *Yazuqaiia* in Mandaean writings. While there are a few hostile references to these, and polemic references to worship of fire, there is no attack upon Zoroaster.

5. See Chapter II. Scrolls as compared to codices.

6. This is typical of Hirmiz. It has occurred to me that a contributory reason why iron is considered potent against evil spirits is because it is easily magnetized. Lodestones and the powers of magnets have been known in Asia from early times.

7. S̲h̲ilmai and Nidbai, the guardian spirits of the *yardna*, or running water. References to them are numerous in ritual and scriptures.

8. See pp. 94 ff. The *'ut̲h̲ria* are pre-eminently life-spirits. The *'ut̲h̲ria* who 'stir the air', according to Hirmiz, are Ayar Ziwa (p. 58) and Ayar Sag̲h̲ia (Radiant Air and Plentiful Air).

9. This was one of the first tales I collected. The term Allah was used for God.

10. قِرطَاس 'a sheet of paper'; قَرطُس a scroll of parchment. Qarṭus is a personified writing, or spell. Cf. Diṣai in the Ginza Rba (6th bk., rt. side, the book of Dinanuk̲h̲t), in which Diṣai is half-demon, half-book. Qurṭāṣah̤ is a favourite name with Mandaean women.

GENERAL

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

The story, which is reminiscent of the contest between the Egyptian sorcerers and Moses, has been related to me by other Ṣubba. Petermann gives an imperfect version (*Reisen*, pp. 111–14).

Hirmiz, commenting on the story, remarked, 'Adam bul Faraj was a Naṣurai and used to converse with the *'ut̲h̲ri* in the sun. Who seeks for knowledge, it will seek him, and he also may become a Naṣurai.'

IX. HOW DANA NUK VISITED THE SEVENTH HEAVEN

ONCE on a time there was only one religion in the world. All the children of Adam were Mandai. Of these, there were twenty-four *'ulemā'*, twenty-four learned men, but one wise man, whose name was Dana Nuk, who was greater than them all.

They came to him for advice, and he had all the sacred books which Hiwel Ziwa gave to Adam, and knew them by heart, no doubt. Among these books were the Ginza Rabba, the Sidra d Nishmatha, the Drasha d Yahia, the Asfar Malwasha, the Diwan Haran Gawaitha, the Diwan Awathur, the Alf Trisar Shiala, the Diwan Malkutha Ileytha, the Qulasṭa, and the Iniani d Rahmi.

The twenty-four learned men had various forms of knowledge, one had knowledge of Shamish, one knowledge of Water, one of Bel, one of Nirigh, and so forth, but the great one, Dana Nuk, he had knowledge of them all. Each planet had especial power over its votaries and those who loved and served it, but Dana Nuk, he had knowledge of them all.

He had a room in his house in which he kept the writings which Hiwel Ziwa gave to Adam, and they were piled one upon the other. He always kept this room locked. One day, when he entered this room, he found a book placed above the others. It was in Mandai, but treated of another *ṭarīqaḥ*—the Way of Sén. (Sin, the Moon-God.)

He said 'No one could have entered this room to which I alone have the key! I will burn this book!' And he burnt it.

Then he went out into the wilderness and sitting there under a tree, he began to think, 'How could that book have got into my room?'

Then, suddenly, he saw the book before him!

He took it: he tore it into pieces and threw the shreds into the river. He returned to his house, unlocked the door of the room and went in, and he saw the book lying above the other books as before.

He said to himself, 'How can such a thing be?' and was puzzled. He talked the matter over with the Naṣurai, saying, 'What can the meaning of this be? The book appears above the Ginza Rabba! Perhaps, if we were to read it, we might learn something, but it treats of another Way.'

They replied, 'As it lies above the other sacred writings, it must be right. The planets have ordered this thing! It must be lawful!'

Dana Nuk went back to sleep, and when he awoke, the book was beneath his head!

He went to the Naṣurai and said to them, 'I destroyed this book twice, but here it is! I found it below my head when I rose from sleep.'

Some of them said, 'This must be from God. The book must be read!'

They took the book and read it, and some of them accepted its Way, they and their women, and delighted in it. From thenceforth, they and their children worshipped the light of the Moon. And there are still those who worship the Moon, and the secrets of the Jews and their magic are of the Moon, and were learnt from that book. Yes, they and their children adored the Moon!

After three weeks another book appeared in Dana Nuk's room above the other books, and this, too, he gave to the Naṣurai. It contained the Way of Kiwan, and some of the Naṣurai and their relatives with them, adopted that Way. In this manner came five more books, so that there were seven in all, and each contained a different Way. Some of the Naṣurai followed one, and some another. At last, a book appeared above the others which radiated light as it lay there. The heart of Dana Nuk went out to that book, and he read it and believed what was written in it, and saw that it contained the perfection of the knowledge of God. When he read it, his spirit was glad, and all fear left him. God gave him and all who read in it power. So he took this one for his Way.

It happened, after that, that he was in his garden, praying, when he saw a being of light descending from Awat͟hur (*Abat͟hur*, see p. 95) and it stopped before him. He prostrated himself before the being who said to him:

'Those who have taken the other books, their souls will remain bound to the earth when resurrection comes (*lammā taqūm ad-dunyā*) and they will not rise, or know the way to Awat͟hur. But you will rise, because your book is of S͟hamis͟h, and S͟hamis͟h is of God only, and there is no evil influence with him. Those who read that book will understand [all things]. Have you read it to others?'

Dana Nuk replied, 'Only my family and I have read it.'

Then the being said, 'I must take your soul to the World of Light, so that you may understand the truth of matters, and then return to this world to tell others of what you have seen.'

He conducted the sage to a place where there was a chamber built amongst trees, amidst cultivation, and left him there, saying 'Sleep!' Dana Nuk slept gladly, for he wished to see the World of Light.

The being gave him a form of air, of his own shape, and Dana Nuk's soul entered into it. But he was not visible to the sons of Adam. His body was sleeping and his pulses beating, but his soul was away.

The being took him to Pt̲h̲ahil, and Pt̲h̲ahil rose before him, saying, 'Rejoice that thou hast come to this place!' And he told the *'ut̲h̲ri* and *melki* to guide him and show him the underworlds with their demons and the places of purification in Maṭarat̲h̲a. Next, the *melki* took him to the abode of Sera[1] (Sira, the moon), and that of Liwet (Venus), for their places are beautiful. Next they went to the place which God gave to Ruha, a place which is of God and of great loveliness. Then they took him to S̲h̲amis̲h̲, a place all of light, in the World of Light, and of a radiance past description. Then they bore him upwards—up, up, up! until he reached Paradise,[2] the place of God, and that was yet lovelier than all he had seen hitherto. Dana Nuk cried to them, 'I want to stay in this place and never leave it!' But they took him higher yet, to the place where the Four Great Ones abide, and their names are Arham Haiy, Ĕn Haiy, S̲h̲om Haiy, and Ziwa Haiy.[3] When he saw them in their beauty he cried to Hiwel Ziwa, for it was Hiwel Ziwa who had appeared to him in the garden, 'I cannot go farther! Let me rest here!'

Hiwel Ziwa said, 'No, you must go yet farther!'

They rose and they came to the place of Melka d̲ Anhura, and that was vast, and all of light. There were four suns, always stationary and not turning like our sun, and their power is of Melka Ziwa. It is a place of wonder and power.

But Hiwel Ziwa took him up yet higher, and they came to another heaven, also lit with four suns, but yet greater and more brilliant. Dana Nuk asked, 'Of whom is this?' Hiwel Ziwa answered, 'This is my place ('*s̲h̲k̲h̲inta*' in Mandaean). But we must go yet higher.'

They continued their way upwards and they came to a place full of '*ut̲h̲ri*, where there was a sea of light. Its waters were of light only, and about it were *melki*, male and female, adoring God. Dana Nuk said to Hiwel Ziwa, 'I see no babies in this world of light, where are they?'

He replied, 'Within the womb of that sea, the *yardna* of light, they grow, and when they are ready to pray, they issue from its waters, for we are not like you in the matter of our reproduction. Our seed is in the waters of the ocean of Light. They eat of the trees of Paradise,[4] and there is no corruption or waste (*tilf*) from what they eat. All is power and light.'

When Dana Nuk had seen this heaven of heavens, he cried to Hiwel Ziwa, 'I will not go from hence! Leave me here!'

Hiwel Ziwa said to him, 'Did I not say that you must return to tell men what you have seen, so that they will know the Way and believe and not deny?'

So Dana Nuk returned, but he wept.[5] The other said to him, 'You shall return here one day, but now your place is in the world.'

Now his journey had taken fourteen years, and his body had remained in the same place, and no one had touched it, for Hiwel Ziwa had protected it and neither animal nor man could approach it.

He descended into his body on Sunday.

Now the Naṣurai and learned men had foreseen his return in a dream, and when each person rose in the morning and told his dream to his fellows, women as well as men, all said, 'It cannot be deception! He must return to-day.'

His soul returned into Dana Nuk's body, and he sat up and kissed Hiwel Ziwa's hand, saying, 'Ask S̲h̲amis̲h̲, Liwet, and Nirig̲h̲ to look after me and protect me—ask all those who have an ark (*fulk*) (i.e. the planets).'

Hiwel Ziwa replied, 'If I tell S̲h̲amis̲h̲, he will order that all of them protect you, for they are all obedient to him. S̲h̲amis̲h̲ himself will watch over you and protect you. He will say, "My eye will be always upon him", and not one of them, the Moon, or Venus, nor any of them, will be able to harm you, but will take care of you.'

So Hiwel Ziwa departed from Dana Nuk and he wept.

The people had assembled to come and find him, and they approached softly to see whether he were living or not. A woman came first, and peeped through an aperture in the wall. She saw him weeping, and cried, 'Come, come! He is alive!'

His wife came running, for she had not spoken with him for fourteen years! She came to him, and when he saw her, he stopped weeping and began to talk to her and to all of them, speaking of what he had seen.

His name was Dana Nuk. At one time the Sikhs[6] began to worship him, but he said to them, 'Do not worship my image, worship God!'

They replied, 'We will worship Bābā Nānak—Allah!'

As for the people of Rāmrām,[7] they have an idol which they made in the form of him who died and returned.

NOTES ON IX

1. Sira and Sin are names for the moon.

2. *Paradise*, i.e. the Mandaean 'world of light'.

3. The Ginza gives these as In-Hiia (Source of Life), S̲h̲um Hiia (Name of Life), Ziwa Hiia (Radiance of Life), and Nhur Hiia (Light of Life). These are sometimes called the '*melki* of the North Star'.

4. Hirmiz explained here that the trees were *piria*, fruit-trees, and that the water of Paradise was personified as Melka Piriawis. 'If a mortal soul drinks of this heavenly water, it cannot see death. A little of this heavenly *yardna* is in all earthly *yardnas*.' I inquired if there were animals in the abode of light. He replied, 'Animals are of Pt̲h̲ahil. A man of knowledge does not wish to take life, so does not use them. He only eats vegetables: fruit, and roots. Eggs matter not, but he will not eat fish or meat, nor wishes to do so. But flowers are of Paradise and their scent is of Paradise. That is why when we smell *razqi*' (a large jasmine) 'or *jūri*' (the scented pink rose), 'we say, "Perfume of Life is lovely, my lord Manda-ṭ-Haiy"' (*Riha d̲ hiia basim marai Manda d̲ Hiia*).

5. The Ginza is full of fragments in which the soul laments its imprisonment in the body, or expresses its joy at being released, e.g.

'Arise, arise, Soul
Rise to thy first home
To the soil from which thou wast transplanted.'

or, 'Then the Father of the *'uṯẖras* arose
He got up and went to the Hidden Place
He fetched the Mana
So that it should irradiate all corruptible things,
So that it should illuminate the body-garment . . .'

or, 'Thou Pearl fetched from the Treasure of Life'

or, 'I am a Mana of the Mighty Life!
Who has thrown me into this sorrowful world?
Who fetched me from my treasure-house?'

The 9th fragment, (15th book, Ginza l.) calls the soul, 'the sweet perfume of the *'uṯẖri'* and contains its lament that it must descend into the body.

6. The reference to Bābā Nānak is suggestive and curious. Guru Nānak, or Bābā Nānak, religious leader of the Sikh sect, visited Baghdad, if the accounts of his life are to be trusted, at the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D. A tablet in the shrine of Bahlūl, just outside Baghdad, sets forth that one Murād (I quote from Sewaram Singh's book, *The Divine Master*) rebuilt the demolished building of Hazrat Rab-i-Majīd, Bābā Nānak, Faqīr Aulia', and the date is 917 of the Hijra. Reference was made by a Swāmī Ānanda Charaya in a book called *The Snow Birds* to another inscription translated thus by him: 'Here spake the Hindu Nānak to Faqīr Bahlol; and for these sixty winters, since the Guru left Iran, the soul of Bahlol has rested on the master's word, like a bee poised on a dawn-lit honey-rose.' According to the Swāmī, this tablet was dated 912 of the Hijra. It seems unlikely that there should have been two tablets so differing in matter within five years.

The chamber of the tomb in which the present inscription is found is ruined, and full of 'wish-houses', i.e. bricks roughly placed together like a child's brick-house, to commemorate vows made by Moslem pilgrims, nearly always women, to the shrine. Moslems believe that the Bahlūl who is buried in this shrine was the *faqīr* and Sūfī mystic Bahlūl of the reign of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, who, of course, was buried hundreds of years before Nānak was born. But there is a definite tradition that Nānak did meet and have a friendship with a certain Faqīr Bahlūl in Baghdad when he visited that town. It is possible that the tomb is that of a later Bahlūl, just as the tomb of the so-called 'Prophet Joshua' close by is the tomb of a Jewish rabbi of late date identified in vulgar belief with Joshua son of Nun.

Perhaps Bābā Nānak came into touch with local schools of Sūfī thought in Baghdad; indeed several traditions about his life favour this supposition. Secret cults inherited from pre-Islamic times lingered on in the form of secret orders of *darāwīsẖ* until very late into the Middle Ages, and indeed traces of these linger in such a cult as that of the Bahāī which in its present form is of very recent origin.

According to Sir Lepel Griffin, the old Sikh faith had a baptismal ceremony, and, like Mandaeans, Sikhs do not cut hair or beard. I have already pointed out the significance of the latter and the inference is that there is a connexion with a light-cult wherever this taboo is found. Such likenesses were quite enough to cause the Mandaeans who came into contact with Sikhs during the war to descry connexion between their faith and that of the Sikhs.

The story of Dana Nuk, or Noh, does, in fact, resemble a legend about Baba Nānak. The story of the latter is that in the year 1479, going out one morning 'as usual before dawn to the B'een for his morning ablutions' (cf. Mandaean *ris̲h̲ama*), he plunged into the water and disappeared. He was mourned as dead, but his sister did not believe it, and sent his servant with his clothes to wait by the water. Meantime, Bābā Nānak is said to have performed a journey to the celestial regions where he talked with the Almighty and received a goblet full of an elixir which he drank and thereupon entered into the perfection of divine knowledge. ('He fed me with the Nectar of the Name of the Great Truth.') He then reappeared on earth after three days' absence, resumed his clothes and founded a brotherhood.

7. The people of Rāmrām, i.e. probably the *bhakti* Hindus of N. and Central India. Mandaeans are fond of tracing connexions between their beliefs and those of sects and groups in India.

GENERAL

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

This legend, or part of it, appears in the 6th book, GR., rt. Siouffi has a version in which the hero is called Dananouk̲h̲. The story was also told me by a priest in Amarah, who rendered the name Dana Noh, thus confirming Lidzbarski's conjecture below.

Lidzbarski attributes antiquity to the story and says, 'Die Erzählung weist altertümliche Züge auf. Der weise Schriftgelehrte Dinanuk̲h̲t erinnert an . . . "den weisen Schriftgelehrten Nbu" in der aramäischen Inschrift aus Kappadocien *Ephemeris*, I, p. 325, wo man den Anfang so zu lesen hat . . . und hier . . . bei dem zwischen den Wassern sitzenden Weisen denkt man an den an der Mündung der Ströme sitzenden hochweisen babylonischen Sintfluthelden Ut-Napishtim, um so mehr als Dinanuk̲h̲t's Gattin Nūraitā denselben Namen führt wie die Gattin Noahs. . . . Auch die Sprache weist alte Wendungen auf.'

The priestly narrator's version was curious: 'Ruha d̲ Quds̲h̲a disguised herself and came to Dana Nuh and said 'I am Hiwel Ziwa', and gave him a little book which said 'Do not wear a *klila* of myrtle, wear a *klila* of iron!' and changed other things in our faith. At first Dana Nuh burnt it, but it reappeared to him. He tore it up, but it reappeared; lastly, he threw it into the *yardna*, yet still it returned to him. So he thought it must be from Hiwel

Ziwa. Then he and his people followed the teaching of that book, and Awathur Rama and Awathur Muzania began to complain that no souls reached them. Then a *naṭri*, Dén ad Mulaikh, was sent to Dana Nuh, and he fell into a trance. His *ruh* remained in his throat, but his *nishimta* went out and Dén ad Mulaikh put it into another body. He took him down to Siniawis, and showed him the *melki* of darkness, and then the world of light. There the ground was like crystal, and there was no darkness there, nor dust. They showed him thrones inscribed with the names of the Mandai, but they were empty, for the souls of the dead Mandai who had followed the teaching of the book were enduring seven purifications. Then Dana Nuh returned to his body and told his people what he had witnessed, and they returned to the faith.'

A similar story is told in the late Sasanian book *Ardvītaz-nāmak* of the Zoroastrian priest, Tansar. (See Herzfeld's *Archaeological History of Iran*, p. 100.)

X. THE MILLENNIUM

At the end of the world the King of Darkness will be strong, and there will be great wars. The world will be all but destroyed by something which puts death into the air and into the water—people will breathe and drink and will die. Then seven great rulers will meet together in one place and will say to each other, 'Why fight any longer? Why should all human beings die?' and they will make a solemn pact to share all knowledge and secrets with each other.

When they are gathered together in conclave, a spirit will descend and talk to one of them. He will not see it, but the others will gaze at it and perceive it, and say to that one, 'What did the spirit tell you?' He will answer, 'There was no spirit! I talked to no one.'

They will say, 'Tell us what the spirit said, or die!'

He will affirm, 'There was no spirit—I heard and saw nothing!' Then they will kill him.

After that, the spirit will come to another of them, and he too will deny that he has spoken with him or seen him (and be speaking truth, though they will not believe him). Him also the others will kill. So it will happen until six have been slain and only one remains. He will be wise with secret knowledge from Shamish, and will rule over all in peace. There will be but one religion in all the world, and all will live in concord and happiness.'

NOTES ON X

Narrator. Hirmiz bar Anhar.

A prophecy is given in the 18th book, Ginza Rba, rt., in which it is foretold that 'a golden mountain will lift itself up in Dash͟t-Misaq' and that seven kings will gather together upon it. The kings will name a king of kings, and say to him 'We wish to hold a conference to ensure that the great shall not receive more honour than the slave!'

After an agreement upon what appears to be a kind of communism, a spirit comes down and whispers to the king of kings, who sees him not, though all the people see him. 'Then say they to the king of kings, "What did this being who descended from the firmament and whispered in thine ear say to thee?" Then he says to them, "Ye lie!" Then the kings say to the king of kings, "Then the pact by which we are gathered together is also a lie!" And the kings say to the king of kings, "Up! We wish to see each other face to face!"'

They begin to fight. 'Then comes that king who loosens his horse and it steps over them up to the saddle in blood.' From here on the text is fragmentary and obscure, but the king who brings in the time of peace and prosperity is named Mzarz (Armed). The 'last king to reign' will be Paras͟hai Sifa, son of the king Burzan or Burzin. 'In the years of that king prosperity and justice will prevail. There will be no winter.'

XI. CONCERNING THE MOUNTAIN OF THE MADDAI AND HOW THE TURKS CAME TO TAKE IT

THE Mandai of S͟huster liked to have their people about them no matter where they were. They were fond of the people of their race. One day, a *darwīs͟h* of the Sunset country (a Moor) came to S͟huster, and they asked him, 'Are there Mandai in your country? Are there people like us who read?' (i.e. prayers and incantations). The *darwīs͟h* replied, 'There is another *darwīs͟h* with me who may know. He is a very old man', and he spoke to the *ganzowra* saying, 'For your sake, I will bring him here'.

He went away, and returned with that other. When he came back to the Mandai with the second *darwīs͟h*, they noticed that half of him (i.e. the first *darwīs͟h*?) was white and half was black; half his forehead, half his head, half was white, and the other half black—exactly the half!

The old *darwīsh* came and stood before the *ganzowra* and said, 'Now my heart is glad!'

The *ganzowra* asked, 'How so?'

He replied, 'You are of the Mandai, and I have seen your people.' He had recognized the Mandai by their dress, by their *rasta*, and by the *himiana* (sacred girdle), for he had seen Mandai and Naṣurai on the Jebel Mandai (Mountain of the Mandai).

The *ganzowra* asked him, 'And how did you see them?'

The old *darwīsh* told them that he had been an astrologer with the army of the Turks, led by a minister of the Sultan. The soldiers were many and marched with cannon and gunpowder. Their orders were to go to the Jebel Mandai and to issue an *irādaẖ* ordering the Mandai to become subjects of the Turks. If the Mandai refused, then they were, by the order of the Sultan, to fire upon the mountain. The Wazīr, their leader, counselled the Sultan to permit peaceful methods to be used first, and to send an embassy to talk with them, or with one of their leading men. He said to the Sultan, 'It is more prudent to use such methods until we know their strength'.

Accordingly, when they had reached the mountain, he sent an envoy, a man of understanding, to talk with the *rish ʿamma*, the day being Sunday. He went to him and wished him peace. They sat, and the envoy said, 'An order has come from the Sultan that you and your people must become his subjects and give him and his government fealty.'

The *rish ʿamma* replied, 'We do not obey a Sultan. We give our obedience to God, and we cannot obey the will of any man, or be under his hand.'

The envoy said, 'If you do not accept, we shall fire our cannon upon you and kill you!'

The *rish ʿamma* replied, 'Let your cannon be fired! We shall overthrow you, but not in battle. The Sultan has soldiers and cannon and we have nothing—no cannon and no firearms.[1] Nevertheless, we shall do his army an injury. It will be better for your commander to withdraw so that his troops may not perish.'

The envoy returned to the commander, saying, 'He speaks thus and thus.' The commander wondered, and said, 'What could it be that could kill us without battle?'

Now the *ganzowra* had a daughter, and he had built a sanctuary, a secret place of worship, on the mountain. Thither he was wont to go and take the girl, for he had knowledge of Liwet (*Dilbat*, Venus), who is a female *melka*, and inhabits the star Liwet. She is so lovely to look upon that if a man sees her he swoons away. She wears a diadem of great beauty on her brow, and a wonderful perfume issues from it, so exquisite that he who smells it loses his senses and becomes unconscious. The diadem is of lights, which play and dazzle. There are wise men who see her, and there are places where they make her a sanctuary, bringing a beautiful girl or a handsome boy to it and placing him or her therein. Then they read secret incantations, and she (Venus) descends into the girl or boy and answers the questions which are put to her. Much knowledge is to be learnt from her.[2]

The *ganzowra* used to take his daughter into this secret sanctuary and Liwet used to descend into her. Her father used to put a glass bowl filled with water before the girl and say to her, 'Gaze into it!' Then he began to read incantations, read, read, read, until the glass became red, became white, became green, became blue, *dī*, *dī*, *dī*, *dī*! until the glass became like a globe of light. At that moment, a sweet and pleasant wind breathed upon the girl and she slept, and Liwet entered into her thoughts and spoke through her mouth. The *ganzowra* arose and spoke to her (Liwet) thus: 'Of thy favour, help us! The soldiers of the Turks have come against us to do us an injury, and thou knowest we have done them no harm!'

Liwet replied, 'I will cause them to perish! (*asḥathum*) They cannot harm you while We are in the world.'

The *ganzowra* said to her, 'Of thy favour, what can we do against them?'

Answered Liwet, 'I can do that which will prevent them from seeing. It will become black before them and they will be unable to see.'

The *ganzowra* said, 'That will injure them! They are poor soldiers, poor men, and I do not wish to hurt them.' For the Naṣurai are kindly people and do not injure any person willingly. And he asked her, 'Canst thou not do something else?'

She replied, 'I can make water appear all round them so that they are unable to move.'

Said the *ganzowra*, 'If they are surrounded by water they will be unable to reach food, and will be imprisoned there, and suffer. I ask rather that they should be inspired with fright.'

Liwet replied, 'To cause fright is the function of (lit. in the hand of) Pthahil[3] and the *shiviahi*, for the King of Darkness and the *shiviahi* are under the hand of Pthahil. Read in this scroll, and Pthahil will send a spirit to do your work.'

Sunday came, and the *ganzowra* went and was baptized in the water, prayed, and took his scroll and went to his chapel and began to read there. He read and read and read, and there came before him something like fire. He recoiled from it, but it said to him, '*Shloma illakh, ya ganzowra! Shloma ad haiy havilakh*' (Peace upon you, O *ganzibra*! The peace of the Life be yours!).

The *ganzowra* said to it, 'These Turks have come to do us an injury. I ask from you and from Pthahil that you will give them a fright—only—!—so that they may depart unhurt to their own country.'

The *melka* of the *shiviahi* replied, 'I can bring you a *shiviahi* for each soldier of the Turkish army, to stand beside him. When the soldiers try to fire their cannon or shoot, they will be pushed back and their hands be powerless, and they will not know the reason.'

The *ganzowra* said, 'That is a good way of frightening them!' (*Khosh takhwīf, hadha!*)

The *melka* assembled the *shiviahi* and one took place beside each Turkish soldier. But the leader of the *shiviahi* sat beside the *ganzowra* on the mountain.

Now the general of the Turks cried, '*Yalla*! To battle! Fire bullets at them! Kill them! They will not obey the Sultan's *irādah̤*, so they must die!'

But, when he began to shoot, each man felt a violent gust which hurled him to the ground. One broke his head, another his arm. They cried, 'What is this?' and were greatly afraid and their officers and generals with them. The leader said to his adviser, the envoy that he had sent to parley with the Mandai, 'What can it be that makes the soldiers fall to the ground?'—for on all sides they were falling.

The other replied, 'These people are *darāwīsh*! They are worthy people who serve God. No one should seek to hurt them. If we try to do so, so great are the powers which they receive from God, that we shall all be killed.'

The general said, 'We will return to the Sultan and bring reinforcements and hear what he says to all this.' For in those days, if the Sultan needed soldiers, he forced men into the army.

The *melka* of the *shiviahi* that stood beside the *ganzowra* heard what was said and began to laugh aloud.

Said the *ganzowra*, 'Why do you laugh?'

The *melka* said, 'I laugh at the intelligence of those Turks! It is Pthahil who gives you power, whereas theirs is of men! What vanity they talk!' Then he said, 'I will show you something amusing.'

Said the *ganzowra*, 'Good!'

The other said, 'To-morrow they will begin to march in retreat, but I can do that which will prevent them from going forward, all of them, leaders and soldiers.'

The *ganzowra* smiled and said, 'I should like to see that work!'

In the morning, the army tried to march. The ruler of the *shiviahi* was with the *ganzowra* watching them from afar on the mountain. The *ganzowra* gazed. The *melka* began to make incantations, softly, softly. The *ganzowra* saw a light flash down from heaven, as if by electricity. It came from above. *Dī*! It became intense, and spread out with the air (*imtadd bil hawā*) upon the soldiers and those with them. The soldiers of the Turks, the more they tried to march, the less they were able to move a step forward but were forced instead to step backwards. What was it?

The general shouted 'Run!' but they could not, and he himself was in like case, and could not move forwards. The officers said to the general, 'Baba, we are going to die! What can we do? This comes of trying to fight with the Mandai and the Naṣurai, who are like *darāwīsh* and fear God. Why did we besiege these people?'

Now, with the general there were astrologers, who counted the stars and read destiny. One of them had a bowl which resembled a mirror in which you see your face. It was very ancient and had been dug up out of the earth. It was inscribed with powerful names, and when this astrologer gazed into it, he saw all that he desired to see. He fetched it and looked into it to see the course of these events. But he consulted it secretly, for the general and the other astrologers did not know that he possessed such a bowl.[4] He gazed in it, and saw the *ganzowra* and the *melka* of the *shiviahi*, he who had brought about their discomfiture, and they were both sitting on the mountain. At the same time, the spirit perceived that the astrologer was scrying in his bowl, and told the *ganzowra*, saying, 'This astrologer has a bowl with Mandaean talismans and writings upon it. It was made by your people of old.'

The *ganzowra* said to him, 'Bring it to me, for it must belong to us and not to the Turks.'

The astrologer was still scrying into the bowl, and, even as he gazed, something came upon him, lifted the bowl up, and it completely disappeared.

He began to scream and the others came running to him and the officers. The astrologer said, 'I had something before me, an ancient object, and it was taken away from before me, and I know not what it was that seized it!'

He wailed and wept, and the soldiers and their officers said, 'How could this have happened?'

Day and night he continued to weep, and the *ganzowra* began to pity him, for the bowl was priceless. So he said to the spirit, 'Bid the astrologer come hither, and let the soldiers depart, each to his own people, for they must not remain imprisoned here.'

When the owner of the bowl had come, he fell upon his hands and knees, for he perceived that a light was with the *ganzowra*, a light which sometimes took the shape of a face or a person. His heart was afraid. The *ganzowra* said, 'Fear not! He who is with me is a *melka* of the *s̲h̲iviahi*.' Then he said to him, 'Whence had you this bowl? It is ours, and our inscriptions are within it.'

The astrologer replied, 'That bowl that you see is from the Jebel Qordūn, which the Arabs call Qāf, the mountains which surround the earth, and these are in the North.'

The *ganzowra* said, 'And how did those who brought it to you obtain it?'

The astrologer answered, 'In those mountains there is a place that is inaccessible, and surrounded thickly by swamps, reeds, trees, and wild beasts of all kinds—lions, wolves, large snakes, and other harmful animals abound there. My father, once a rich man, became very poor and he sought this place of fear, saying, "Let a lion or other wild beast devour me—I care not, now I am so poor!"' He continued, 'He had an ass: he rode upon it and went into the wilderness. The ass carried him near that place, and there he saw something which caused him the utmost fright. For he saw a huge serpent coiled about a slab of black marble, its head upreared, and its eyes like fire. In the middle of the slab was a lion in an attitude of threat, and by the lion's feet a large scorpion, and above it, a hornet bigger than a bird.'

The *ganzowra* laughed when he heard this, for the astrologer's father had not seen real animals and beasts, but a *skandola* (pp. 36 ff.), a group of talismanic symbols. The serpent with upreared head represents 'Ur, the great dragon upon whom the visible world rests, with his head uplifted towards Awat̲h̲ur, and his glittering eyes were of diamonds. This talisman (*reṣed*), these symbols, had been made by Mandai, and placed there to protect treasure beneath from *s̲h̲iviahi* and other disturbers. So strong was this talisman, that none could approach the spot. The *ganzowra* rejoiced greatly to hear of it, and said, 'I must go thither!'

The astrologer continued, 'My father went away but his ass in leaving stumbled against an obstacle in the ground. My father dismounted and saw a portion of a *bastūqa* (covered jar) sticking out of the ground. He dug and got it out; lifted its lid and saw within this bowl! He rejoiced very much in it, for by its means he could summon spirits who showed him useful matters. He earned money by it. When my father died, the bowl became mine.'

The *ganzowra* said, 'This bowl is ours and the writing on it was made by my people. I shall keep it and give you what you like in exchange.'

The astrologer answered, 'I do not wish for money, but, as I am a *darwīsh*, I want wherewithal to feed myself.'

The *ganzowra* gave him a small metal lamp on which there was an inscription, and said to him, 'This lamp has a [familiar] spirit, and if you need food or money, you will see a small *melka* standing in it who will bring you whatever you want. I will give you this in place of your bowl.'

The astrologer was glad, and replied, 'That, also, is very good.'

Now this astrologer was the old *darwīsh* who came to Shuster and told the *ganzowra* of Shuster that he had seen the Mandai. When he had told his tale the *ganzowra* asked him to show him the lamp which the *ganzowra* of the Jebel Mandai had given him. The old *darwīsh* replied, 'I have it but do not care to show it—it is very dear to me.'

However, the *ganzowra* of Shuster persuaded him by fair words, and one day he brought it, and the *ganzowra* saw a small spirit standing within it. He asked it, 'Where are our people, in which spot?'

It replied, 'They are in the Jebel Maddai' (for Arabs call the Jebel Mandai the Jebel Maddai) 'and when they look at you, you are forced to depart!'

Then the *ganzowra* asked the other *darwīsh*, 'How is it that you are half brown and half white?'

The first *darwīsh* replied, 'I and my wife, my three sons and my daughter, once dwelt in the wilderness and killed animals for our food—deer, gazelles, wild pig, and game of various sorts. My place and my guest-tent were far from the ʿArab (i.e. other nomads). One night when the moon was in the fourteenth night, I went out and killed three gazelles. I bound them together with a strong rope, brought them back to my tent and tied them to the roof, and sat there with my wife and family.

'Then we thought we saw something black outside in the desert. It came nearer and filled the entire door of the tent. I think its head was this breadth (*the narrator extended his arms*), its belly was immense, its arms were huge and it was like a man save that it was covered with hair.

'When we saw that, my wife and I were greatly afraid, saying, "What can this be?"

'He looked within, and seeing the gazelles tied to the roof, he seized them. The rope parted and he swallowed all three in one mouthful. The boys fled to their mother. He seized one, threw him into his mouth, and ate him. The second boy also he seized and ate, and the third, and, after him, my daughter. My wife was terrified, and, seeing a chink in the tent, she fled out into the desert, and he went after her! As for me, I am a Soghmāni! I steeled myself, and taking my gun and loading it with lead, I went out. The moon was like day: it was easy to see. When he saw me, the monster came towards me. I aimed straight at the centre of his forehead and shot. He gave a great shout, jumped high from the ground, and fell. As for me, I lay like one dead until the sun had risen.

'Then, finding myself still alive, I went to look for my wife, fearing that she must have been killed. I searched and searched, and then found her in a hole—dead! Since the moment when I heard that monster's shout, I have been as you see me—half-white and half-brown.

'When Allah saw my state, he permitted me to become a *darwīsh*. Then I met with this old *darwīsh*, whose tale you have heard. He said to me, "My son, you must not kill animals! It is not a good thing. Do it not! God created us barley, corn, and vegetables. Why kill animals?[5] It is a great sin!" Then that *darwīsh* gave me money and kept me with him.'

When he saw the inscription on the lamp, the *ganzowra* of S̲huster was able to read it, although the old *darwīs̲h̲* could not. The name of the spirit which it invoked was Farūr. He read it and learnt it by heart, then he made himself a bowl and inscribed the talisman on it. The spirit came when summoned, and the *ganzowra* found it useful, for, whatever he needed, Farūr brought it to him. If boys were naughty and misbehaved, he would threaten them, 'I will bring Farūr!' and they were good.

Now he thought much about the Jebel Mandai, and wished to go there, so he, and seven others, amongst whom were four relatives of mine, set out. They got as far as Syria, where they were employed as silversmiths by the King of the Abyssinians (*sic*). There they met a *darwīs̲h̲* who had been amongst those who went to the Jebel Mandai with the Turks, but, when they set out to find the mountain, they could not. They went three months on the journey, but they found it not!

NOTES ON XI

1. War and killing are contrary to Mandaean tenets. Punishment in Mandaean legends is never accompanied by slaying, unless by the agency of heaven, and even then, the powers of light are always besought to be clement and spare the life of the enemy.

2. Libat (Venus) is said to inspire all invention. The worship of Libat is categorically forbidden by the holy books, and in the description of the *maṭarat̲h̲a* (purgatories) (left side, 4th fragment Ginza Rba) a special house of purification is for those 'who go into the house of Tammuz and sit there twenty-eight days, slaughter sheep, mix bowls, offer (*ramia*) cakes, and sit mourning in the house of Libat', proving that when the book was written Adonis-Venus ceremonies were still observed. Reference to Venus worship is made in the 9th book rt. side. The bitter denunciation of planet worship argues an effort by priestly reformers to quench inherent popular beliefs.

3. *Pt̲h̲ahil.* See p. 95.

4. Magic bowls are common in Iraq. The bowl is of brass or silver, and sometimes has a small raised dome in the centre (upon which the scryer's eyes are fixed?). The bowl is inscribed with magic or sacred writings, and Mandaean inscriptions are thought to have special virtue and magical properties. Water drunk from such a bowl is said to have healing power.

5. This tale illustrates the attitude of Mandaeans towards the killing

of animals. The Ginza is contradictory. The 4th fragment of the 3rd book rt. mentions as lawful certain animals, 'flying birds, fish of the sea', but no animal not slaughtered by an iron instrument, no beast killed by a wild animal. Elsewhere (GR. 37) it is written 'Eat no animal. Eat . . . the flesh of animals called forth from the fruit of the water (fish?).'

Josephus mentions that the Essenes were vegetarians, and Porphyry, quoting Eubulus, says that the Magians were divided into three classes, those who abstained from eating any living creature, those who abstained from domestic animals, and those who would not touch any and every animal. Prof. P. E. Lucius' effort to disprove Josephus' statement about the Essenes is not convincing. (*Der Essenismus in seinem Verhältnis zum Judenthum*, Strassburg, C. F. Schmidt, 1881, pp. 56 ff.)

The narrator was Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XII. HOW THE MANDAI AND THEIR GANZIBRA LEFT THE MOUNTAIN OF THE MADDAI FOR A BETTER COUNTRY, FARTHER NORTH

TO-DAY I shall tell you what happened when the *ganzowra* who, with Pt͟hahil's help, overthrew the Turks who came to the Jebel Maddai, went in search of that place which was guarded by the *skandola*, of which he heard from the astrologer whose bowl he took.

When he gave the astrologer the lamp in exchange for the bowl the *ganzowra* pondered on what he had heard and yearned to go to the place which the astrologer had described, and asked the ruler of the *s͟hiviahi* to take him thither.

The *melka* replied, 'I am not able to approach that place because of the powerful talisman which protects it and which prevents all beings who obey the Melka ad eHs͟hukh͟a (King of Darkness) from coming near it.'

The *ganzowra* said, 'All I ask is that you will prevent lions, wolves, leopards, and snakes from attacking us on the way. I wish to discover this talisman and see what it is guarding.'

Answered the spirit, 'Be it so! I will conduct you to a place not far from it: near, however, I dare not approach.'

The *ganzowra* and Naṣurai and Mandai got ready and on the Sunday they set out. There were many of them. The ruler of the *s̲h̲iviahi* brought a *s̲h̲iviahi* with eyes of fire set vertically not horizontally, in his head. His eyes appeared flames of fire, and if a wild animal saw him, he was so frightened that he ran for a distance of three days, so that while the *s̲h̲iviahi* travelled with the *ganzowra* and his people, creatures fled on all sides.

After a month of travelling, and, with the aid of S̲h̲amis̲h̲, they travelled in one day a forty-days' journey, they reached the place of the *skandola*, the Talisman, (p. 36).

There they saw the animals as they had been described to them, standing on a marble base. The lion and scorpion were of gold, the serpent, 'Ur, which surrounded the group, was of steel, but of such steel as was made in ancient times, strongly tempered so that it cut iron as though it were a cucumber. The hornet was of a red metal, I know not of what kind.

After they had removed the talisman, the Mandai lifted the marble slab, and beneath it they saw a deep vault going down into the earth. They lowered ropes and chains into it, but could not touch the bottom. The *ganzowra* and the Naṣurai examined it; then one of the Mandai said, 'I will descend! Make a long chain, and give me food and water for a month, and I will be let down and see what is there.'

They made a very long chain, gave him a lantern, food, and water, and let him down, bidding him farewell, for they did not know if they would ever see him again.

They let him down and down, but, when he was already deep down in the earth, the chain parted in two! They thought, 'He must be dead!'

The Mandai fell, but when he came to the bottom, he fell on something that was soft as cotton. The lamp had gone from him when he fell, so that he had no light. He unfastened the chain from his waist and threw it from him, then walked forward with his skin of water and his food, feeling his way in the dark. He thought he saw eyes of fire before him, but when he reached towards them they fell like ashes of fire. Likewise, if he touched anything, it crumbled beneath his hand. He walked, and presently a staff knocked against his legs. He stretched forth his hand and grasped it, and felt that it was thick and durable and hard. He said to himself, 'This is fortunate, for if I meet animals down here, I can defend myself!'

And, as soon as he had the staff in his hand, he began to feel light-hearted and glad. He walked thus for seven days beneath the ground, and then he heard the noise of an animal (*g̱ẖars̱ẖas̱ẖa*) and he followed after it. At last he saw a light, and the animal issued by it into the upper world, for it was a hole. The Mandai enlarged it with his staff until he could get through it. Then he came up through it and saw the world, all white and fair, and a river! He washed his face, drank water and rested a little, then began to pray and thank God saying, '*Aka héi*, *aka marey*, *aka Manda-ṭ-Héi! Akves̱ẖ ehs̱ẖuḵẖa*, *atreṣ anhura!*' —that is, 'There is Life, there is my lord, there is Manda-ṭ-Hei! He took me from darkness and filled me with light!' (*Sic: actually the translation of the latter phrase is*, '*I tread down darkness and establish the light*'.)[1]

And his prayer was a good one. If a man is angry and repeats that prayer he becomes cool and his anger departs from him!

He rose and then looked at the staff. It was all of gold and bore an inscription, a talisman written from end to end of it.

After he had been there about an hour, he saw people approaching him. They wore no clothes, but their bodies were covered with white hair, smooth, like the down on a bird's breast. On their faces the hair grew but lightly, and on the palms of their hands there was none. They seized him and took him away with them and he was afraid, saying to himself, 'These people will kill me, for they see I am not of their kind!'

They took him to their Sultan, who, like they, was unclothed and clad only by the white hairs which grew on his body. Their houses were of tree-trunks and bamboos, for the air was temperate: there was no cold there. It was a pleasant climate, and vermin, snakes, scorpions, and beasts of prey there were none in that place.

When the Sultan saw him, he bade them loose him and they unbound his fetters.

The Sultan took the staff from him, looked at it, and questioned him, but the Mandai did not understand his tongue. Then the Mandai told the Sultan by signs what had happened to him and how he had come there.

The Sultan asked him by signs, 'On the mountain where you live, are there many more people like you? Are there many?'

The Mandai told him that they were many.

The Sultan signed to him that he must sit with him and teach him his language and his writing so that he might converse with him.

The Mandai taught him the Mandaitic writing and pointed to things and told him their names in Mandaean. He 'took and gave speaking' with him and remained there a month.

After that the Sultan said to him, 'We are of your kin, but we live near Ms̲h̲uni Kus̲h̲ṭa. Formerly our speech was like yours, but it has changed.' And he said, 'We are many here, we are millions! I will show you how many we are—men, women, and children.'

And he took the Mandai amongst the villages and the tribes and showed him their places of prayer. Not one of the people wore clothes, but their hair fell long from their bodies so that they were not naked.

The Mandai said, 'Hiwel Ziwa ordered us to wear the *rasta*, the *himiana*, and the *tag̲h̲a*. How is it, if you are of our race, that you do not wear these?'

The Sultan said, 'Formerly, when our numbers began to be great, we quarrelled with the Naṣurai.'

He asked, 'Why did you quarrel with them?'

The other replied, The Naṣurai have a doctrine, a knowledge, which they would not share with us. We wished to obtain that knowledge from them by using force, and by quarrelling with them. There were seven great kings, and I was one of them, who tried to make war against them and acquire their secrets. We rose one morning, and our speech was confused! A light descended upon us, *dī*, *dī*, *dī*, *dī*! in the place where we were all assembled. It descended upon our whole nation, men, women, and children, and our Mandai tongue went from our minds and we knew our tongue no more. We looked one upon the other like lunatics (*a͟t͟h͟wāl*), and were unable to comprehend one another. By degrees, we began to talk a language which came to us. We knew that Hiwel Ziwa had descended upon us and divided us from the Naṣurai by this confusion of speech.

'We were afraid, and thought that we might be burnt with fire from above, but, thank God! we were not burnt, only we lost our language. We wandered to this place, and hair grew on our bodies, so that we discarded clothes, for the climate was good. There is no poverty among us, and one is equal to another.[2] We draw our water from the river and we grow corn and barley for our food, and not one is greater or richer than the other. We sleep where we will, and only I am in authority. No rough wind or dust comes upon us, and no tempests. There is a soft breeze from Awa͟t͟hur here, and hot winds and rough winds from eH͟s͟h͟u͟k͟h͟a (the Darkness)[3] never reach us. It never becomes dark, for we see the sun constantly, there being twilight for a short while. It is never too hot and never too cold.'

Then the Sultan said to the Mandai, 'That staff which I took from you enables a person to walk the distance of seven years in a week. It is so strong a talisman that, if a wholly pure person raises it to strike another, the mere wind made by its striking will kill! Such is the power which God gave it. That vault is a seven years' journey in length, and you went through it in a week.

'The vault was used by the Mandaeans of olden times, for at one time they used to make writings and images in stone, not on paper. There are in the vault images of gold, copper, and stone. When you put your hand on them they fell away, for they are very ancient and were made by the Mandaeans of old time who hid the images of their gods there.[4] They represented them with their hands clasped one in the other, which is a sign of the Mandaean faith; for when one is baptized one must stand with hands clasped—thus! And you may see images with their hands folded in this manner in museums: it was our people who made them! The hands are clasped and pressed to the body.

'That vault was once a place of prayer. It is shallow at one end and deep at the other. It once belonged to our people, but, since the confusion of speech, we have not known the way to it. Our language was once your language, and we used the [cuneiform] writing such as is now in the museum. These misfortunes came upon us because we wished to quarrel with the Naṣurai and God was angry with us.'

The Mandai offered to show them the way into the subterranean place, and he took them to the vault (*sirdāb*). There they saw inscriptions on marble and on statues and on lamps and on the roof—everywhere there were inscriptions. And they said to him, 'The staff is full of wonder-working! But be careful not to quarrel, because, if you do, by virtue of the staff, your opponent will die. God has forgiven us! You are the sign, for you descended into the vault and found the staff, and were able to lead us to the place in which we used to worship! By means of the staff, which can convey forty persons the distance of a year in a day, we can go and return.'

The entire nation learned the Mandaean tongue and their understanding became as strong as it was before. They followed the ancient religion of the Mandaeans and practised ablutions in the river. The sultan said to the Mandaean, 'I would restore this staff to you but that it was by its means that God led us back to our faith and restored our worship to us. No doubt it was his purpose that it should come to us through you.'

Then the Sultan, with forty of his people and the Mandaean himself, seized the staff, and away they went, taking food and water with them, and travelled to the Mountain of the Mandai.

The Naṣurai had bewailed the man, thinking him dead. His seven sons and his daughter had mourned for him. The Naṣurai, the Mandai, and the *tarmidi* wept for him, saying, 'He has gone and there was no use in his going!'

One Sunday, after the space of years, they saw a man approaching with a company of forty, whose hair shone white in the sun.

The Mandai assembled and gazed, and the Naṣurai and *tarmidi* were with them. The man came near. They looked, and then they began to kiss him and those with him. All embraced and one moment they laughed and one moment they wept. The parting of years was over! As for the Mandai, he saw his parents and his children and rejoiced. There was great joy and jubilation.

The *ganzowra* began to talk with the Sultan. He knew already from his study of history of the disappearance of these people, but he had not known where they were.

The Sultan and his people wished to be reunited with them, but the Naṣurai and the Mandai decided that they would leave the Jebel Mandai and go back with those who had come from their country in the north, where there was no dirt, nor wild beast, nor any harmful thing. They migrated, forty at a time, by aid of the staff, until all of them had gone to the country in the north. The water of the river there is so pure that once a man has bathed in it, no dirt can remain on him ever afterwards. The climate is equable, there is neither hot nor cold. And fleas and other vermin there are none there.

But it is difficult to reach that country because, to get to it, one must cross a region of extreme cold. Thither most of the Mandai went, and only we Ṣubba in Iraq remain. The country is near Ms̲h̲uni Kus̲h̲ṭa, near the North Star.

NOTES ON XII

1. *ʿkbis̲h̲ hs̲h̲uk̲h̲aʿtriṣ nhura.*

2. The ideal Mandaean state is always communistic. See p. 309, &c.

3. Or the south, the worlds of darkness being in the south. Cf. p. 9.

4. Masʿūdī mentions that the Ḥarrānian Ṣābians practised mysteries in underground chambers, where they initiated postulants and kept images of

the gods. Further, the Ḥarrānian poet, Ibn ʻĀ'īs̲h̲ūn, mentions in a poem that underneath one of the Ḥarrānian temples there were four cellars in which images stood and in which the Ṣābians celebrated their mysteries. (Ch. Ṣ., vol. ii, pp. 332 ff.)

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XIII. THE CHILD CONCEIVED ON THE 29TH NIGHT OF THE MOON[1]

ON the 29th night of a lunar month the moon cannot be seen, for it has gone to its place. If a man lies with his wife that night and gets her with child, the child will be born with a sixth finger, or two heads, or bodily defect of a serious kind. On this night, no seeds must be sown, for the *s̲h̲iviahi* who obey Melka ad eHs̲h̲uk̲h̲a (the King of Darkness) have power in the dark of the moon, and they are evil. When the moon is full, the Melka d̲ Anhura, the King of Light from the world of light, rules the world.

It happened that about seven hundred years ago a *ganzowra* went in to his wife on this night, and she became pregnant. When she was delivered of a boy, the child was found to have six fingers on each hand. The midwife (*judayya*) went to tell the *ganzowra* that he had a son, but spoke joylessly, knowing that a child with extra fingers is under the power of the *s̲h̲iviahi*. The *ganzowra* asked her, 'Why is thy heart not glad? Tell me the reason! I am happy that I have a son, why not rejoice with me?'

She replied, 'The boy has six fingers on each hand.'

The *ganzowra* was deeply afflicted, but he knew that the cause was that he had sown his seed on the twenty-ninth night of the moon, for in his heart he had been afraid that such might be the case, having made his count of days.

The midwife counselled him to cut off the extra fingers, and when he consented she took a knife and cut them off. The child grew, but there were marks where the fingers had been. In time he grew big, and his father made him a priest. Then the midwife went to the other priests and the *yalufi* (literate persons) and said, 'Behold! This was a six-fingered child, and he is the son of the *s̱hiviahi*!'

They replied, 'We know it, and are troubled because of it, but we can do nothing!'

They spoke thus because the *ganzowra* was a rich and a powerful man.

The Mandai who knew the truth about the young man would not be baptized by him. Only those who were ignorant allowed him to perform the rites of baptism upon them. For with us, if a man has a bodily blemish of any kind he may not be a priest. If he has a skin disease, or any kind of defect, he is not pure and spotless and may not become a priest.

The young man married a wife, and she bore him a daughter, and soon after that the old *ganzowra* died, and his son became *ganzowra* in his stead, for he was consecrated by him before his death.[2]

The new *ganzowra*'s daughter grew and attained the age of eighteen years and was very fair to look upon. She had the habit of going into a garden to pick flowers and amuse herself, and this was observed by a black slave who, seeing that there was no one near her, made up his mind to ravish her. One Sunday she went, and the slave came and seized her and took her virginity away and destroyed her reputation (lit. face).

She came to her father and wept. He told her not to weep, and made her wife to another slave (a black man), so that there should be no cause to talk. He made a betrothal feast and gave a lavish meal to the Mandai, giving food to the poor, dispensing charity, and scattering benefits with great liberality. His house was full of guests.

Now just before this happened, there had been a visitation of plague, and all the Mandai priests had died of the plague—only the *ganzowra* was left!

The Naṣurai, who are people of learning, spotless in matters of purity, who wear coats of cocoon silk (*jazz* or *qazz*, natural white silk), and write holy books, men like *darāwīs̱h*, were troubled and ashamed, and the *yalufi* with them. Many wept and cried out on the shame of what was taking place—namely, that a *ganzowra*'s daughter should marry a black man.

It was Panja—the Feast of Five Days which we call Paranaia (p. 89). Four of the Naṣurai came together to consult as to what must be done. First, each man put on his *rasta* and immersed in the river, for at Paranaia (*Parwanaia*) every one must wear his *rasta* and make purifications in the river, so that they shall be especially pure. The gates of Awat̲h̲ur stand open during those five days, and the prayers of the faithful receive an answer quickly.

So the four made their ablutions in the river, wearing their *rastas*, and began to pray, *ibraha* (M. *brak̲h̲a*?) After prayer, they said, 'Let us supplicate God to help us in this matter—perhaps he will send us *ʿut̲h̲ri*, or *naṭri*,[3] or *melki*'. Then they prayed that this shame might be removed from amongst them and besought Melka d̲ Anhura for his help. As they prayed, a light came down amongst them into the garden by the river, and they thought they saw in the midst of it two beings made of light, who cast no shadow. They cried to them, saying, 'Help us! This girl and her father have brought shame on us, upon all of us! Find us a way out!'

Now these two *melki* were named Zuheyr and Zahrun.[4] They replied, 'We will baptize you and ordain you *ganzivri*'.

The Naṣurai were rejoiced and exceedingly happy that the *melki* had appeared, and they entered the water and were baptized and ordained *ganzivri*, but quickly and without the usual prayers, because it was a very holy baptism which they received. They were henceforth able to ordain priests, to baptize, and to perform marriages. They asked the two *melki*, 'What shall we do about this *baṣran Sera*?' (*baṣran Sira*).[5] They said, 'He gives charity to the poor and needy so as to stand well in the opinion of the people and to whiten his face in the eyes of God. What can we do? He will have much seed—daughters and sons, and it will be difficult for us Mandai! Every Sunday he makes a feast for Mandai who are poor and hungry, and they go to him.'

Answered the *melki*, 'Go to his house next Sunday, and let every man take food from that which is set before him, but hold it in his hand and eat it not. The *ganzowra* will ask, as he goes round amongst you, 'Why do ye not eat?' Then you shall reply, 'Our purification (whitening) is upon you! You have brought us harm—we will not eat!' Throw the food back in the dish and rise, and let not a single man remain in the *ḥōsh*. When all have gone out, the ground will open and he and his family will all be swallowed up.'

The Naṣurai rose, and on the Sunday they did as the *melki* had commanded them. None of the Mandai remained in the yard—all rose and left their food uneaten.

Then the ground parted, and the *ganzowra* and his wife and his daughter fell in and were never seen more.

NOTES ON XIII

1. Sin, the Moon God (other name Sira), is represented as bringing about deficiency.

'To the Moon, Sin, they apportioned Deficiency, from whom all Deficiency went forth, (GR., p. 124). The 'sect of Sin' is named in the GR. as 'bringing about abortions and deficiencies'. The 4th fragment, 15th book, rt. side GR. says that children begotten in the dark of the moon are misshapen and deformed, and that pain and evil result when the moon is hidden and Sin 'dies, goes away, and darkens himself'. When he emerges from the *maṭaratha* 'his colour is taken away from him and his form looks as though it had never been. Then he seats himself again in his ship,

'And draws beams of light unto himself,
They spread a powerful light over him
And he sets out on his wanderings through the world.
On the first day on which he appears
The apex of the firmament is opened,
He emerges from the upper firmament
And goes to rest in the lower heaven.
Until the second day
His luminous rays light all worlds.
Until the seventh day of the month
Sin speaks in the voice of the Life
Because he remembers his fear and awe of the Life.
When he has passed over the seventh day
He has already forgotten his fear and awe.
He has forgotten his fear and awe,
And casts Evil into the whole world.' (GR., p. 314.)

Here Sin has a sinister character. In the Drasha d Yahya not so. ‘One day I (Sin) remain hidden, and my rays are obscured. Obscured is my sanctity and both watchers give heed thereon. If I am absent, and men lie with their wives, it will happen, if the wife conceives on that day, that deaf and dumb and misshapen progeny will result from their union. If she conceives on that day, deaf and leprous children will be born to the pair or lacking a foot or hand.’ Hence it is not Sin, but his *absence* which is responsible.

For the nature of the Moon-god and his place in Mandaean belief see pp. 77 ff. In European folk-lore the child born in the ‘dark of the moon’ is supposed to be witless and ‘wanting’.

2. Or, possibly, *at* his death, see p. 169, Book I.

3. Hirmiz commented here, ‘these are the *melki*-watchers in the stars’. To judge from his story on p. 367 there are also guardian spirits of houses. Shaikh Nejm said the *naṭri* (watchers) were our spiritual doubles (*dmuthi*) in Mshunia Kushṭa. The Fravashis of the Parsis exactly correspond.

4. Two sun ʿ*uthria*. See p. 76.

5. *Baṣran Sira*. A term applied to persons possessing deformities caused by the waning moon. *Baṣran* seems to mean ‘lacking, deficient’ (cf. Syriac ܒܨܪ ‘to diminish, subtract’). Sira is the other name of the moon-god, both Sin and Sira being masculine in gender. Possibly Sira is applied to the moon when waning. The Assyrian Nestorians call the moon *Sara*.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XIV. THE KANSHI uZAHLA

(*The Sweeping and Cleansing*)

With us Ṣubba a great feast takes place about the time that the dates ripen. It is called the Dehwa Rabba (see p. 85), and its eve, or *dakhala*, is called the Kanshi Zahla. The Kanshi Zahla lasts for two nights and the day between, and during that time all the Mandaeans remain in their houses, taking with them enough water and food to last over the period. They keep their fowls, dogs and cats, cows and buffaloes shut off in a place apart from the dwelling-rooms of the house. For during those two nights and a day the ʿ*uthri* of the sun, moon, and water go to Olma d Anhura, the World of Light, and while they are absent every Mandaean must remain in his house and his animals must be shut up. When the *melki* and ʿ*uthri* return, we go out and feast, wash in the river, and rejoice. The ʿ*uthri* serve the *melki* and are under them. Thunder is the noise of combat between the *'uthri* and the evil spirits, when the *'uthri* hurl the evil spirits down to the lower world. We feel the rush of air as they fall, and hear the noise and see the lightning.

If during Kanshi Zahla a domestic animal escapes and comes into the house, it becomes unclean and cannot be eaten, and if it touches any one in the house, that person becomes unclean, and as soon as the feast has begun, he must be baptized seventy times by the *ganzowra*, and may not eat or drink until so purified. If only a wasp comes in from the desert and stings a man during the Kanshi Zahla, he is unclean, and must abstain from food or drink or from touching anything in the house until the feast has dawned and he is cleaned by seventy *maṣwettas* (baptisms). (*Really 360 E.S.D.*)

Now there was a *darwīsh*, a Ṣubbi, called Majbūr Ṣubba, of the village of Umm Seyyidiyah, near Amarah, who was exceedingly devout. During the Kanshi Zahla he and his family remained within their *ḥōsh*,[1] and inside the *ḥōsh* they constructed a reed-hut, with only one opening, which they kept shut, so that no fly or other impurity might enter it. He, and another of their kinsfolk, called Ujheyli and Ujheyli's wife, remained together in this hut. The woman went out to obey a call of nature, for at this time they are allowed to use the yard for such a purpose,[2] but not to leave the courtyard or come into contact with an animal. A *zorgi* (a marsh bird, with a long bill)[3] was sitting on the roof of the house, and as soon as the woman had come out it flew down and tore her kerchief from her head, so that she was bareheaded and defiled. She began to shriek, 'This bird has made me unclean!' Ujheyli came out to see what it was, and as soon as he had come out the bird came and hit him with its wings. Ujheyli seized the bird and put it in the *sadd* (a clay bin for the storage of rice). He put it in that and covered the bin with a cover of clay, saying, 'When the Kanshi is over, I will show it to Shaikh Zibid! Perhaps he will know what this bird is that has come and defiled me!' Shaikh Zibid was a very learned man, famed for his knowledge amongst us.

Ujheyli and his wife, being then unclean, entered no more into the reed hut, but went into another place apart. Majbūr now remained in the reed hut by himself, and presently he mounted on the *jāwan*[4] in order to reach the water and food on a table set in the *chʿab* (heel, or further end) of the hut. The table was high, and he could not reach it except by mounting on the *jāwan*. He reached up and there, by the water, he saw a large frog! He called to Ujheyli who was outside, 'A frog is here and has made the food and water unclean! How could it have got in?'

Ujheyli ran in and seized the frog and put it with the bird in the bin, but food and water were defiled, and they had to do without it, and remained for that night and the day and night which were left, both hungry and thirsty. As soon as the Kanshi was over, Ujheyli went to the *sadd* with the intention of taking the bird and the frog to show them to Shaikh Zibid. As soon as day had dawned on the Great Feast, he put on his clothes and went to the *sadd* and removed the cover. There was no bird and no frog! Nothing! They had disappeared.

They went to Shaikh Zibid and began to tell him and those with him what had happened. When Shaikh Zibid heard it, he was amazed, and said, 'Those were, no doubt, *shiviahi* in the shape of a bird and a frog, and they did this in order to do you harm.'

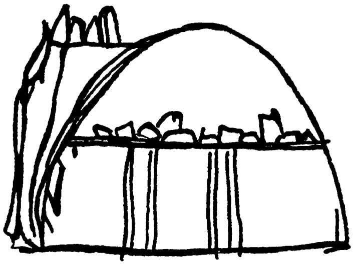
NOTES ON XIV

1. The *ḥōsh* is the entire house compound, the house consisting of rooms and cattle-sheds and storerooms built round a square central courtyard. Entrance to the house is through a door and passage flanked with a room on either side, into the main courtyard or directly into the courtyard. A similar plan of building is found in houses of 'Abraham's period' at ʿUr.

2. It seems that in former stricter days Mandaeans did not allow privies within the house area. Like the Essenes the Mandaeans eased themselves in some convenient spot out of doors. It is still strictly forbidden to Yazīdīs to pollute the house-area in such a fashion, and they make no provision of the kind in building their houses.

3. A water-bird, as described, with pale grey plumage.
4. *Jāwan.* A wooden receptacle for pounding rice.

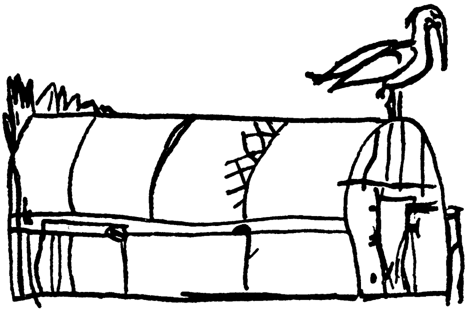
Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar. His drawings to illustrate are given below.



The table with food and water, at the 'heel'*
(farther end) of the reed hut.

* *chʿab* کعب.

Fig. 15.



The *zorgi* perched on the hut, waiting for the
woman to come out.

Fig. 16.

XV. THE HAUNTINGS

In Muhammerah, in the garden of our *ganzowra*, there was a room of which it was said that if a person slept in it he would be found dead the next morning. Sometimes a marauder or thief, entering the garden, would go in there to sleep, and the next day he would be found dead, lying as if asleep, with his weapons, his dagger, knife, and revolver, still upon him. This happened several times, and the *ganzowra* forbade any of his people to sleep in the room. The garden was a lovely place, with flowers, fruit, and shade: by day very beautiful and pure, but none who knew dared enter that place by night.

Now there was an old man in S͟huster called ʿAzīz ʿAzūn, a Ṣubbi. He liked the company of the learned and pious and was always to be found at the houses of the Naṣurai, the *ris͟h ʿamma*, and the *ganzowra*. He knew the sacred writings and stories, he was possessed of the secret teachings, and he was a very wise old man. He came to Muhammerah and was the guest of the *ganzowra* there, Yahya bar Adam by name. Talk fell one day upon this room. They were saying, 'What can be the meaning of it? Why do those who sleep there always die?'

When ʿAzīz ʿAzūn heard what they said, he told them, 'I will go into this matter and find out the cause. I will enter the room myself and sleep there and see what it can be.'

The *ganzowra* said 'We cannot allow it! It is dangerous. We will not permit you to go there for, without doubt, you will die like the rest. It cannot be!'

'Azīz ʿAzūn said, 'No, no! I must go, and you will see that good will result from my visit to the room.'

Now he was very skilled in the matter of exorcism. He took his bedding and went into the garden and, furnishing himself with six candles, each of which would live twelve hours, and putting on his finger a *skandola* (p. 36), he entered the room two hours before sunset. The river ran round the garden, it was a beautiful place! It was the hour of prayer, and he put on his *rasta*, entered the river, and made his soul very pure with ablutions and prayers, so that if by chance death should overtake him, he would be purified and ready to die. A good Ṣubbi must wear his *rasta* and purify himself when he approaches death.

But, with all that, he was not afraid, not afraid at all. When the *ganzowra* remonstrated with him and would have persuaded him against staying, he replied, 'I like such things! I go into such adventures gladly, and you will see that good will result from my coming here.'

The *ganzowra* left him, and ʿAzīz ʿAzūn remained alone in the room. He kindled a candle and waited. Till midnight he remained sitting there and saw nothing. A fresh breeze blew in and he felt tired and inclined to sleep. But, at about eight of the night, he saw eyes, like fires in the corner of the room, and a creature like an animal. He kindled a second candle. Quickly the creature moved, and as it moved, sounds like *wāk*! *c̲h̲āk*! came from its throat. ʿAzīz ʿAzūn said to it, 'What are you?' The creature answered, 'And what are you? Why are you sleeping in this garden? I shall kill you!'

ʿAzīz ʿAzūn rejoined, 'And I shall kill you!' and he rose and stood between the two lit candles and made an incantation around himself which the creature could not cross. Then he spoke again to it, saying, 'Why do you come here into the *ganzowra*'s garden, into a place frequented by the Naṣurai, *tarmidi*, and Mandai? Why do you come to this place of prayer and flowers and sweetness, this garden shaded by trees and surrounded by water? Why do you come here?'

The *s̲h̲iviahi* replied, 'I have been here from ancient times, and live here with my father and mother and family. I do not harm your people, for I do not touch good people; but if a thief comes in to steal, I know it and strangle him. No man would enter this garden by night for a good purpose, and so, when I find a man sleeping here at night, I strangle him!'

ʿAzīz ʿAzūn laughed and said, 'You seem to be an excellent guardian of the *ganzowra*'s property! I will go to the *ganzowra* and tell him that you are protecting him and keeping away robbers!'

Now ʿAzīz ʿAzūn had an exorcism, a spell against evil spirits. (My father procured it from him and engraved the spell on silver armlets for my mother to protect her from evil spirits. This spell gladdens the heart also.) ʿAzīz ʿAzūn had in mind to read this exorcism, but the goblin said to him, 'Why are you purposing to read a spell against us? I and my fathers have been here since the earliest times! Are you going to force us to leave this place where we have dwelt so long? I guard it and harm none but evil-doers. Shame! Of your favour, let my father, my brothers, and the rest of my family enter the room so that they may speak with you!'

'Azīz 'Azūn replied, 'I should like to see them. Let them come! We are friends now, and I will not harm them!'

The *shiviahi's* father entered first and saluted 'Azīz 'Azūn, saying to him in the Mandaean tongue, '*Shloma illakh*!' (Peace to you!) 'Azīz 'Azūn answered, '*Haiyat athet*!' (May life come). The old father sat and the *shiviahi*'s two wives and his mother, their children, and all the family, entered the room. They were like men, but small. Their height was about a foot from the ground. I can tell you exactly because, lady, I have seen one with my own eyes. (*He interpolated his experience, omitted here.*) Thus are the *shiviahi*,[1] but the *melki* are the size of men and white and shining. I have seen *melki*, too, for the power is in our family. My father had it, but only I amongst my father's sons have the gift.

'Azīz 'Azūn said to them, 'I do not intend to read upon (i.e. exorcise) you, or in any way harm you; but, before I depart hence and leave you in peace, I have something to ask of you. If you will help me, good! but if not, I shall not suffer you or your family to remain in this place!'

The goblin's father said, 'Talk with me! I am old and grey and I will tell you everything.'

Said 'Azīz 'Azūn, 'In Shuster there is a house and garden. It is a very clean place and in the garden there are dates and banana-trees. Its owner was a *darwīsh*, but he disappeared and no one knew what became of him, so it became the property of the Government. And when any one wishes to rent it and sits in it, he perceives noises. The plates rattle, the furniture knocks, and the water splashes. So all who wish to live there flee away and no one can remain. The *darwīsh* was a good and learned man and the Government took the house because he had no relatives. Tell me, what is the cause of those noises, of that tumult, and that shaking?'

The old *shiviahi* replied, 'That is the spirit of the *darwīsh*. His neighbours killed him and stole his clothes and money and buried him in the garden. It is his spirit that raps and wishes to speak to people.'[2]

ʿAzīz ʿAzūn said, 'I am obliged to you!'

The old *shiviahi* said to him, 'If you wish to verify this, go to the place. You are a Naṣurai and have the power of subduing evil influences and conversing with spirits and no harm can befall you. This *darwīsh* wishes to speak to some one by means of rapping.'

ʿAzīz ʿAzūn was delighted to have a fresh piece of work!

When it was morning the *ganzowra* came to see if he were alive and knocked at the door.

ʿAzīz ʿAzūn answered, '*Ha*!'

The *ganzowra* said, 'You are still living!'

Replied ʿAzīz ʿAzūn, 'Aye and very happy!' and he issued and bade them all peace and told them all that had happened.

The *ganzowra* said, 'I will give the *shiviahi* of my food. He is a good watchman, and he and his family shall eat of our victuals.'

Then ʿAzīz ʿAzūn wished them farewell and went back to Shuster.

As regards the *darwīsh*'s house which was a little outside Shuster, in the *chol*, whoever wished to rent it had to go to the *ḥākim* for it was Government property. So ʿAzīz ʿAzūn went to the *ḥākim* and said, 'I should like to rent that house.'

The *ḥākim* replied, 'Go there! I will give it to you without rent, for no one who takes it remains there!'

ʿAzīz ʿAzūn took his furniture and his wife (who also was not afraid), and they went and put their bedding and carpets and other belongings in the house. There was a pretty garden, the air was pure and there were trees: in short, it was a good garden and house. Before night came, ʿAzīz ʿAzūn said to his wife, 'For the first two hours of the night I will sleep whilst you watch, if you are not afraid!'

She said, 'I am not afraid; I want to see what will happen!' for both were people of knowledge, and people of knowledge are afraid of nothing.

He slept (ʿAzīz ʿAzūn), and his wife remained sitting up. At four hours of the night there had been no noise, and, as she was sleepy and wished to sleep, she said to her husband: 'Rise, ʿAzīz ʿAzūn! *Qom, yahum*! (Rise, wake!) He sat up and said, 'What did you see?'

She answered, 'There was no noise, there was absolutely nothing at all!'

Then he sat up and watched while she slept. He sat there till eight of the night, and then a brass basin on the table began to knock against it. ʿAzīz ʿAzūn said, 'If you are a *melek* (spirit) talk to me by rapping (*bi daqq*) and if a *s̲h̲iviahi* talk to me in raps, and if (the spirit) of a man, also talk to me in raps.'

We have a book called the Asfar Malwas̲h̲a (p. 25) and in it there is information of a *tirk̲h̲āna*, a kind of alphabet: one stroke means 'aleph', two 'ba', and so on, enabling a person to talk by means of these strokes, or knocks. ʿAzīz ʿAzūn knew this form of counting (*ḥasāb*) from the Asfar Malwas̲h̲a and so was able to understand when the spirit began to talk with him in raps.

It said: 'I am such-and-such a *darwīs̲h̲*, of the people of the Sunset (Moors). Those who killed me were three, my neighbours So-and-So, So-and-So, and So-and-So. They buried me in the garden near the large olive-tree.'

ʿAzīz ʿAzūn wrote it all down.

The spirit continued, 'I wish your honour to go to the *ḥākim* and tell him that the *darwīs̲h̲* So-and-So was murdered by his neighbours So-and-So and let him give justice.'

ʿAzīz ʿAzūn replied, 'I will do so gladly. I will go today to the *ḥākim* and will make vengeance.'

Said the ghost, 'When you have caused justice to be done, whatever you desire to know, I will inform you.'

Said ʿAzīz ʿAzūn, 'I am grateful. Let morning come and I will go and get justice done.'

Morning came, and it was dawn and the *darwīs̲h̲* rapped, 'In the keeping of God!' and ʿAzīz ʿAzūn bade him farewell.

His wife awoke from sleep and asked him what he had seen.

He answered, 'I saw him, and we shall profit very much by his knowledge!' She rejoiced and was very happy.

'Azīz 'Azūn went to the *ganzowra* of S̲h̲uster and said, 'I have seen a man, a *darwīs̲h̲*. Did your honour know the *darwīs̲h̲* who lived in that house?'

The *ganzowra* said, 'Aye, he was a very good man, constantly engaged in piety, and prayed to God at every meal-time. He dressed in white.'

Then 'Azīz 'Azūn told him all and the *ganzowra* went with him to the *ḥākim* and they went to the *ḥaqq*, the law- courts.

They saluted the *ḥākim*, who was pleased to see the *ganzowra*, whom he liked very much. The *ḥākim* said to the *ganzowra*, "*'Amr jinābak!* What does your reverence command? Seldom do you come here; I see little of you!'

The *ganzowra* said, 'There is a strange matter in hand.'

Said the other, 'What is it? Of what shape?'

The *ganzowra* said, 'In that old *ḥōs̲h̲* which belonged to the *darwīs̲h̲*! He was killed by such and such men who buried him beneath an olive-tree in the garden. No doubt, your honour will see justice done.'

The *ḥākim* said, 'How do you know that these men murdered him?'

He answered, "Azīz 'Azūn, who took the house from your honour, went there last night, and conversed with the spirit of the *darwīs̲h̲* by means of raps.'

And a learned man, a Seyyid, who was sitting with the *ḥākim*, said, 'Without doubt, the Ṣubba make useful researches and turn knowledge to account.'

The *ḥākim* said, 'I will make complete justice upon them and we will see the result.' He sent for the three men and said to them, 'Why did you kill that *darwīs̲h̲*?'

They said, '*La*! *k̲h̲eyr*! No indeed! We did not! We did nothing!'

He said, 'It will be better for you to tell the truth. If you do not, I will beat you to death!' and his people seized the three men and tied them up to beat them.

They still denied. The *ḥākim* looked in the face of one of them and saw that he was afraid. He took him and said, 'Beat him! Make him speak!' They brought a bundle of pomegranate twigs and began to beat him, saying, 'If you won't talk, you shall die!'

He said, 'Don't kill me! I and those two, we murdered him!'

They said, 'Where did you bury him?'

He answered, 'We buried him in the garden, under the olive-tree.'

They asked him, 'What did you hide of his belongings?'

Said he, 'We took one thousand *laibi* (gold coins).'

They said, 'What else?'

He said, 'We took a brass *sarāj* (a basin for oil) with writing upon it.'

Said they, 'Go and bring it!' The three went and brought back the money and the *sarāj*. The *ḥākim* was delighted and said, 'Now we will go and see where the *darwīsh* is buried, for this is a very strange thing!'

All went to the garden; the *ḥākim*, the three men, the *ganzowra*, ʿAzīz ʿAzūn, and some soldiers.

They dug beneath the olive-tree and they found the strangled man. But there was no smell of decay about the body[3] and it was not stiff, but flexible. They were greatly astonished at its condition and took it to the *doctorīya* and people of learning, who said, 'There must be life in it as it does not stink.'

He was dead, however, and the *ṭabīb* (physician) took it to his house and put it in a coffin in his room, and all who visited it were cured. If a barren woman approached it, she had a child. This marvellous occurrence was of God. One man stole an arm from the corpse and sold it for much money, and ʿAzīz ʿAzūn cut off the other arm and kept it. The corpse of that *darwīsh* was like a doctor itself, for it worked cures.

The arm that ʿAzīz ʿAzūn took he kept in his house and received much money from people who came to visit it. One miracle was this: a woman who had seven ugly daughters came to him. The girls were so hideous that no one would marry them, but, after she had visited the arm, within a week their mother married all seven of them!

NOTES ON XV

1. *S͟hiviahi.* See p. 254. These, in modern days, are equivalent to fairy folk, goblins, and are not always evil.

2. This method of conversing with the dead and spirits seems to be very ancient. It is not used, however, by Arabs. Hirmiz had never heard that similar methods are used in the West, for Occidentals are thought to be too materialistic for such practices.

3. If the process of decay in a dead body is arrested, it is taken to be miraculous and the body is used in magic. I saw at S͟huweir, in the Lebanon, the corpse of a bishop, who, having died of a tissue affection, was said to have been mummified by some natural process. It was taken to be a sign of his sanctity and he was placed in an open coffin, so that the afflicted might touch him and be healed. However, the pilgrims were not content with permission to touch, and so many pinches of flesh were nipped from the face that the corpse became unsightly, and, when it had been covered with a cloth, a glass top was placed over the coffin. It is still exposed.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XVI. THE PLAGUE IN S͟HUSTER

I TOLD you of that *darwīs͟h* whose pulse continued to beat although he was a corpse, that *darwīs͟h* whose spirit talked with ʿAzīz ʿAzūn in raps. Well, the *ganzowra* of S͟huster had knowledge—more knowledge than ʿAzīz ʿAzūn, although that one was valiant, very valiant!

At the time the plague came to S͟huster the *ganzowra* went to ʿAzīz ʿAzūn, and said, 'I wish to speak to the *darwīs͟h*,' for the *darwīs͟h* continued to communicate through rappings in that house; every night he came at about six of the night. And the *ganzowra* said to ʿAzīz ʿAzūn, 'When the spirit comes, send for me.' At six of the night the *darwīs͟h* began to rap, and ʿAzīz ʿAzūn sent word to the *ganzowra* who was waiting and slept not.

When the *ganzowra* arrived, the spirit began to knock and said, 'Why have you not been speaking with me, *ganzowra*?'

The *ganzowra* replied, 'I could not come to speak with you before I had permission to do so from Sin,[1] who is lord of the night.' (As you know, Sin is not merely light, but rules the night, he and those with him. But the *ganzowra* had knowledge enough to talk with Shamish, the sun—see, lady, what power and knowledge they have! Yes, the *ganzowra* had spoken with Shamish from whom Sin derives his power, and when a king gives permission, his minister gives permission also!)[2] Then the *ganzowra* said to the *darwīsh*, 'From whence comes this affliction?' for the reason he had sought permission from Shamish to converse with the spirit was that he was grieved about the coming of the plague to Shuster.

The *darwīsh* answered him, 'It is Pthahil's work, through his soldiers, the *shiviahi*. The *shiviahi* are sent to work this evil, led by one under the jurisdiction of Pthahil.'

Then, as the *ganzowra* had permission to talk with spirits of the dark worlds, the *darwīsh* went from him and returned with the *shiviahi* leader, set over the rest by Pthahil. That *shiviahi*, when he heard that a man wished to speak to him, was surprised and exclaimed, 'How! A man knows our secrets? What knowledge and understanding he must have!' They both came, and were visible to the eyes of the *ganzowra*, for there was a certain light about them though their substance was air. The *ganzowra* talked with the captain of the *shiviahi* and the *shiviahi* saluted him, saying, '*Shloma illakh, ya rabbey*!' The *ganzowra* returned the salutation saying, '*Shloma illakh wa shlāma rabba*! *Ka afiakh hena*?' asking him what it was that he and his tribe were sent to do in Shuster.

The *shiviahi* replied, 'Pthahil sent us hither to strike down the people of Shuster and take their souls.'

In truth, many were dying: as many as six hundred souls or more. Many houses had nothing but dead in them!

The *ganzowra* said to him, 'Have pity on the Naṣurai and the Mandai: it is a sin to take them thus!'

The *shiviahi* replied, 'I have no power over such matters:

I take my orders from Pthahil, and it is not in my hand. But for your sake and the sake of Shamish, I will spare your people when I know they are yours. But they must remain in their houses and not go out and plunder the dead, or take money from the living.'[3] He said this because many Ṣubba went into the houses of the dead and took their gold and their property. The *shiviahi* said to the *ganzowra* further, 'There must be this sign, so that my soldiers know which are the Mandai and which are not. Let the Mandai remain in their houses and not go forth; above all, let them not enter the houses of the dead. Then we will not strike them.'

The next day the *ganzowra* bade the Mandai to remain in their houses and not to enter the houses of others, or take the money of others. He said to them, 'Show not your faces before the *shiviahi*.'

How wise the *ganzowra* was! The *ganzivri* of to-day have not this knowledge, for the Naṣurai buried their books that they might save them. But mere reading is not everything, and there are those amongst us who still have knowledge. My father used to say, 'To him who seeks knowledge continually, knowledge and certainty will come gladly, and his thought becomes enlightened.'

The Mandai of Shuster obeyed the words of the *ganzowra* for three weeks, and the plague amongst them was abated. After that time, some of them went out and began to take money from others and rob the corpses of those who had died from the plague. Then all were struck again. When the *ganzowra* saw that, he took his relatives and those who had obeyed him and went away to a place far from Shuster, where there were gardens, trees, and water. There he and his family and their friends dwelt together and he made a *mandi* (cult-hut, see p. 124) in his garden in which he conversed with spirits. Like a light they appeared before him. He called one to him and said to him, 'I wish to speak to such and such a *shiviahi*.' The spirit went and brought the captain of the *shiviahi* to whom he had spoken in ʿAzīz ʿAzūn's house, and the *ganzowra* said to him, 'Why were the Mandai struck with plague again?'

The *shiviahi* replied, 'I and my people did not strike them, but others came from the Melka ad eHshukha (King of Darkness) and how could they distinguish the Mandai from the rest of the people? Had they remained in their houses, and not gone forth to plunder the dead, they would not have been struck down. All is not in our hands—we take commands from Pthahil and he from Shamish, and Shamish from those above, and those from spirits higher still: each spirit obeys that set in authority over it and may not question the orders given to it.'

The *ganzowra* was troubled and said, 'When I am gone, who will be able to talk with the realms of light and guide my people?'

Then he set down an incantation which he had learnt from the *melki*. When this incantation is read over salt and the salt is sprinkled about a house, the *shiviahi*, the *ṭantal*s, and *mikrobāt* will depart from it. But at the time of the sprinkling all the inmates of the house must be clean and purify themselves. The *ganzowra* gave it to the Mandai so that they might sprinkle their houses with salt[4] and keep evil away.

And the meaning of the haunting of the *darwīsh* was this: if a soul has not learnt its way to God, it wanders.

NOTES ON XVI

1. *Sin.* Pronounced Sén. 'Those with him' are the light-*ʿuthri*; see p. 76.

2. I interrupted Hirmiz here to ask how the *ganzibra* talked with the sun-god. He replied, 'The *ganzowra* went into the wilderness (*chol*), to a place remote and desolate and to which no one came. He made himself pure with many purifications and his clothes were white. He made himself pure within as well as without and he had an invocation (lit. reading) and he recited it. Then, in his thoughts, he heard a voice speaking: it was as if a voice were speaking in his head. The *ganzowra* said to it, 'I should like to have permission to converse with the *darwīsh*', and Shamish gave him the permission to speak, not only with him but with any other spirits in the material world or in Maṭaratha. But he did not give him permission to communicate with those in the realms of light.'

3. Rich describes how, during an epidemic of plague in Baghdad, thieves robbed the dead and dying of their valuables. This story recalls the

death of the firstborn in Egypt and the wise order that kept Hebrews in their houses, avoiding infection.

4. *Salt* (see note 2, next chapter), is evidently used as a disinfectant and destroyer of vermin which convey disease. Salt sprinkled on bedclothes discourages bugs and may possibly have an effect on lice. The whole Mandaean system shows considerable knowledge of the arts of healing. The importance of health and healing is a vital part of the teaching, just as it was of that of the followers of Pythagoras, of the Essenes, of the Therapeutae of Egypt, and to judge from the New Testament, of the early Christians. The Therapeutae appeared in pre-Christian times in Egypt, and lend colour to the assertion of the Mandaeans that there were Naṣurai formerly amongst the Copts. The late Babylonian cult of Ea and Marduk was a cult of healing.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XVII. THE STONE-THROWING

We had neighbours called Dhahaina, and in their *ḥōsh* (courtyard) they had a large *nabga* (*nabqa*, lote-tree).[1] Whilst they sat and ate in their yard, stones were thrown on them from above. They rose affrighted and called to the neighbours, 'Who threw stones at us?' The neighbours replied, 'We threw no stones! How could we throw stones on you?'

That night when they were asleep and the world was dark, stones were again thrown on them. All cried out in alarm, men, women, and children. Houses with high walls surrounded them, so that stones could not have been flung in from the street. They concluded that the stones must have come from the lote-tree. They called in Shaikh Joda and said to him, 'Can you exorcise this so that it departs from amongst us?'

Shaikh Joda advised them to take a palm-branch and cut it with a knife near the tree, for when evil spirits see iron, they fear and depart. They did this, but it was of no avail. The flinging of stones increased. They hid and watched, but never saw any cause of it.

Now my father had a writing, a charm which he used to read over salt[2] for exorcism, and with it he exorcised evil enchanted places such as this, for he was a Naṣurai.

I went and told them, 'I will read my father's charm over salt and bring it and sprinkle it for you.'

In the night I rose and went into the river wearing my *rasta* and read the charm over salt; then I sprinkled salt in their place all round the tree. I returned to my own house and slept with my family on the terrace (*ṭarma*), for it was summer. There was a room built between our house and Zahrun's (the narrator's brother), and it was entered from below: there was no stairway from the roof to it, or means of reaching the roof, for the walls were high and smooth and no animal could leap on to it. We had a habit of throwing rubbish on to the roof of this room so that it might be out of the way.

And from this roof that night it pelted bottles and old rags and shoes and rubbish! We rose and fled into S͟haik͟h Joda's house, where they laughed at us, saying, 'Why did you not sprinkle the salt in your own courtyard, then you would not have been troubled!' We could sleep no more that night, but read spells and brought more salt and sprinkled it about our place.

There is a certain Ṣubbi of the name of Miadi son of Baroni, a very ancient man. His age at that time was about one hundred and thirty years, and yet he was strong, eating, seeing, and hearing well—a good old age![3] His house was distant from ours by about twenty *ḥōs͟h* (houses). They began to stone him and his family as they had stoned us. A stone struck his wife's shoulder and some stones fell on his son. He came to us and said, 'Give us salt and come and sprinkle it in our house', for all knew about my father's spell, and how he used to bless salt for exorcism, after purifications in the river, wearing his *rasta* and his *skandola*. Salt so blessed is good against satans, evil spirits, *mikrobāt*,[4] and all wicked creatures.

When my people heard the request they said to me, 'Do not give him salt! The last time you gave it, the spirits were angry and pelted us! Do not give it!'

I refused him the salt. Then he and his family fled from his house, leaving it empty, taking their furniture and gear away; and none, Islām or Ṣubba, dared enter it.

But they let the woodshed to a Mosulāwi, who slept there to take care of his wood. The first night he slept there it rained stones and wood on him all night, falling, not so as to injure him, but so as to affright him. He was constantly stoned, day and night, and at last came to the Ṣubba, crying out, '*Dakh̲īl*! (Protection!) O Ṣubba, what is this? what is wrong with your house?' They soothed him saying, 'Why are you afraid? You are a man, be not afraid of a few falling stones! There is nothing wrong with the house!'

He went back and sat in the courtyard. It was night and the moon was full and the weather was hot. He cooked his food, rice, meat, and so forth, with his own hand, and sat to eat his meal in the open. It was dark in the courtyard and as he sat, he saw a white cat before him. It became big, and the man said to himself, '*Sh̲inu hāi?* What can this be?' He looked, and it became as big as a dog. His heart began to fear. It became very tall and he could endure it no longer but began to shriek, 'Come to me! *Dakh̲īl*, *dakh̲īl*!' The Ṣubba sleeping on the roofs[5] around cried out to him, 'Fear not, fear not!' When he heard their voices he seized courage to move, and fled forth to the neighbours, trembling and mad with fright. The Ṣubba tried to calm him, saying, 'Why are you thus?' while he said, 'What is it in the Ṣubbi's house? Why did they not tell me?'

In the morning he got a man to go to the woodshed and take out his wood, and he sold it all cheaply. He would not return himself, for he was afraid of the place. After that, he left Amarah and went back to his *wilāyat*. And from that time, if people in Mosul, to plague him, called after him, 'The *ṭantal* has come!'[6] he trembled and gazed behind him and feared.

Yes, that stone-throwing was not the work of a man, *mu sh̲ogh̲l admi*!'

NOTES ON XVII

1. The *nabga* or *nabqa*, called the *sidr* or *sidra* in Lower Iraq and Egypt (*Zizyphus Spina Christi*), a thorny, evergreen tree which bears a small, edible, apple-like fruit, holds a unique place amongst the trees of Iraq. While little, or no, reverence is paid by Iraqis to the date-palm, so

essential to life in Iraq, great honour is paid to the *nabqa*. The dead are washed by S͟hīʿas with an infusion of *nabqa* leaves, and it is considered disastrous if a *nabqa* tree is torn down or uprooted. The man who cuts down a *nabqa* falls ill and dies. The tree is supposed to groan if cut, and its sap, red like blood, confirms the idea of its semi-human life. Women often visit a *nabqa* (Tuesday evening being the proper time), and kindle four fires of straw under the tree, sprinkling incense on the embers. They then go away, leaving four candles burning by the ashes of the fire. I have witnessed this several times, and, on questioning the pilgrim to the tree, elicited that the magic ceremony was to heal a sick relative. Green rags are tied to *nabqa*s, and sometimes offerings of food placed by them. At Qurna a *nabqa* was known to Arabs as the 'Maqām Ibrāhīm' and by others as the 'Tree of Life', for Eden is popularly supposed to have been situated at this spot where the two rivers, Tigris and Euphrates, meet. This tree was injured by sight-seeing soldiers during the War, and was protected by a wall by the British authorities. It has since been cut down. Tradition is that an older *nabqa* stood in the same place. It is possible that the local inhabitants attached no special importance to this tree, but that English visitors, asking for the 'Tree of Life' in the supposed Garden of Eden, were shown a *nabqa*, which is thought to have life-giving properties.

2. See XVI, note 4. Salt has been employed in Iraq for exorcism since the earliest times. On account of its whiteness and preservative qualities it is associated with life and the soul. The Arabic *melḥ*, the Babylonian *ṭabtu* have both a double meaning of goodness and wholesomeness. Babylonians believed that the god En-lil ordained salt (*ṭabtu*) 'as the food of the great gods, without which no god, king, master, and prince smells the fragrance (of cooked food)'. Salt is eaten with most ritual meals (see Chapter XII) of the Mandaeans, and is mixed with the white flour of the *pihtha*, or sacramental bread (as in the Babylonian sacramental bread). 'The mystery of salt is the soul', says the Drasha d Yahya. When inscribed bowls were buried at the threshold of a dead Mandaean's house so that the *shiviahi* might be kept from the household, a little salt was placed between them.

3. Making due allowance for exaggeration, it is true that the Ṣubba attain patriarchal age.

4. Here the microbe has been translated into a kind of evil spirit, a procedure entirely in accordance with ancient Babylonian conceptions (see *Semitic Magic*, by R. Campbell Thompson, pp. 96 ff.)

5. In summer it is customary to sleep on the roof-top or terrace.

6. *Ṭantal*. Of course an Arab, not a Mandaean term; the evil spirit to the Mandaean would be a *shiviahi*. The *ṭantal* is a kind of Poltergeist which usually appears in some tall shape (hence the name, which means tall). An Englishwoman tells me that her servants came to her with the story that there was a *shaiṭān* or *ṭantal* in a small brick room used for storing coal, and that when they went to get coal, it threw stones at them. The panic grew until they were afraid to enter the yard after dark. The *shaiṭān* was said to appear holding its head, and when my friend questioned a servant who

professed to have seen it, the man replied that it was tall and wore evening clothes 'like Sahib!' Eventually it was laid, on the advice of one skilled in exorcism, by sprinkling salt outside each door in the compound and house.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XVIII. THE KAFTĀR

We Ṣubba say that there is an ogress that lives in the hills, called the *kaftār*. She is hairy like an animal but is made in the shape of a woman, and wears an *'abā'* (cloak). When the moon is half-full in the sky, the *kaftār* comes and seeks to play tricks on mankind. She is clever and learns languages very quickly. How does she acquire them? She listens at the doors of houses and learns the languages that she hears spoken by those who dwell in them, Persians, Arabs, Mandaeans, and others.[1]

This is a favourite trick of the *kaftār*. She comes and knocks at the door of a woman before it is light, saying, 'Come! it is dawn, let us go and milk!' (for the women go together to milk the herds at dawn of day). Then she takes those who follow her, not upon the road of milk (i.e. the way to the flocks), but to another place, misleading them, and, if they object, saying 'But this is not the way!', she cries, 'Come, come!' When they have reached a mountainous place, she throws them down from a height and breaks their bones.

The *kaftār* once came to Sālim's grandmother and knocked at her door. It was when they lived in S̲h̲uster. The *kaftār* came, and knocking without, cried to her, 'Bibi, Bibi!' Her husband had warned Bibi against the *kaftār*, so she was not afraid, but answered, 'Ha! who is it?' The *kaftār* said, 'Rise! We will go and get milk!' Bibi remained where she was, for she saw it was moonlight and not dawn, and guessed it was a *kaftār* who summoned her. So she cried, 'Wait, and I will come!' She put a *skandola* on her finger (p. 37) and took a large needle[2] in her hand, and began to open the door. The *kaftār* cried out, 'What have you in your hand?'

Said Bibi, 'Wait, don't be afraid!' but by the time she had unhasped the door the creature had fled.

NOTES ON XVIII

1. Demons are supposed to be good linguists. Cf. Ginza Rba, book xii, 6th frag., rt.: 'The King of Darkness knows all speeches of the world.'

2. Steel as well as iron, is feared by demons.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XIX. BIBI'S SONS AND THEIR STRANGE ADVENTURE

In S̲h̲uster, when the weather is hot, they live in the *sarādīb* (*sirdāb* = cellar or basement).[1] Each Ṣubbi house there has its courtyard in which the cattle are milked, and a *sirdāb*, a room lower than the ground in which the inmates live during the hot hours of the day. Bibi, of whom I have already told you, was a friend of ours, and she told me this story, which happened to her in S̲h̲uster.

One day she went into the *sirdāb* and in it she saw a female spirit, a *melka*. It called to her, 'Do not cry out! Fear not, I will not harm you!' But her heart was afraid and she ran out and went to the *ganzowra* and said, 'Thus it is!' and told him that she had seen a *melka* in her *sirdāb*. He said to her, 'There is no harm in her, let her be! Speak with her and do not be afraid!'

So Bibi returned to her house and went down into the *sirdāb*, and there was the *melka*, the *jinnīyah̤*. Bibi began to speak with her and asked her, 'Who are you, and what is your business?'

The *melka* answered, 'Our people spin and weave.'

Asked Bibi, 'Where is your abode?'

The *melka* replied, 'We live down the river, in a hill. When your sons go fishing, let them come to us one night and visit us: we will do them no harm.'

Now Bibi's lads used to go fishing in the river on summer nights, and when they heard what the *melka* had said, they exclaimed, 'Come, let us go to the *jānn* and see what they are like!'

They took four boys, their relatives, with them, and their fishing-net (*sellīyah̤*),[2] and set off in the night. They went far down the river and came to a hill, where they heard a noise and saw a light. They went nearer and they saw creatures who were just like the children of Adam except that they were little. Yes, they were of all kinds, men, women, and children, white and black, like the children of Adam. They sat beside them and amused themselves and talked with them. Then the *jānn* asked, 'Shall we make you food?' They replied, 'We do not eat your food[3] and presently we shall return to our own supper, which is in a basket at home, waiting for us.'

These people said, 'Nay! eat with us! We will bring your food hither!' They answered, 'Aye, bring it hither, that will be better.'

Some of the *jānn* went away and a moment afterwards, there was their own food, on their own plates, set before them! They ate, and the *jānn* bade them put the plates into their bosoms when they had finished, and this they did. Then they departed, intending to fish in the river and to return to their houses. They began to fish, but, after a little, they saw a man standing on the bank. They asked him, 'Who are you?' He replied, 'I am a fisherman!' They looked at him, and thought he did not look entirely like a human being. He said to them, 'Come! fish with me and we will be partners, for there are plenty of fish here!'

They said to him, 'You have no net—how can you fish?'

He answered, 'There is no need of a net—I will seize them!'

They threw their net and gazed at him, for he was becoming larger. He became very tall, and in one moment he had become so big that he stood with one foot on the bank and the other in the middle of the river. Then he bent and gathered the fish into his two hands; *biz*,[4] *kōsaj* (shark), *gaṭān*, *jarag*, *ragga* (turtle), *bunni*, *s̲h̲abbuṭ*, *jirriy*, every kind of fish! He caught them in his two hands and threw them on the shore. The lads cried, 'Why should we cast our nets? This one catches fish in abundance without a net!' And they cried to him, 'Catch us fish!' And the man dredged up the fish with his hands and made them into heaps, each fish according to its species, but the good fish he caused to look very small, while the poor fish and uneatable he caused to look very big. Then he called to them, '*Tafaḍḍalū*! Be pleased to choose—here are heaps of fish, let us make a division!'

They looked and said, 'This is no fair division!' but they were now afraid of him, because he looked like a *ṭantal*. They said, 'It cannot be thus!' and stooped to alter the heaps of fish. Then he seized their testicles and wrought them harm and shame. They cried, 'Take all the fish and let us go!' but he answered, 'It cannot be, you must take your fair share!' They remained so till morning; he forcing them to divide the fish and treating them shamefully.

Bibi in her house said, 'I must go to see what is keeping the lads so long. Perhaps mischief is afoot!'

She took a large needle and stuck it into her *fūṭah* (head-kerchief), and, taking a *c͟hamag͟h*[5] (stick) she began to walk down the river, calling them by their names. Ḥaddād, her eldest son, called to her when she was near them, 'We are here! the *ṭantal* has us!'

Bibi answered, 'I know what to do—wait for me!'

The *ṭantal* heard her and looked in the direction of her voice.

Bibi cried to the *ṭantal* 'I will run this needle into your testicles!'

He was afraid, and when he saw that she was near, he plunged into the river and disappeared.

The lads told their mother, 'From four hours of the night until ten hours of the night he afflicted us and wrought us harm!'

Then they took the good fish and went home, leaving the uneatable fish on the river bank. When they entered the house, they threw down the fish and said to their mother, 'Give us food, we are very hungry!'

She went to the basket where the food for their supper had been, but it was empty, and their plates were not there.

She was astonished and cried, 'The food and plates are gone and yet no robber could have been here!'

They said to her, 'Do not be afraid! Our food was brought to us by the *jānn*!' and they drew the plates out from their bosoms, and told her what had happened.

The next day Bibi went to the *ganzowra* and told him. He was very much amused, and said to her, 'If that *melka* comes again to the *sirdāb*, ask her for something of theirs, so that, when a woman is in childbirth, the gift may protect her from harm.'

Bibi returned home, and when one day she entered the *sirdāb* and saw the *melka* there, she said to her, 'Give me something of yours!' The *melka* answered, 'I will give you my ladle,'[6] and she gave it, saying, 'Put this beside a woman in childbirth and evil spirits will not harm her for they will know that it is my token.'

Bibi preserved the ladle for the use of her family and friends, and my daughter has it to-day.

NOTES ON XIX

1. Most houses in Iraq possess such cellars, and the family migrates down into them during the hot weather. *Jānn* are commonly supposed to haunt underground chambers.

2. *Sellīyaḥ.* A circular fishing-net with a drawstring, much used on the Tigris and marshes.

3. A person who eats of the food of the *jānn* is rarely permitted to return, but remains amongst them always.

4. All these are fish commonly found in the Tigris and Euphrates.

5. *Chamāgh.* A short rough stick carried by *fellāḥīn* and tribesmen. It is not used for walking, but for driving cattle and for self-defence. It is thick at one end, which is often plastered with pitch.

6. *Mess.* A perforated flat ladle for lifting rice from the pot, usually of iron. Women in childbirth are peculiarly susceptible to attack by *shiviahi* because of their unclean condition.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XX. SHAIKH ZIBID

SHAIKH ZIBID was a very learned man, of much knowledge, and he was fond of animals, and liked going out into the *chōl* (country, desert). He used a snare (*nosha*) to catch birds and ducks. But he noticed that when a *khudhairī*,[1] a green bird with a bill like a duck, descended into the snare, all the other birds fled away and only the *k͟hud͟hairī* remained to eat. It was always like that—whenever this bird appeared the others flew away. So, when S͟haik͟h Zibid wanted to catch birds, he tried to frighten this bird away. But he wondered why this should be, and one day when the *k͟hud͟hairī*, which he nicknamed Masʿūd, came into the snare and the other birds flew away, he pulled the rope, the snare closed, and the *k͟hud͟hairī* was caught. The bird tore the netting of the snare, flew to S͟haik͟h Zibid, struck him and hurt him. S͟haik͟h Zibid called out, 'Why, Masʿūd, why?'

He went to the *ganzowra* S͟haik͟h Damūk, father of S͟haik͟h Joda, and told him what had happened, saying, 'I cannot understand how the bird had the strength to tear the net, for it was thick strong netting!' The *ganzowra* said to him, 'That was no bird, it was a *melka*. Next time you see it, do not anger it, but speak politely to it, saying, "Masʿūd! I want to catch birds for food, that my family may eat!"'

S͟haik͟h Zibid went to the *c͟hōl* again and set the snare and soon saw the bird again. He began to talk to the bird while it was yet far off, saying, 'Masʿūd! I beseech you, permit birds to come, so that I may catch *k͟hud͟hairī*, *hudhud*, *kos͟har*, *bilbis͟h*![2] I ask this favour from you and will neither hurt nor seize you any more!'

Now the ʿArab had four or five snares set in that place. The bird Masʿūd went to the snares of the ʿArab and drove the birds away from their snares and into that of S͟haik͟h Zibid. He flew before them, as a shepherd leading his sheep, and brought them into S͟haik͟h Zibid's snare, and he with them. S͟haik͟h Zibid seized the birds, but let the other go free, saying, 'Pardon, Masʿūd! Deign to depart! Thanks, Masʿūd, well done!'

Every day he caught birds, and when they asked him how it was that he caught so many, he replied, 'Masʿūd brought them to me!' He used to give some of the birds to my grandfather and my relatives there.

One day S͟haik͟h Zibid and one Fayyād͟h, a Ṣubbi, were walking in the *c͟hōl*. The weather was fine and it was night, with a moon. Fayyād͟h thought he saw a white hare moving before them, hither and thither, and presently he stooped and seized the hare and put it in his bosom, saying, 'I will take this to my son'.

They walked on, for the weather was very pleasant and they were out to enjoy themselves. Presently Fayyādh thought he heard some one calling him by name from far away, '*Yā Fayyādh*! *Yā Fayyādh*!' He looked in every direction, but saw no one, nothing! When they walked on, it began again, '*Yā*! *Fayyādh*! *Yā Fayyādh*!' They stopped. No one! Nothing! Once, twice, thrice they heard this calling and by now it was near dawn. Shaikh Zibid began to laugh about it, and Fayyādh drew out the white hare to look at it, and holding it in his hands, he asked playfully, 'Who cries "Fayyādh"?'

She replied, 'I, my uncle! You are my uncle!'[3]

Startled, he threw the hare to the ground and fled away, running. Shaikh Zibid did not run away: he followed the hare and picked her up and began to talk with her, saying, 'Please, what are you? Of what kind and species? *Jinnī*, *melka*, what are you?'

She answered, 'I am a daughter of the king of the *jānn*, and one of our slaves, in the shape of a wolf[4] is seeking to do me harm, and I come to you for protection.' For, if a wolf makes water upon a *jinnī* no matter what shape the *jinnī* has taken for protection, it (the *jinnī*) is choked and dies.

Shaikh Zibid looked and saw the wolf, which was watching them in the distance to see what would happen.

She cried, 'Look at that wolf! Do you see it?'

The wolf began to draw closer to Shaikh Zibid, but the latter had with him a lance with an iron tip (*see p.* 345), and when the wolf had approached quite close he hurled his lance at it and killed it. Shaikh Zibid said to the hare, 'Now all is well! Return to your father!'

She began to run before him and he followed her. His heart began to fail him, not knowing what might befall him, but he said to himself, 'Courage! Why fear? I killed the slave who sought to harm her; without doubt, her father will be grateful to me!'

They came to a mound like a hill (*ishān*).[5] She entered and he entered with her. He saw a place for sitting in, and she said to him, 'Stay here while I fetch my father. Do not fear if *shiviahi* come; fright is evil, and no harm will come to you if you are not afraid.'

And, in fact, whilst he sat there, some of her people, the *shiviahi*, came and looked at him. Their eyes were put lengthways in their faces, not set horizontally like the eyes of men. They were smaller than men, and uglier.

After an hour, a light came towards him from below, and a voice said to him, in Mandaean, '*Asoth havilakh*!' for the spirits speak to every man in his native tongue. Shaikh Zibid returned, '*Aswatha ad héi havilakh*!'

Then the king said to Shaikh Zibid, 'You did well to save my daughter from the slave—that slave was not a good spirit! What do you command me to give you? Ask whatever you desire!'

Shaikh Zibid replied, 'I ask of you that if I visit a sick person I may be able to cure him, or if a mad person that when I go to him he shall return to his senses.'

The *melka* said, 'As you wish! All knowledge shall be yours!' Then he ordered Shaikh Zibid to come close to him and Shaikh Zibid went until he stood before the king. The king said, 'Gaze at me!' and, holding a bowl of water in his right hand, he began to recite softly to himself. Shaikh Zibid thought that rays of light issued from the eyes of the king and entered his own head. When the king had done reciting the spells, he bade Shaikh Zibid drink from the bowl. After Shaikh Zibid had drunk of the water, he began to see the world with other eyes! He saw it just as a man looks at it after he has been taken half-drowned from the sea! He rejoiced in the world! 'How beautiful it is!' he thought, and was happy beyond measure. The king repeated, 'All knowledge is now yours!'

And, lady, Shaikh Zibid was a miracle of knowledge from that day! If a man or woman sought from him information as to the whereabouts of a relative of whom they had no news, he would say to them, 'Come again to-morrow, and I will tell you where your son is' (if it were a son who was lost).

Then his spirit left him; went out from him in his likeness into the air and searched for the lost person, learnt where he was, and returned into his body. *Fsh-sh-sh*! he returned unto himself, and when the inquirer came back and asked him, 'What have you seen?' he would reply, as it might be, 'Your son is in the district (*markaz*) of the Muntafiq', or 'with Shaikh Mahy in Naṣarīyah', or wherever it might be, naming the place.

Shaikh Zibid was wonderful. Not only Ṣubba but Islām went to him. If something had been stolen, the robbed persons came to him and said, 'Tell us where the thief is!' He would reply, 'Not so! but I may get your property back for you!' Then, having in the spirit found out who the thief was, he would call him secretly and say, 'My son, give back that which you have taken', for he did not wish him to be imprisoned or beaten for his crime. He would reason with the thief quietly.

He had only to approach spoiled food and it would become wholesome, and to go near the sick and they were cured. People used to swear by his name that they would tell the truth and it was a binding oath. He died about seventy-five years ago when he had attained an age of about one hundred and twenty years, and is buried in Halfāyah.

Aye, he had only to look at those whose wits were distracted and they were sane. When he had become weak and old and could go no longer to see sick persons, they used to take his staff and touch a patient with it and he was made whole instantly. My father used to go to his house when he wanted news of his son. He used to visit him in his house, a clean, pleasant place in a garden surrounded by flowers, grass, and trees. This was the house he used to sleep in when his spirit left him.

NOTES ON XX

1. lit. 'little green one'. This name may be given to any green bird, but is usually applied to the bee-eater.

2. Names of birds. *Hudhud* is a hoopoe, but I have not discovered the English equivalents of all.

3. 'Uncle' is a friendly mode of address, when speaking to a stranger older than oneself—'*'Ammī*', 'my uncle'.

4. Of the magic powers of wolves over *jānn* I have written in *Folk Tales of 'Iraq*, p. 112.

5. *ishān.* Marsh Arabs so call the mounds which cover ancient sites.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XXI. OF BEHOLDING EVENTS IN TRANCE

Lady, there are people in India who see things in trance, and sometimes, when they appear to be sleeping, they are out of the body. There are men of the religion of Rām-Rām who have this power. A man told me that during the War he wished to have news of his wife and relations. He went to one of these men who had a hut of bamboo near the river with the door to the south and the head of the hut towards the north between the sun and the North Star. And we also, when we are dead and when we sleep lie with our feet to the north so that when we rise we face the North Star. A person should sleep with, and not across, the path of the sun, and it is bad to have a bed placed east and west. During the day the circulation works powerfully: at night the veins work weakly and a man's courage is low and he fears easily. So he should sleep in the proper direction, for that protects him from evil.

This man, my friend, went and saw the Indian, who told him to return at twelve the next day. He went before twelve as he was anxious to hear. He gazed through a hole into the hut, and saw the man sleeping. He entered the hut—the door was fastened with string—and touched him to waken him. The man was as if dead. He touched him again, but there was no response; he was exactly as if he were dead and his face was the face of a corpse. My friend was frightened and fled away, fearing that if he were found there with a dead man, people might think he had killed him. There passed two days and nothing was said, and he returned to the hut. He found the man alive and sitting there. He was delighted and saluted him. The Indian asked him to sit, bringing chairs, and appeared to be perfectly well, as your honour would have seen, had you been there!

The Indian asked him, 'Why did you not come before?'

The man replied, 'I came on Thursday and thought you were dead and I went back.'

The Indian said, 'When you came, I was not here: my soul was with your children and people.'

He said, 'Good! Did you see my relations?'

Said the Indian, 'My body was empty, only my blood worked. Yes, I saw your son and I saw your wife.'

He asked, 'In what place were they?'

Said the Indian, 'In Paris, in such and such a street and such and such a number.'

The man did not know whether this was truth or lies, and he sent a cable to the address. At the time he was in Bombay. An answer came back, 'We are well and we are returning on such and such a date.'

And his relatives rode in a ship and returned, and he saw them, and the man said (to himself), 'Truth or not truth, how could such a thing be?' and he asked his wife, 'Did a *faqīr* come to you?'

She replied, 'Yes, a *faqīr* entered our house one day, and we rose to send him away. He entered and he departed again.' These are Indians of the Rām-Rām sect.

NOTE ON XXI

This piece of gossip is interesting as showing the constant contact of ideas and intercourse with India. Basrah, a centre of Mandaeans, has been in communication with India by sea for centuries, and there have always been Indian colonists in the port.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XXII. HOW EVIL SPIRITS ABUSE THE DEAD, ETC.

When my aunt Subeyha died, my uncle, S̲haik̲h̲ Mahy, was very sad, for he loved her. He stayed constantly by her tomb, which was sealed on the four sides with the *skandola*. When he was there, he heard a crying and a groaning near by, and looking about him, he found that it came from a neighbouring grave. Some women who were gathering thorns for firewood close by, heard it too, and were so frightened that they ran away. My uncle asked them who had been buried there, and they replied, 'A robber who committed several murders'. My uncle, S͟haik͟h Mahy, thinking that perhaps the man was buried alive, went to his relations and said to them, 'There is a wailing coming from the grave, perhaps the man is not dead!'

They opened the grave and took the man out, and he was dead, but there was a long nail which entered his skull and went down the length of his body, another long nail through the right shoulder which came out at the right foot, and a third on the left shoulder coming out at the left foot. A most strange thing! Work of the *s͟hiviahi*!

The people drew the nails out of the corpse and took them to a smith called Mureyhij, a Ṣubbi, who forged nails for *mas͟hāhīf*.[1] They said to him, 'Look! Of what metal are these nails?'

He rose and put the nails in his furnace and blew up the fire, but, however hard he blew and however hot the furnace became, the nails remained cold, so cold that they could grasp them and hold them in their hands. The Turkish *ḥākim* (governor) heard of this and he said to them, 'This is a fine curiosity![2] Bring it to me in the office!' They brought the nails to him and left them there, and I do not know what became of them.

I will tell you another strange thing. This happened to us when we were in S͟huster. There were those who bore our family a grudge because we were always very rigorous in all questions of purity, and not only rigorous about ourselves, but we would never admit a polluted person, or a person in whose family there was pollution, or physical infirmity or deformity, into alliance with us. However much we liked them, we would not marry with them, or carry their coffins, or have anything to do with them, and many disliked us because of it, for many Ṣubba are not careful about such matters.

The mother of Kajar, my grandfather, died.

Some of these Ṣubba said, 'We will go and take her corpse and throw it out of the grave', for they hated her. They were people such as I have mentioned, and we will not give or take in marriage from them, however rich they may be! We will only marry with our kind, however poor.

Yes. The old woman died, and they took her and buried her properly. They read the Ginza Rabba near her tomb and ate *lofāni* and gave food to the poor Mandai.

At four of the night, three Ṣubbis went and dug her up and took her out. They put a rope round her and pulled her out.

She had three sons: Kajar (my grandfather), Faraj, and another. Faraj was sleeping, and she came to him in a dream. He saw her coming softly to him, and called out, 'O mother, mother!' She said to him, 'So-and-So, So-and-So, and So-and-So, sons of So-and-So, came and put a rope round me and drew me out of my grave!'

Faraj rose like a madman, crying, 'Kajar! My brothers! Rise! Get up! Get up!'

His wife seized him, saying, 'What is it?'

He said, 'My mother has just come to us!'

She said, 'It is a dream!'

He said, 'No! My mother came to me: I saw her in truth!' He told them what his mother had said, and they went up to the roof of their house which stood high. The graveyard was further down the hill, below. They looked and saw a light near their mother's grave. Each seized a stick and went out. There was a thick, thick darkness, and they came unperceived on the grave-robbers and seized them, and put their mother back into her place, putting a plank above her so that no earth should fall on her. Next day they took the men to the judge, who ordered that they should be beaten severely, and upbraided them, saying, 'Why did you act thus?'

Their people went with their relatives to the *ganzowra* and said, 'Protection! The judge is going to punish our sons! Mercy!'

The *ganzowra* went to the judge and said, 'For my sake forgive them! They come of respectable people, and they did this out of madness. I know they are thoughtless youths, and so for my sake, forgive them and release them from prison.' He (the *ganzowra*) was also of our family.

The judge did so. Aye, it was a strange thing! Faraj said, 'She talked to me and was not changed in her appearance. She looked exactly as she did when she was alive, like her own portrait.' From such happenings we know that the soul wears an earthly likeness when it leaves the body.

Again. One Ṣubbi died—he was quite dead, he had gone! They placed a lamp beside him and a man called Ujheyli sat by him watching, for we do not leave the dead unwatched. Ujheyli looked at the corpse and he saw it rise and begin to grope about with its eyes closed. Ujheyli shouted, 'He has come alive! (*Ṣār ʿādil*). Come, come!'

They rushed in. The woman was overjoyed that her husband was alive. They came and felt him. His pulse was not beating: he was cold, he was dead! A Persian doctor was brought in to see him and he examined him and said, 'The man is dead!' But a second time, the corpse rose and did as before, and all the people fled before it. Three times that happened. The *ganzowra* heard of it and said, 'This is *s̲h̲iviahi's* work! Perhaps you did not put the *skandola* on him!' For it is our custom to put the *skandola* and a knife with a dead person.

They replied, 'No, we did not!'

They put a *skandola* on his finger and a knife by his side, and the dead man did not rise again. It was the work of *s̲h̲iviahi*. This is true.

NOTES ON XXII

1. Sing. *Mas̲h̲hūf*. A flat-bottomed boat. See p. 52.
2. *K̲h̲os̲h̲ ʿatīka*.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XXIII. MEN WHO HAVE RETURNED FROM DEATH, ETC.

When a Mandaean dies he is not put into a box like a Christian, but is wrapped in a *bania*, which is of *bardi*, and like a reed mat. Then ropes are twisted of the leaves of the date-palm, and bound about the whole, and stalks of the palm-frond placed between the ropes so that four pure and pious men, called *hallali*, can carry the body to its grave, holding these palm-stalks (*jerīds*) (*see Chap.* XI). The body is never buried at night, and if a man dies at sunset or in the afternoon they bury him next day. In any case three hours must elapse before a man is buried; and to make the *bania* and the ropes, which must be freshly woven, and all the other preparations, six hours are usual.

Our religion forbids us to weep for the dead, as weeping enables the *s̲h̲iviahi* to harm them, and men never do so. But women sometimes keen for the dead. It is not good, but they do it.[1]

In Mohammerah there was once a Ṣubbi called Bahram. He was sick unto death, so they clothed him with the *rasta* and he died. It was about ten o'clock when he died (i.e. two hours before sunset). A Persian doctor saw him and said that he was dead. He was dead, completely dead. They brought reeds and wove the *bania*, and washed him and closed his eyes, but left the burial for the next day, because the day was near its close. They put a light white cloth above the corpse, a lamp beside it, and attached a *skandola* and knife to the body. This we do with our dead, removing the *skandola* and the knife chained to it before the man is buried. The clay of the tomb is sealed with the *skandola* on all four sides. But should the dead be a bridegroom or a woman who has died in childbed, they leave the *skandola* on the finger of the corpse.[2]

So they prepared the body of Bahram, and friends came to watch beside him, for we do not leave the dead alone. Now Bahram had a son and daughters, wife and an old mother. He had supported them all by his work as smith.

At about one o'clock of the night his mother came to him, saying, 'I want to see my son, I!' She came near and uncovered the face of the dead. The watchers said to her, 'Why do you uncover him?'

She replied, 'He is my son! I yearn to see him!'

She bent above him and kissed him, and said, 'O my son! Who will now provide your children's food? And what shall I do, I! I must beg my food from door to door of the Ṣubba, and your children—must they beg too?'

She stretched out her hand and caressed his breast, crying, 'Thy breast will go beneath the dust! O the pity!'

As she touched his breast, she felt that it was a little warm. She thought that a vein seemed to beat. She called the watchers, saying, 'Come, come! My son's body is not cold! A pulse is beating!'

They came and felt him and said, 'Yes, true! He is a little warm!'

His heart then began to beat feebly, but his eyes remained closed until, gradually, gradually, the lids began to lift a little. But the eyes remained for some time fixed and unmoving. By this time it was midnight. At last his eyes began to show life. When she saw that his eyes were moving, his mother was overjoyed. She was glad with a great gladness. She went and milked a cow in the courtyard and warmed the milk, and brought it and put some into his mouth with a spoon. He began to swallow. Gradually, gradually, his two arms and legs began to move. At sunrise he sat up!

All the people said, 'Bahram died and came to life again!' Some of them came to him later and said, 'You were dead! You went and returned! Tell us of the road and what you saw! Tell us!'

Said he, 'Those who took me from the body were dim-sighted (*āghmish ṣārū*). When they brought me to Pthahil, in the place of souls, he looked at me and said to them, "Ye have made a mistake: ye should have brought the soul of the girl Zarīfaẖ." Then they brought me back, softly, softly, and my soul re-entered my body.'

Zarīfaẖ was the daughter of a neighbour, and at the moment Bahram told them of this, she appeared to be in perfect health, and they gave her no word of what he said. But, at the fall of that day, although she had appeared to be well, she died suddenly, of a sickness of the heart. Strange!

This has happened more than once. There is a tribe of the Ṣubba called the Al Bū Zahrūn, who live at Ḥalfāyaẖ near al-'Amāraẖ. They subsist by making boats, sickles, spades, hatchets, and such implements for the 'Arab of the district. Amongst this tribe was a man who died. He died completely, and all who saw him thought him dead. But, like the other, he returned into the body. They had made all preparations for his burial when he returned, and he had been dead six hours.

They asked him, 'Whither went you?'

He said, 'They took me towards the place of souls. And amongst those with me, I saw Sindāl and Tāmūl. They also were on their way to Pt̲hahil. But Pt̲hahil ordered me to return, for the *s̲hiviahi* had brought me in mistake for another.'

When they heard what he said, the Ṣubba of that place sent into al-'Amāraẖ, where Tāmūl lived, to ask after his health. They found that he had died. But Sindāl lived amongst the Ṣubba who were in Persia and they telegraphed to ask about him. His relatives telegraphed back, 'He died on Sunday morning.' So it was true.

The *tarmidi* asked the man who had returned concerning the appearance of the souls of the dead, and he replied, 'Sindāl and Tāmūl looked exactly as when they were alive, and wore the same clothes they had worn in life. They appeared exactly as they would have appeared if one had seen them in a dream!'

On the subject of the death rasta

Upon the *rasta* of one about to die, we sew gold threads on the right and on the left silver. The right is for Melka

Ziwa, for the gold is the metal of the sun, and the left is for Melka d Anhura, for silver is the metal of the moon (p. 36).[3] But we say that Melka Ziwa and Melka d Anhura are one, though some way they are two. When my father, Mulla Khidhr, was about to die, he said, 'The time has come for me to put on my *rasta*!' and was joyful at the approach of death. When he had been washed, and had put it on, he sat up and shortly afterward died, willingly.

NOTES ON XXIII

1. In the G.R. left, 3rd fragment, Ruha urges Hawa (Eve) to bewail the dead Adam. 'Who hath forsaken thee, that thou sittest calmly here and dost not complain?' and Ruha and her *liliths* begin to wail for the dead and to reproach Eve, saying, 'Her friends despise a noble woman who does not raise the death-wail for her husband!' Hibil Ziwa then appears to Eve and accuses her of 'foolishness instigated by the planets', and when Ruha again incites her to weep, she refuses to do so, but praises Manda d Hiia instead.

Death wailing is general amongst the women of Iraq, who raise long shrill cries the moment the breath is out of the body. Neighbours hurry in to add their lamentations to those of the inmates of the house.

2. Because both died with desire to live, and therefore cling to the earth as harmful ghosts. The *skandola* is to prevent them from claiming others. Cf. Babylonian exorcisms of the ghosts of women who have died in childbed, and the Indian conception that they are actually maleficent beings. The Arabs of Iraq seem to have no such superstition: though, according to Doughty, nomad women take the cry of the owl to be the wail of a mother dead in childbed. In the cases mentioned, the bridegroom has the *skandola* placed on his finger, the woman has it hung round her neck.

3. Dimeshqi says of the Ḥarrānian Ṣābians that they attribute a metal to every planet. 'And gold . . . belongs to the sun as regards colour and qualities and nobility . . . the Ṣābians believe that silver is the moon's portion.' (Chw. Ṣ.)

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XXIV. OF THE POWER TO SEE SPIRITS

I WILL tell you how I saw a *melka* for the first time. I was about fourteen years of age. Our house was of reeds, and before it was an even level of beaten mud (*tōf*) like your playing-court (i.e. Badminton court). My father liked it to be kept clean and the river, edged with grass and reeds, ran before the house. It was a clean, sweet place.

It was the time of a feast, the Dehwa Shishlam Rabba, dedicated to one of the great *melki* whose name is Shishlam Rabba. On that day and the night preceding it, the gates of the world of light are opened wide. The Moslems know that there is such a night, but they do not know, as we do, when it takes place. The feast falls after the ripening of the dates.

My father used to rise early—at dawn—to pray. That day as it was a feast, a happy day, I rose at dawn like my father. The sun was not yet up when I went out, and my father was at the river, for he had not finished his prayers. I saw on the smooth space before the house a being standing with his staff (*margna*) on his shoulder, praying towards the north. He was shining and very white.

I ran to my mother, who was still sleeping, and roused her and said to her, 'My mother! who is that praying before the house?' But he had not been praying aloud, no voice had been audible.

She said, 'No one! Don't be afraid, there is no one!'

I said, 'Yes, there is some one wearing a new white *rasta*.' I returned again to look and he turned himself and gazed at me, and light seemed to come from his face. He was beautiful! Of great beauty! And then, I saw nothing more!

When I went to my mother again, she said to me, 'That must have been a *naṭri*, the guardian spirit of our house, do not fear!'

My father then came up from the river and I went to him and told him what I had seen, saying, 'One came here in appearance like a *darwīsh*, wearing white clothes. I went to call my mother, and when I returned again, he looked at me and disappeared.'

My father said, 'Why did you not come for me? I would have spoken with him. That was a Guardian, and there was no cause for fear: he is very good!' And my father was sad and began to pray. When he had finished his prayer, my father looked happy and said to me, 'You are like our family, you *see*, you uncover, you see spirits. Whenever you see one, call me, so that I may speak with them.'

My father's words remained in my memory and if I saw anything, I always told him.

Another time I saw one of the *shiviahi.*

Shaikh Joda's sister, Qurṭāsaḥ, used to weave, and she made me an *ʿabāyaḥ*. I used to hang this cloak, of which I was very fond, in a locked room in my grandfather's, Shaikh Mahy's, house. I went one day to hang it there at ten hours of the day. The place was old and large and dark. I entered it and went to throw my *ʿabā'* on a rope.[1] There was a high table in the heel of the room, upon which onions and gourds were stored, and they used to make *laban* (curds) on it. I looked, and I saw on the table a spirit about a foot high—one of the *shiviahi*—very small and very ugly. I said to him, my father having bidden me not be afraid, 'What are you?' He shook his head.

My cousin (*bint khālatī*) was with me in the room: her name was Ileywa. I cried to her, 'Come! Look! There is a *shiviahi*!'

I mounted on a *jāwan* (tall, wooden receptacle for pounding rice) and she was at the other end of the room. I said to her, 'Give me a stick (*chimāgh*), so that I may strike it and take it to show my father!' For I was ignorant and did not understand, and wished to treat it like an animal.

She reached me a *chimāgh*, and I hit at it, but could not reach it. She said 'Hit it on the head and let me see it when you have killed it!' But it escaped me and fled.

I went to my father, who was sitting working, and told him what I had seen, and how the *shiviahi* had escaped me when I tried to kill it.

He said, 'What were you about! That was very bad behaviour! That *shiviahi* was probably a keeper of the house and so did not harm you, but, if it had not been, it might have killed you!'

I began to be afraid, and I never put my *ʿabā'* in that room again. I would not enter it. In our house was a myrtle-tree growing in the yard, which my father had planted. One day, I saw the *shiviahi* sitting beneath the myrtle-tree. I began to cry, 'Father, father! Come, this is he!' My father said, 'Say to it, "*Ushma ad Héi*" (Name of the Life) and do not be afraid.'

My aunt said, 'The boy is frightened lest the *shiviahi* do him harm. I must write him a *zrazta*' (see pp. 25–27).[2]

My father said, 'Aye, write him one. I have no time!'

They wrote me a *zrazta*, and when I had put it into my bosom, I was no longer afraid. I was free from alarm and happy.

NOTES ON XXIV

1. Clothes-pegs and wardrobes are not used in reed-dwellings. Clothes not in wear are thrown over a rope, as described here.

2. A talismanic scroll, kept in a case and worn. I was presented with one by the narrator of the above story, said to have been written by one Rabbey Sām who died 150 years ago, or more. His age at death is reputed to have been 130 years, for he was of great strength. This man's memory is greatly revered. He loved flowers, and they say he still works amongst the flowers, carrying a sword and a spade. He lived at a place called Maidan esh-Shaikh, and so many consulted him that he became rich. His name is invoked in a curious way. If a visitor is 'heavy' and prolongs a tedious visit, a Ṣubbi whispers, 'Rabbey Sām! bring a spade and sword and make him rise!' (*Rabbey Sam athi maharra usiwirra aqmihi!*) and the visitor gets up and takes his leave of his own volition.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XXV. THE SĪMURGH: THE TRUE HISTORY OF RUSTAM AND HIS SON

THE Persians wrote of this in the Shah Nameh, but their history is not the true one. Only we Ṣubba know the true story and have told it from father to son. It is this.

Rustam,[1] of whose strength and fame you have heard, was of Afghanistan. One day, for the sake of the venture, he fared forth on his horse until he reached Turkestan. As he loved the chase, he hunted gazelle, *zahmūr*, birds, and other game, and lived upon what he killed. The breeze was soft, the air was full of the scent of flowers of the wilderness. His horse, Rakhash (Mandaean 'horse'), was intelligent, and understood his master so well that he obeyed his lightest command and loved him dearly. Rustam took the bridle from his head and said to him (one day), 'Go, eat! The grass and herbage are wholesome here and I wish to sleep!'

Then he slept, Rustam, for the air was sweet, and Rakhash went to graze.

When he awoke from his sleep Rustam called his horse, but the horse came not, and though he sought him he found him not, for the animal had been stolen. His heart was straitened and his mind troubled, for Rakhash was very dear to him, being no ordinary horse, but a foal begotten by a sea-stallion, who had come up out of the sea and covered a mare which had been tethered near by on the shore.[2] No horse bore Rustam so well as Rakhash!

Rustam went to the king of Turkestan and said to him, 'If you do not give me back my horse, which your people enticed away, I will kill you and your soldiers.' For Rustam knew that the people of Turkestan understand the speech of horses, and indeed they had enticed Rakhash away by smooth speeches, promising him sweet water and rich grass.

The king of Turkestan spoke him fair, knowing that Rustam was very strong, and said to him, 'Be pleased to be our guest! Drink and rest! Please Allah, your horse will be found!'

Rustam entered and sat and drank the wine which they offered him. Then they gave him food and a room in which he might sleep by himself.[3] Then they told him, 'Your horse has been taken by the people of Sīstān!'

Rustam left them, and going to Sīstān, he sought his horse there, but the people of that place said to him, 'Do not be wroth with us, your horse is not with us. The King of Chīn has it."

Then Rustam fared to Chīn, and came to the castle of the king of Chīn. Before it was a fountain called the 'Spring of Pearls'. A breeze blew sweetly, and trees and flowers grew beside the fountain giving perfume to the breeze. He lay down and slept by the pool, which was near the path that led to the castle.

Now the daughter of the King of Chīn was a sand-diviner (*'arafat tidhrab raml*), and took omens in the sand,

and she had seen written in the sand that she should belong to no man but Rustam—he only amongst men. It was her custom to descend daily to the Spring of Pearls to bathe there, and this day also she went. She took off her clothes, went down naked into the water, and washed herself. Then she was aware that some one amongst the flowers was gazing at her, and quickly she loosed her hair, so that it fell about her like a cloak (*'abāyaẖ*). She thought that it must be Rustam, for she knew in her heart that the eyes were his. She went near him and saluted him and said, 'Are you seeking for Rakhash?' He asked her, 'How did you guess?' She replied, 'You are Rustam, I know it!'

Now the girl was young and sweet and had refused many suitors saying, 'I will take as my man only Rustam!'

She said now to Rustam, 'If you will take me, I can find Rakhash for you and will bring him to you!'

He looked at her and loved her, and said, 'I will take you! I am glad in truth to do so!'

She said to him, 'Come! You must be my father's guest.' And she led him to her father, who greeted Rustam courteously, saying, 'Peace be on you!' Rustam answered, 'On you the peace!' Then the king of Chīn said to him in Pehlawāni, 'Welcome! I am delighted to have Rustam as my guest!'

Rustam asked him for his horse, for he knew that the king of Chīn had bought it from the people of Sīstān, who had stolen it.

The king denied, saying, 'Your horse is not with us!'

Then Rustam was angered, and said, 'I have certainty that my horse is with you, and if you do not give him up, I shall slay you and your men of war.'

The king said to himself, 'We must use policy!', and to Rustam he said, 'We will look for the horse: we will ask where it is. Do not be angry! You are our guest and we wish you well. I will try to find your horse, and, if Allah wills, it will be found.'

So Rustam abode with them three days, and then he came to the king and said, 'I love your daughter! Give her to me!'

The king replied, 'Gladly, for a better man than you there is not in the world! And my daughter has yearned for you for a long while.'

The king of C͟hīn was well satisfied, and Rustam and the girl were happy. They called an *'ālim* and drew up the marriage contract, and the merrymakings lasted for seven days. Guests were entertained, and night was turned into day, for there were lights in all the rooms.

Then Rustam asked his bride, 'Where is my horse?'

She replied, 'Fear not, I have it!'

The princess had a mare, and, just as she had seen Rustam and loved him, so the mare had seen Rak͟has͟h and loved the stallion. Now the mare had a foal by Rak͟has͟h, and the princess had stallion and foal to show to her husband. When the horse saw his master, he galloped to him and put his nose on his shoulder, and Rustam kissed his horse and fondled it, for he loved it greatly.

Now Rustam had knowledge of the Sun, whom they named Yazdān Pāk, or *K͟hūr*, and he was the Lord whom they worshipped. Rustam had much secret knowledge, and in our histories it is written that whatever strength Rustam asked from the Sun, he received, according to the hour of the Sun. From the morning to noonday his strength was great, but in the afternoon his strength declined. Before the time of which I am telling you, Rustam had been in the wilderness, amongst the mountains, and in places where there were diggings, and it was during this time that he had acquired this knowledge. So great was the strength which God granted him that two thousand warriors could do nothing against him. Aye, the Pehlawān were wise, but he was wiser than them all! The Pehlawān were masters of knowledge, for if they prayed, no one was able to vanquish them because of the power given to them by Yazdān Pāk. It happened that sometimes a king or a chief who came with an army to fight them was unable even to approach them because of this power. (If one of our people has gone deeply into the secret doctrines, he unveils, unveils, unveils, until *dī*! he comes upon the Most Secret Doctrine—which was theirs also. But such a man, if he speaks to you, though he may answer your questions correctly, will be silent about that inner knowledge. He is a man who does not chatter about what he sees. If I were to see a *melka* or an *'uthra*, I should be delighted and might speak of it; but he says nothing of what he sees. He knows his Way, and he walks therein.

The Pehlawān religion and ours followed the same road at first, but we discovered new light and followed it, whilst they kept on as before. In our religion, secret knowledge must not be imparted: each one must attain to it by himself. God opens a way to those who are fitted to walk in it. Most of the people in this world have worldly knowledge, but they are sleeping. Sleeping! They walk about as if asleep, and the enlightened ones know it. But, if God sees a seeker after truth, He can wake him up.)

Well! Rustam went to the king of Chīn and said, 'I want to see my father and my people.' The king of Chīn replied, 'Go, in God's keeping! but leave your wife with me, for the way is long and difficult. When your honour returns, I will give her to you again.'

Rustam had an armlet set with precious stones upon which talismanic writings were inscribed. He understood these inscriptions, but no one else, for these writings in the rubies and emeralds and diamonds on the armlet were secret. He gave this to his wife, saying, 'If you bear me a son, put this on his arm. If you bear me a daughter, and she is ever in need, she has only to show this to a rich merchant, and he will furnish her with whatever she wants, for the armlet is worth a kingdom.'

Rustam journeyed away and returned to his people, leaving the armlet with his wife. The girl was pregnant, and, when her time was come, she brought forth a boy. The boy was a fine child, and when he was three he could wrestle with boys older than himself and overthrow them, for he was strong like his father. When he was seven, he was so good a horseman that not even the Pehlewān could match him in horsemanship. He was fond of riding out into the desert.

When he asked his mother, 'Mother, where is my father? Who is he?' she did not like to tell him that Rustam his father had left her, so she said, 'Your grandfather is your father—does he not love you tenderly?' and she bade her father let the boy believe this. But when the lad was fifteen, he came to her and constrained her to tell him the truth, saying, 'You must tell me now. Who was my father?'

She replied to him, 'What can I tell you but the truth! Your father is Rustam of Afghanistan.'

When he heard that, the boy went to his grandfather and asked for an escort of ten thousand soldiers so that he might go and find his father. He rode on the foal sired by Rakhash out of his mother's mare. The manner of that foal's birth was this: it was so large that its mother was unable to bring it into the world, and, as they were afraid that it would die, a surgeon came and opened the belly of its mother.[4] So it came into the world, and was as like its sire as a portrait is like the original.

The lad had with him an old soldier who remembered Rustam well. He took leave of his grandfather and kissed him, and his mother kissed him and wept over him, for she loved him dearly. The boy embraced her and wept also, but said, 'Do not fear! I shall return!'

But the mother said, 'O Yazd![5] I cannot endure to let you go, for I desire your face before me morning, noon, and night!'

The youth said, 'And I wish to see my father morning, noon, and night, and you also! I wish to have you both together before me, so that we may be glad always.'

Then he kissed his mother and went away, saying, 'If God wills, I will return and bring my father with me.' Before he set off, she put the armlet on his arm, saying, 'If your father sees this, he will know you for his son.'

He marched away, he and his company, for there were ten thousand horsemen with him. When they came to a country, the sultan who ruled it gave the lad his allegiance and became his vassal. Then they went on, taking soldiers from that country with them into the next. So his army grew and grew, and every country through which he passed was under his hand and he was its liege lord.

For three years the stripling and his army went on their way, conquering and fighting. None could stand before their strength. At last they came to the borders of the land of Īrān. The youth sent to the Shah, saying, 'Give me your allegiance, become my vassal, or I shall fight with you!' The Shah of Īrān knew that Yazd and his army had come from the land of C͟hīn conquering the countries through which they had passed, and that all the kings of those countries had become his vassals, but the Shah could not give up his country just for the asking, so he prepared to fight. There was a mighty battle, and the Pehlewān went against the foreign army, marching into combat thousands at a time. The Shah, the Sultan of Īrān, sent then for Rustam, for he feared that Yazd would prevail and take his throne from him.

In the morning, Rustam came galloping on his horse to the Shah and the Shah said, 'You must fight with this prince and prevent him from seizing my throne.'

Rustam waited until the night came, and then he disguised himself as a *darwīs͟h* (and the dress that he wore was white and like our *rasta*), and he asked of Yazdān Pāk that he should be invisible, so that he might pass unnoticed through the camp. It was so, and he passed through the camps and no man saw him, not a soldier of all the thousands. There was a full moon and the light was bright. Four ranks of soldiers stood sentinel by Yazd's tent, and at the four pomegranates (i.e. four knobs of the tent-poles) of Yazd's pavilion four guards were posted. Rustam passed them all, but, though they heard footsteps and gazed, they saw no one, because Rustam was invisible by the power of Yazdān Pāk.

Rustam climbed the tent rope to the top of the pavilion and there he cut an opening with his dagger and descended into the tent. The tent was lit by the effulgence of a large pearl which was lying by Yazd as he slept, and this was a *durraḥ*,[6] a present which Yazd was bringing for his grandfather Zāl, Rustam's father, from his other grandfather, the king of C͟hīn. This Zāl was also a man of strength and wisdom, for Rustam's people were all distinguished for wisdom and strength. They lived in the wilderness, disliking the noise and fret of men, for they loved to breathe the sweet air and to behold the face of Yazdān Pāk. They were people of knowledge.

When Rustam had descended and gazed upon the lad, he saw how handsome he was, and began to love him. His heart beat strongly, and he was deeply moved by a feeling of affection. The boy was sleeping, and it had been his first intention to wake him from sleep, kill him, and go. That had been his first thought. But, when he beheld him sleeping, he imagined he saw the full moon before him, and remained bemused, gazing at his beauty. He said to himself, 'I cannot rouse this Pehlawāni from his sleep to kill him! I cannot slay him!' So he stuck his dagger into the pillow on which the lad slept, as a sign that he had been able to kill him but had refrained. Then he left him and went out.

In the morning the lad woke and saw the dagger in the pillow beside him and the rent in the tent. He called his generals and officers and showed them the rent and the dagger saying, 'Come! Look! What is this? Why did a man enter my tent and refrain from killing me? Why did not the soldiers slay him? How was it that they allowed a man to enter my tent?'

They questioned the guards, saying, 'Saw ye nothing? Saw ye no man?' They replied, 'We heard a noise as of one passing, but looked and saw nothing.' The prince said to his advisers, 'What say you to this, O Wuzarā'?'

An old, wise *wazīr* answered him, 'He who came must have been a master of knowledge which enabled him to be invisible.'

And the lad was troubled about this strange thing that had happened. When he went out and looked at the tents of the enemy, he saw amongst them a new, green tent, and he remembered that his mother had told him that his father used a green pavilion. He mounted his horse and galloped up on to a hill whence he could see all the tents.

Rustam put on his disguise again, and mounted his horse and galloped to see who was the horseman who stood watching on the hill. When he came up to him, the lad saluted his father and said to him, 'Is not your honour Rustam?'

Rustam's heart went out to the boy and he felt a great tenderness for him. But he replied, 'Rustam! It is difficult for you to see him! I am a *darwīsh*!'

The boy said, 'If you be Rustam, I beg you to tell me with truth.'

But Rustam, fearing an ambush and knowing that they sought his life, denied that he was Rustam, and the more he denied, the deeper the love that he felt for the lad—and his eyes betrayed him, for tears flowed from them.

Now the soldier who knew Rustam had been taken prisoner and brought to the Shah, and he had told the Shah that the stranger who led the invading army was Rustam's son. When he heard that, the Shah was afraid, 'for', thought he, 'if Rustam and his son be reconciled, they will be stronger than us all, and will take my throne from me! Let one kill the other!' and he bade the old soldier hold his peace and said no word of what he had learnt from him.

Meantime, Rustam cried to the boy, 'I am not Rustam! I am a *darwīsh*! Go back to your people, for, if Rustam comes, he will kill you!'

The lad, beholding the noble face of the *darwīsh*, could not believe, and still insisted, saying, 'Thou art Rustam! Thou!'

Rustam said, 'Never believe it! I am not Rustam! If you think that I do not speak the truth and want to do battle, we will wrestle together!'

The lad answered him, 'Good! Dismount!'

Then the gaze of the armies, and of the Shah, and of Zāl, who was with him, fell upon them. The lad's army stood round the one side of the plain and the Shah's on the other, to watch the combat.

Rustam and the lad dismounted and began to wrestle, each striving to throw his opponent to the ground.

Now Zāl the previous night had dreamt a dream in which he had seen Rustam with his right arm cut off.

The two began to wrestle and to struggle. The lad was very strong, and he gripped his father and threw him. Then he drew his dagger, but the Pehlewān who stood by said, 'No! It is not custom to kill at the first throw! The loser must be thrown three times!'

When Rustam fell, Zāl, his father, was alarmed, fearing that the youth would conquer and seize the kingdom. But the ruler of Iran laughed to himself and said within his heart, 'Who but Rustam's son could have thrown Rustam?' He kept counsel, however, hoping that both would be destroyed.

Zāl saw the Shah smile, and asked him, 'Why do you smile when we are downcast?'

The Shah replied, 'I laughed because God always creates a stronger than the strong!'

Then Zāl went to Rustam and said, 'Last night I had an evil dream about you. I saw in my dream that your right arm was cut off!' And he urged him, saying, 'Rule yourself! Be on your guard!'

Rustam went to a spring, which, like the other, was called 'Fountain of Pearls', and he took off his robe and washed it, and abluted himself, standing towards the north and praying with his face turned to the right side, in the direction of the sun, where S̲h̲amis̲h̲ and the ten *melki* with him (p. 76) rule the day. Then he put on his newly washed *rasta* and he prayed to Melka Ziwa and Yazdān Pāk. Yazdān Pāk is the Pehlawi name for S̲h̲amis̲h̲, for the Pehlawāni worshipped in the ancient fashion of the Ṣubba.

And this is what Rustam prayed: 'Give me power from thyself to throw this lad to the ground!' For those who know receive such strength from the sun that they can wade through earth as if it were water.

The lad Yazd said to those about him, 'Why do not they send Rustam against me? Why do not the Pehlewān send me Rustam, the hero, so that I may wrestle with him?'

The Shah of the Iranians laughed again, and those with the boy said, 'Do you laugh at us?'

The Shah said to them, 'You cannot throw this man any more, for when he has prayed he is invincible, and whatever feat he tries to perform, he is able to do it.'

Rustam returned to the combat, and his breast was high and he walked confidently. He said, 'Be pleased to come on! Let us wrestle! Let us match ourselves one against the other!'

Then they descended into the plain and closed together. The father seized the son, and hurled him to the ground with such force that his belly was rent.

Meanwhile Zāl, uneasy because of his dream, had begun to recite spells, and put a Sīmurgh's feather into the fire so as to force the Sīmurgh to appear.

After he had been hurled to the ground by his father, the youth opened his eyes and said, 'Why have you slain me thus quickly? Did you not say that the victor must throw his opponent three times before killing him? Why this trickery? Have you no fear of my father? When he hears how you slew me, he will kill you though you were a bird of the air or deep in the earth! He will find you out, wherever you be! Where will you hide from him?'

Rustam said to him, 'Who is your father?'

Answered the youth, 'My father is Rustam!'

Said Rustam, 'Thy father is Rustam?'

Replied the lad, 'Aye, and this is his token and sign', and he showed him the armlet.

Then his father seized upon a large stone and beat his head with it, for he was mad with grief. Seeing this, Zāl wondered, 'Why does Rustam beat his head?' and the soldiers who beheld it were amazed. Zāl, wondering greatly, continued to read his spells. He approached Rustam, who cried to him, 'I have slain my son!'

Zāl said, 'This is what I saw in my dream! But the Shah has a salve which will heal any wound!'

They bore the lad to the Shah and said, 'Give us some of your salve!'

The Shah replied, 'There is none left, I have none!' for he did not wish to give it to them.

As they were thus, the Sīmurgh flew to Zāl and she said to Rustam, 'What, Rustam! Hast killed thy son?'

Rustam cried to her, 'I am thy suppliant! I am thy suppliant! Find me a means of escape from my deed!'

Now the Sīmurgh has this gift from God, that, if she licks a wound, it will heal. Just as the Ayar (pure, unpolluted air) comes from God, her breath comes from the Breath of Life, and her breath kept the soul of the boy in his body. The strength that she gave him was from the Realm of Light, and he returned to himself, and said to her, 'I spoke with my father, but he denied himself! At first I overthrew him, but they said it must be three times. He went, I know not whither, and when he returned, he threw me to the ground and brake my belly.'

She said to him, 'Thy father's mind was darkened. How was it that he knew you not?'

The lad said, 'This is from God!'

The Sīmurgh said, 'Do not fear! I will heal you and you will be as strong again as before, but you must not trouble or be anxious.'

Rustam said to the Sīmurgh, 'I am thy suppliant! Kill me, and let the lad be cured!' and he called to the Pehlewān to slay him.

The Sīmurgh said to Yazd, 'Fear not! You shall be cured, but Rustam must carry you for a whole year on his head. Every Sunday I will come to give you strength so that you may live without food.'

After an hour, the lad lay like one asleep. His blood worked. (See, what knowledge the Sīmurgh had from God and what marvels she could perform!)

During that hour he was able to converse, and talked with his grandfather and told him how he had come, saying, 'What will my mother think! For when I met my father, it was thus that he treated me, and it was she who sent me hither. And from Chīn to Īrān every nation is under my hand!'

For an hour he was able to talk thus, and then he fell, as it were, into a deep sleep. Zāl wept, but the boy could speak no more. The Sīmurgh said to him, 'Do not weep! Do not be fearful, the boy will recover after a year!'

Said Zāl, 'From now to a year is a long time! How shall I endure being parted from him for so long a period?'

Rustam said to his father, 'If you talk like this, I shall kill myself! It was God's will that it should be thus, though it was hard. Gladly will I carry him on my head!'

They put the youth in a box. Rustam's daughters came to kiss him and said, 'We shall see him well in a year, perhaps!' And the Sīmurgh comforted them, saying, 'Do not weep!' For the Sīmurgh is a spirit, not an ordinary bird, and her power comes from Simat-Hêi (*Simat-Hiia*—'Treasure of Life', see p. 27), who is with Melka Ziwa.

Rustam placed the box on his head and said, 'I will carry him as long as I have strength, longer than a year if need be!' He put on his *rasta* and went into the wilderness, carrying the box on his head. The Sīmurgh, after she had licked the youth all over, flew away, bidding Rustam meet her on Sunday. Rustam fared forth into the desert, carrying the boy on his head, and lived upon what he found there, on locusts, honey, fruit, and roots.[7]

The Sīmurgh—had she not said that she would come every Sunday?—fulfilled her promise. There is a region called aṭ-Ṭīb[8] near the river Karūn, and in that place, which once belonged to the Naṣurai and Mandai, there are no harmful things such as scorpions, snakes, or mosquitoes. The air is pure there, and there is a charm on the place which keeps all harmful creatures away. The Arabs know it, and their *'ulamā'* speak of this place of healing with praise. Its name was not formerly aṭ-Ṭīb but was called 'Matha d Naṣurai'. Now before she flew away the Sīmurgh had bidden Rustam meet her there, in that spot, for the prayers and devotions of the Naṣurai had made the place pure and had banished all evil things and all creatures of the Darkness from it. He went, therefore, and she came and licked the boy with her tongue and gave him strength from the Ayat Hiwel Ziwa.

Rustam looked at the Sīmurgh, and when she said, 'Do not fear! He will be cured!' his heart was lightened.

So it was a year, and the Sīmurgh came every Sunday to that place, and licked the boy and gave him strength. When the end of the year came, the Sīmurgh was very glad and joyful, and Rustam's heart rejoiced when she said to him, 'To-day your son will be as well as he was before, and better!'

She came, and she prayed to God with her wings outspread. She prayed to the *ʿuthri* and to the *melki* and to Shamish. Then she spread her wings on the lad and gazed at him. *Dī, dī, dī, dī*! softly, softly, his soul took strength.

Rustam looked like one in a dream, with his arms upraised, glad, but gazing.

Dī! the lad received his soul, and his *paghra* (earthly body) began to function. He was stronger than before. His eyes began to sparkle and to see, and he began to smile into the face of the Sīmurgh. He sneezed and sat up, and in that sneeze his soul returned to him wholly; for, lady, if a person falls ill and his soul is but lightly attached to him, and he sneezes, his soul will come back to him.

Yazd sat up and, just as a serpent sloughs her skin, he cast his, and came out clean and beautiful. He rose and fell before the Sīmurgh and kissed her, and said, 'I am very grateful to you for keeping me in this world!'

Many persons had gathered together that day to see this miracle worked, and from that time the place was called aṭ-Ṭīb. To this day it is thus called.

Rustam and Yazd went to Zāl, who seized the lad and embraced him, asking him, 'Are you well?' and the boy replied, 'I am well!'

For a whole year there was rejoicing, and by common wish the lad was made Shah, and seven treasures were given to be spent in charity as a thankoffering for his cure.

Now, news had reached the lad's mother that Rustam had killed his son. She was full of black thought, and she took one hundred thousand soldiers from her father and rode with them until she reached the borders of Rustam's country. Rustam received news that an army was approaching to take the kingdom, and he disguised himself as a *darwīsh* and went early one morning to see what their leader was like.

His wife wore a veil which covered her completely except for her eyes—for such was their custom—and she sat on her horse. He knew her not, but as soon as she saw him she knew him for her husband in spite of his disguise, and tried to strike at his head with a mace. Rustam said to her, 'Does one Pehlawāni strike another without notice and without cause? It is not done!'

She replied, 'I have cause to strike you!' and he recognized that she was not a man by her voice, and said to her, 'You are a woman, and not a Pehlawāni, and what is the reason that you try to strike me and kill me?'

She began to weep and was unable to lift her hand further against him, for she loved him greatly.

He brought his horse close to her and she said to him, 'You killed Yazd!'

He answered, 'Do not weep! He lives! He lives, and all is well!'

She uncovered her face and said, 'He is dead: how can he be well? Where is he?'

The Pehlwanīya went to bring Yazd.

When they said to him, 'Your mother is here with an army and she wishes to see you', he galloped swiftly to her, for he longed to see her. She saw him as he was still far off, and galloped to him, and then both dismounted and rushed together. She seized him in her arms and they embraced each other.

She cried, 'Are you really Yazd and not a dream?'

He said, 'I, myself, and no dream!'

Then Zāl came riding in a howdah on an elephant, and all mounted into the howdah and returned; Rustam, his son and all of them. The princess kissed Zāl's hand and the old man was delighted with her. All were happy, very happy—how happy!

NOTES ON XXV

1. Rustam is a hero of the sun-type, corresponding to Samson, Gilgames̱ẖ, Herakles, and St. George. The horse is probably the horse of the sun chariot. The sacrifice of white horses is mentioned by Herodotus as practised on solemn occasions by the Magians. The horse of St. George is probably the sun-horse. The sun-character of Rustam is plainly indicated in this tale.

2. See *Folk Tales of ʿIraq*, note on sea-horses, p. 303.

3. A mark of distinction. The ordinary guest lies down with the men of the family to sleep.

4. A similar Caesarean operation is recorded in the *S̱ẖāhnāmeh* as performed on the advice of the Sīmurg̱ẖ upon Rūdābeh, Rustam's mother.

5. I interrupted here by saying, 'This story is well known, but in the Persian story Rustam's son is called Sohrāb'. Hirmiz replied, 'The Persians tell the story one way, we another, and ours is the true story. Besides, Sohrāb was Rustam's son by another wife, for Rustam loved many women. He was very strong, and wished to breed sons like himself.'

6. *Durrah̤*: Hirmiz commented, 'This kind of pearl is more lustrous than the *lu'lu'*, and it was found in ancient times in the sea'. Possibly a crystal. Najaf crystal is called *durr Najaf.*

7. Solitary banishment to the desert and a diet of wild herbs seems to have been a punishment or ordeal inflicted by the Essenes (cf. Josephus's account of them). It may have been a feature of an Iranian cult. It is certainly no coincidence that both John and Jesus spent time in solitude in the desert.

8. *aṭ-Ṭīb.* Mention of a settlement of Naṣurai in aṭ-Ṭīb is made in the Haran Gawaiṯẖa. See p. 8.

In *Muʿajjam al-Buldān* Yāqūt writes of aṭ-Ṭīb, 'The merchant Dā'ūd bin Aḥmad bin Saʿīd aṭ-Ṭībī told me the following: "It is known amongst us that aṭ-Ṭīb was one of the residences of Seth, son of Adam, and that the inhabitants of this town never ceased to confess the religion of Seth" (i.e. of the Ṣābians) "until the advent of Islām, when they became Muslims."' He also mentions wonderful talismans at aṭ-Ṭīb, which prevented snakes, lizards, ravens, and such creatures from approaching it. According to Yāqūt, aṭ-Ṭīb was a small town between Wāsiṭ and Khuzistān. It is thought to be the modern Sūr, near the police-post Kuwait. See p. 8.

GENERAL

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

Petermann tells a similar story, based on the *S̱ẖāhnāmeh* (*Reisen*, p. 109). In his version Rustam carries his son in a box on his head, but the ending differs.

The Sīmurg̱ẖ plays no part in the story of Rustam and Sohrāb in the *S̱ẖāhnāmeh*, but the bird appears earlier in the poem to nourish Zāl, when he was cast forth by his father Sām, to perish on the mountain of Al-Burz. The Sīmurg̱ẖ promises her foundling that she (or he) will come to his help whenever he burns one of her (or his) feathers. This Zāl does when Rustam is grievously wounded by Isfendiyar, who had previously slain another Sīmurgh. The Sīmurgh, thus summoned, sucks Rustam's wounds and heals them by passing one of her feathers over them. The Sīmurgh plays a considerable part in Mandaean folk-stories. See Legend XXIX.

XXVI. HIRMIZ SHĀH

THEY say that Hirmiz Shāh will return one day to rule over Iran. He is ancient, of the time of Adam, and to this day there is a mountain called the Kuh Hormuzd Shāh in Iran, named after him. I will tell you what my father told me about him.

In the time of Hirmiz Shāh there was such justice that there was no wrongdoing. There was no strife and no war. None were rich and none were poor, for all were equal.[1] Hirmiz Shāh had ruled wisely for eighty years, and when he saw that there was no trouble, that every one was behaving reasonably, and that each man lived in peace with his neighbour, he said, 'These people have no need of a ruler. I will go on a journey and the government will look after itself.'

So he clad himself in the robe of a *darwīsh*, mounted his horse, and rode from city to city and wilderness to wilderness, but lingered not in the cities, for he loved the wilderness best. One day, just before dawn, he was riding in the open country when he became aware of a breeze of great sweetness, rarely good it was! He breathed it in and said, 'This is wonderful air!' and he rode on and on until he saw in the midst of the desert a huge castle. He could see no gate to it, and though he went round and round the wall, he found no entrance. But when he looked at the wall, he saw upon it an inscription in the shape of a gate—a talisman. From his great reading and knowledge of ancient books, he was able to read the talisman, and as soon as he had read it the wall opened. He entered it, and it closed behind him.

The place was lit, as it were, from within; the air was perfumed, and the atmosphere was pure, suave, and smooth. He found himself in the midst of a courtyard, and in the centre of the courtyard was a cistern made entirely of turquoise. Now when he entered the place it was before dawn, and the sun was not yet up; yet, such a light came from the cistern that it lit the place. In the courtyard stood a tree and round the courtyard were many rooms. When he looked into them, he saw furniture decorated with rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones, but saw no living persons, no, not one! Then he approached the cistern. In it there was water, level and even, but of such cleanliness and purity that it illuminated the castle as if it had been living light. He seated himself on the edge of the cistern, and when the sun rose the water began to rise, and when the sun had fully risen, it swirled upwards and took the shape of a tree, but all of clear water, and, when he gazed at it, he perceived faces in it, like human faces, looking at him from amongst the branches, though the tree was of water. His heart began to fear and he went to hide himself in one of the rooms round the courtyard, when there flew overhead, coming from without, three birds, which settled on the trees which grew beside the fountain. These birds were of a rare beauty, with curved bills like that of a parrot (*bībī matū*). The tree was like a *nabqa* (*lote-tree, see pp. 347–8*) and was watered by a channel fed from the fountain, and there were smaller trees beside it, nourished from the same source. There were no dead leaves beneath the trees, and no withered leaves fell from them.

Presently the birds, which were of such dazzling beauty that he had never seen their like, flew down to the cistern as if they wished to bathe in it. When they reached it, they bowed and said, 'Yukhawar Ziwa, Yukhawar Ziwa, Yukhawar Ziwa!'[2] three times. Then they plunged into the water, and became immediately three beautiful maidens, very young, and of such great sweetness that he marvelled, having never seen anything so lovely before. He reflected upon the words they had uttered, for 'Yukhawar Ziwa' is one of the secret names of God, who wheels in Light. For we have the belief that he who is with the Sun, constantly turns and revolves. Every twenty-eight years the revolutions intensify, and on that day men who see tell us that the light revolves with great swiftness—*dī, dī dī*! By the power of these revolutions, all the souls which are purified issue from the lower world of Darkness. The Darkness is unwilling to let them come forth, even though they have expiated their uncleanness and are ready to go into the worlds of Light. But, by the increased force of the revolutions of light, they are drawn up, and the Spirit of Darkness is compelled to make them a road, that is, if the purification of the soul is complete. If it is still impure, it must remain in the lower world yet longer.

The soul is beloved of God because it is of Him! Then, on Sunday, Hos̲h̲aba Rabba (*see p. 198*) comes and takes these purified souls to Awat̲h̲ur, where Awat̲h̲ur Muzania weighs them in the balance. If the soul is pure, the balance remains even; if impure, the scale falls and it must descend for further purification.

When Hirmiz S̲h̲āh heard the secret name of God from these damsels, he wondered. He looked at them and said, 'What enchantment is this?' The maidens put on exquisite garments, and entered a room, and said to each other, 'There is a smell of man here!' Hirmiz feigned sleep, and they came upon him and said, one to the other, 'This is a greybeard, let us not harm him! But if he knew how to bathe in the fountain, he would recover the strength of his youth!'

The eldest said, 'How did he enter the castle?'

The youngest replied, 'He must have read the talisman and be an old man of much knowledge. Without doubt, we will keep him and guard him in this castle!'

He had heard all that they said, and opened his eyes. They said, 'You have wakened!' and he replied, 'Aye!'

They said, 'Welcome, Hirmiz S̲h̲āh!'

He said to them, 'I should like to bathe in this fountain.'

They replied, 'Be pleased to do so! Bathe!'

They brought clean clothes for him, and he entered the water and began to bathe, saying 'Yuk̲h̲awar Ziwa!' thrice. Then his soul became light. Heaviness left him, and a feeling of well-being and lightness possessed him and a sense of life. Then, as he looked, he saw in the fountain something like a Person, sitting in the water and gazing at him, with white water falling about him.

He began to worship in the Siriani tongue, saying, '*Tum min héi haiasuthkhon, tiabuthkhon, tiaruthkhon, atramuthkhon dilkhon* . . .'[3] thus asking the Life to grant him life and purity, to pardon his sins and make him clean.

Then he came out of the water and the girls said to him in astonishment, 'Whence have you this knowledge?'

He replied, 'From my conscience, from God.'

They said, 'That Person in the water, do you know who he is?'

He replied, 'I know not, but I see something wonderful! I wish to learn, and, as I am your guest and you are kind to me, no doubt you will instruct me.'

They said, 'We cannot instruct you: you must know of yourself!'

It was Sunday. Food and water were brought to them without hands, with no one coming or going, for there was only himself and the three damsels.

Presently, he thought he *saw*, like a flash of lightning, he saw! Then he knew the Light and was glad. Whatever he wished to be, was; and if he wished to be lifted up from the ground, he was straightway lifted up into the air.

The damsels were rejoiced and said, 'Blessed One! Blessed Hirmiz! Now you are like us!'

Whenever he wished it, he was lifted up into the air; moreover, he could fly as a bird flies, and take the shape of a bird. Like his companions, he flew hither and thither in the shape of a bird, whither he would, and lived with them in the castle always.

It was Sultan Jīk[4] who knew of all this, for he saw Hirmiz and the three maidens on a tree and spoke with them and learnt what I have told you. Sultan Jīk had lore from the Lord of Darkness, whereas Hirmiz and his knowledge were of the Light. He was a magician, Sultan Jīk, of the West, and he could form soldiers out of the air.

NOTES ON XXVI

1. The ideal communistic state of the Mandaeans. See pp. 323, 325, &c.

2. *Yukabar Ziwa*. See p. 281, note 6.

3. 'And now, from the Life (I ask) your pity, your healing, your radiance, your compassion, yours—.' This prayer is one recited towards the end of the *masiqta*.

4. I have been unable to trace Sultan Jīk.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XXVII. THE MAN WHO SOUGHT TO SEE SIN,[1] THE MOON

THERE once lived a man who, besides having knowledge of the sun, of Awathur (*Abathur*), and of other stars, had a special knowledge of Sin. His knowledge was not that which is seemly to those who study our religion, but was lore pertaining to the forbidden magic of Sin, matters into which a pious man should not enter. But his soul feared Sin, for if a man begins to study such matters, Sin takes possession of his soul, and for this reason it is forbidden to us to seek to enter into the secrets of Sin.

Now this man had a great longing to behold Sin, and was the master of forbidden knowledge and spells. His family had always possessed such writings and spells, and he said to himself, '*Maku chāra*!' (There is no help for it!)

Now there is a certain *dīwān*[2] which, when read, calls up the image of Sin before the reader. So this man said, 'I have knowledge of the stars (i.e. am able to protect myself from harm), and I desire to see Sin', and with that he began to read the incantation. He began to read it at moonrise, that is to say, when Sin came up, and while reciting it, he fell asleep. In his sleep, he felt some one poking him in the ribs.

He started awake, crying, 'Who is it?' and gazed about him, but no one was there. He began to read again, but some one rapped him on the shoulder. Whenever he tried to sleep, he was poked or rapped. In a fright he rose and began to pray in order to protect himself. But Sin would not allow him to sleep. Then he read holy books to protect himself: he read a *butha* of Melka Ziwa, whom Sin fears.

But every night after that it was the same. Whenever the moon rose, he was shaken or nudged and not permitted to sleep. Sometimes he felt grievously afraid, but nevertheless he said to himself, 'How I should like to behold Sin! I cannot help it, I desire to see Sin!'

So he persisted in reading the incantation, and as soon as Sin had risen in the sky, whether at midnight or towards morning, he was unable to sleep at ease, for he was always awakened by touches or shaking. His wakening was always sudden and violent. Once he thought he saw something above his head. He began to be uneasy, for this constant sudden awakening was unpleasant, still, he continued to desire to behold Sin.

One night he read the incantation and fell asleep. He dreamt that he saw a *shiviahi*, with eyes set vertically in his face, gazing upon him. And then a thick and strangling darkness came upon him; he could not move hand or foot, and his blood moved weakly in his veins.

Now when one is oppressed by an incubus or nightmare, the only thing to do is to say, '*Ya Hiwel Ziwa*!' and the o (the aleph) in the invocation is like an eye and resembles the eye of God. If one can say this, heaviness departs. If not, one cries out, oppressed by nightmare.

This man cried out the invocation, and his incubus departed from him and he was able to sit up, but he was extremely frightened, for he knew that if he had not called out the name of God he would have been strangled. However, he said, 'Hiwel Ziwa will free me again if I am in such danger, and I still long to behold Sin.'

On the fourteenth night the moon was full. He went and plunged into the river and made his prayer (*rahmi*) and put on his *rasta*, saying to himself, 'If I am killed in this venture, at least I shall be prepared to die!'

Then he sat down and began to read the incantation of Sin. As he read, the power of the moon began to draw and drag at him, like a magnet pulls iron. Presently his head began to swim and he felt drowsy and heavy. Then something came and struck him. He woke in a fright. In spite of all his heaviness, each time his eyes closed, he was awakened thus.

He went to his house and said to his wife, 'I am heavy with sleep! But if you hear me crying out in my sleep, wake me, or I may be killed.'

He could not keep his eyes open longer, and his wife sat beside him to watch. When she touched him, she too began to feel heavy and her head to swim, though her heaviness was not so strong as his, for she preserved her waking senses. Above their bed, which was of reeds and clay, was a mosquito net. In those days our beds were always couches of clay and reeds.

Then the man lying as if paralysed, and unable to move hand or foot, saw three very small white birds flying round the mosquito curtain. He tried to speak and move, but found that he was as if dead. His wife saw him lying rigid, trembling, and staring, and she shook him and pulled him up, crying, *Us̱ẖma ad Hêi*! (Name of the Life!) He was then able to sit up. She said to him, 'I saw them, too, and was half frozen with fright, but not so much as you. I said the name of God.'

They sat up all the rest of the night and ate and tried to sleep no more. When the sun was up, they felt no longer afraid, and slept.

(The sun, lady, is very powerful for good! It has ten *melki* with S̱ẖamis̱ẖ, all mighty ones.)

The wife said to her husband, 'Go to the *ganzowra* and ask him to exorcise you. Why should you be thus troubled in the night?' For he had told her nothing of his spells and his knowledge of Sin.

He answered her, 'What need have I of the *ganzowra*? I know as much as he does!' And this was true, for he was a very learned man. However, to please her, he went to the *ganzowra* on the Sunday and said to him, 'What were those three birds which I saw in the night? When I saw them, I became as helpless as if I had drunk henbane or were struck by paralysis. What did the apparition mean?'

The *ganzowra* was a pious man who had a garden in which flowers, palms, and myrtle trees grew and the river flowed past it. The myrtle is a very beneficial tree, and useful to make *klilas* (*see pp.* 35–6).

Now the man told the *ganzowra* about the birds, but said no word of how he had invoked Sin. However, as soon as the *ganzowra* heard of the three birds, he knew that Sin was concerned in the matter! He said to the man, 'Carry a *zrazta* and wear a *skandola* on your finger' (*pp.* 36–8). 'Then you will be able to sleep fearlessly. No devil or child of darkness can harm you if you are so protected.'

The man thought this was good advice, and he provided himself with both, saying to himself, 'Protected thus, I shall at last be able to see the image of Sin without risk to myself!'

So he began to read moon-spells again, saying in excuse, 'O Mara ad Rabutha (Lord of Greatness), I only wish to see his likeness—only that!'

Then he slept, and he saw something resembling a mist of white cloud, and from it issued a black shape with seven heads, all black with a blackness which words cannot describe. Further details he was unable to see. Sin has the power to make himself black or white by night, for his power is in the darkness, and it is he who incites thieves to steal and people to commit crimes by night. As the man gazed at this black shape, a white substance seemed to wreathe up before it like the steam of boiling water, and moved upwards. All that had been black suddenly became white, and as much as his heart had been oppressed before, it began to be at ease now and to rejoice. While he had gazed at the blackness he had felt as though he would choke, but when the whiteness rose before it, he could breathe again, and calm fell on his spirit.

(When a man loves Hiwel Ziwa, darkness falls from him and light clothes him like a garment! Light and more light descends upon him!)

Now, when the man beheld Sin in this last shape, he understood that the force and strength of Sin comes from

Awathur, and from that moment he began to invoke the powers of light, so that he might be released from darkness and from the evil which is darkness.

From that time, however, he was liable to wake suddenly in a fright, until he discovered that if he slept facing Awathur (the North Star), he could sleep peacefully.

NOTES ON XXVII

1. Sin appears in a sinister light in this story. For the seven heads of the moon see p. 275.

2. A magical roll.

Narrator, Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XXVIII. THE SĪMURGH AND HIRMIZ SHĀH

THE Sīmurgh is a 'hidden' bird, her ways are mystery. She lives like a queen in the mountains, but every Sunday she likes to fly forth and visit sons of Adam—kings of the earth. When she approaches she is like a cloud, for she is big, and as soon as she is perceived coming in the sky, they play the big drum and the women utter joy-cries, and all are glad because of her coming. This was in the old time. Especially did the ruler to whom she made visit rejoice. Zāl, Rustam, Kai Khosru, Sarhang, Afrāsiāb, all hoped that she might pay them a visit one Sunday, and used to say, 'O God! Let the Sīmurgh visit me!' These were the days of the Pehlewān.

It happened one Sunday that the Sīmurgh came to visit Hirmiz Shāh, who had prayed to his Lord that she might come, and had prepared a castle for her reception on a hill, which was set with trees and watered by clear rivers, and adorned with a garden. She alighted on this place, and when Hirmiz Shāh saw her, he rejoiced greatly, and went to her saying, 'Be welcome! God cause you to live! A thousand joy-cries for you (*Elf halla bīk*!).'

In the lower room of the castle he had built for her—and from this room one looked out on the garden and upon a fountain—Hirmiz Shāh had prepared a throne upon which the Sīmurgh could seat herself, so that she might rest and need not stand upon her two legs. It had a mattress covered with velvet, against which her breast might repose, and was like a nest in shape—her tail came out behind. The fountain of water was as clear as a lump of ice, and the water leapt straight up into the air and was white and pure, and spread out like a tree. Hirmiz sat before the bird, and, seeing that she gazed at the fountain, he looked at it, and saw in the water something which resembled a being of light. The Sīmurgh knew that Hirmiz Shāh had seen something. When she turned away her head and did not gaze at the water, the appearance died away. The Sīmurgh, aware that Hirmiz Shāh was observing this, smiled and Hirmiz Shāh smiled, too, for his heart felt rejoiced at that which he had seen.

Then the servants of the Shah brought fruits of the mountain-country—pears, quinces, and apples, and set them before the Sīmurgh in baskets. She thanked him and began to eat of what he had offered her.

Said Hirmiz Shāh, 'I should like to kill a sheep and bring it to your honour, so that your honour may eat of it.'

She smiled and replied, 'I do not eat that which has breath. I eat fruit only.'[1]

After she had eaten in the beautiful place which had been prepared for her, Hirmiz Shāh said, 'If your highness permits, I should like to show you how our women dance.'

She answered, 'As you please! Favour me!'

Now Hirmiz Shāh had some maidens whom he had brought up from their earliest years. They were beautiful girls, intelligent, and carefully trained, and their voices were melodious and sweet. He sent for them and said, 'I want you to dance and sing for the Sīmurgh.'

They replied, 'Gladly!' and musicians were brought who played on the pipes, which in Īrān they call *ambūbi*.[2] If two or three musicians play on them in concert, the sound is delightful. Six pipers were brought, who played with the utmost skill and sweetness. The girls began to dance. Lady! So well did they dance that you would have thought them made of a piece. If they turned, it was all at the same instant. They bent together and rose together, and turned together; all exactly in unison, not one was behindhand. As the Sīmurgh witnessed their performance, she exclaimed, 'How cleverly they dance!' and was delighted with them. When the girls had finished and were resting, she said to Hirmiz Shāh, 'I am extremely grateful to you for the pleasure and delight you have given me, and, in return, I will grant you your heart's wish!'

Hirmiz Shāh was glad and said to himself, 'God brought her here, and now I shall ask her the dearest wish of my heart!' To the Sīmurgh he said, 'I only ask an answer to one question.'

Replied the bird, 'Speak! What is your wish?'

Said Hirmiz to her, 'Sīmurgh, the sons of Adam are not persuaded of truth if they cannot see proofs with their eyes! We are children of Adam, and if nothing is revealed to our eyes, we cannot speak with certainty about anything!'

She smiled, for she knew what Hirmiz was thinking and wishing.

Said Hirmiz, 'We want to see the King of Light, with the *melki* and the *'uthri*, so that our souls may receive certainty even in this world.'

The Sīmurgh replied, 'How do you know that I have knowledge enough to grant your request?'

Said Hirmiz, 'When I saw you gazing at the fountain, I knew it, for when you turned your eyes upon the water, I saw a Being in it, a shape of light, crowned with light, in the water. Sometimes it was coloured red, the colour of flowers, at which my heart rejoiced. Sometimes it was yellow, but a yellow of great beauty, sometimes green, sometimes turquoise and exceedingly lovely, and sometimes blue like the robe of Ruha—a most beautiful blue. Sometimes it was black like a cloud, but even in the deepness of that black I could perceive a Shape, for my eyes were not dazzled by light. I saw this when you gazed at the water, and I was persuaded that you have knowledge, and that nothing can be hidden from you!'

The bird, the Sīmurgh, laughed and said, "*Āferīm*! Bravo! You have understood! I have visited many kings, but never before have I seen one as intelligent as yourself!'

Said Hirmiz, 'I ask you for this boon, that we may see the King of Light, with the *melki* and the *'uthri*, so that seeing, our hearts may believe, and rejoice and rest!'

Answered the Sīmurgh, 'Later on I will show you!'

Hirmiz Shāh was delighted and said to the dancing-girls, 'I will give you money! I will give you all the money in my treasury!'

The dancing girls were overjoyed and said to him, 'We will bring our birds to dance before the Sīmurgh.' For the girls had birds which they had trained from nestlings to dance together as if they were human. They brought the birds, which were white, sky-blue, red, and other colours, and the birds stood in a row, one beside the other as their mistresses had trained them. The pipers began to play the pipes, the girls began to dance, and the birds struck their wings together in unison, like a drum, *taq-taq-taq*! It was very pretty!

The Sīmurgh was astonished at the training of these birds and the cleverness with which they struck their wings in unison, and, indeed, it was a strange thing.

Thus the night passed in pleasant amusement of this kind, in dancing and eating fruit and conversation: the Pehlewān and nobles and other guests sitting together with the Shah and his guest.

At last the morning star, Ubreyha—her other name is Merīkh—appeared in the sky. When she appears, the nomads go to milk their cattle, for she is seen shortly before dawn. The Sīmurgh when she saw the star said to the Shah, 'The time has come, and I will now show you *melki*, and permit you to hear their voices and their incantations (*lit. how they read*). You shall see how they appear.' She ordered two small bowls to be brought, and in the middle of each bowl was a small receptacle.[3] She caused a thread to be passed through the receptacle of each bowl, and secured in the middle. Then the Sīmurgh put one bowl to her ear, and told Hirmiz to put the other to his ear; and she rose and gazed at the fountain.

Hirmiz looked, and, behold! seven personages appeared in the midst of the water, each of his own kind and colour and shape. When they conversed with each other, their colours intermingled, and the play of colour was exceedingly beautiful. Their voices, like a melody in sound, chanted,

Ya tali Ziwa	O rays of Light,
Sharaghi Ziwa[4]	Lamps of Light!

Hirmiz Shāh gazed and was amazed and cried, 'Can there be those in the world who deny the existence of spirits?'

Dī! After Ubreyha had gone, the moon appeared, and Hirmiz, looking, beheld one sitting in the water who had seven heads. Voices came from these seven heads, and they were very lovely and melodious. The seven-headed Personage sat thus—(*the narrator sat upright with his hands on his knees*).

Then the sun appeared in the east, and the Simurgh began to smile and Hirmiz rejoiced, saying to himself, 'Now I shall behold that which is the best of all!'

The bowl was at his ear and the other bowl was at the ear of the Sīmurgh. As she gazed at the water, he gazed also, and he heard and perceived sounds, voices of great beauty and music like the sounds of flutes, a music far better than anything he had ever heard before. He thought he saw in the midst of the water a woman of such beauty and sweetness that he was entranced and exclaimed,

Aka hḗi	(*Aka hiia*	There is Life
Aka marey	*Aka marai*	There is my Lord
Aka Manda ṭ Hḗi!	*Aka Manda ḏ Hiia!*)	There is Life Incarnate![5]

So great was his joy that his understanding almost flew from him, and he cried, 'Greater than this surely does not exist!'

But the Sīmurgh said to him, 'Simat Héi (*Simat Hiia*,[6] *Treasure of Life*) is great indeed! She is the Mother of all Life, the mother of all! All life in this world proceeds from her. The birds when they twitter, utter her praises; the fishes praise the Mother of All Life and are her dervishes; cocks chant at dawn in her praise, and delight when she appears. Bulbuls, doves, sparrows, and all birds utter their joy at her presence!'

Said Hirmiz Shāh, 'I cannot confess or admit that there can be greater than this She! It would be difficult for me to do so!'

The Sīmurgh laughed. But Hirmiz Shāh said, 'Yet I wish to see further!'

She replied, 'You shall see further!'

The sun turned, and arrived at the North Star. Then the Sīmurgh prostrated herself, and began to pray, saying:

> 'Then, from the Life (I ask) your mercy, your healing power, your radiance, your compassion, yours, Great First Life! Forgive me, make me whole, awake me, have compassion on this my soul, mine, Nimrus Zaina, for whom this prayer which I have prayed and these devotions shall bring forgiveness of my sins.'

When the bird uttered the name 'Nimrus Zaina',[7] Hirmiz Shāh understood that she was none other than Ruha herself, for Nimrus Zaina is one of the names of Ruha. And he fell before her, crying, 'I crave your protection and that of your son!'[8]

But she said to him, 'Behold, I have more things to show you!'

After he had prostrated himself, he arose and saw a King of great Brilliance, all of light, surrounded by many *'uthri* and *melki*. He who was in their midst was so dazzling to the sight that Hirmiz could not gaze upon him, but cast down his eyes.

Said the Sīmurgh, 'You have seen Melka d Anhura, the King of Light, Melka Ziwa, the Radiant Lord. The likeness of Simat Héi[9] appears in the sun, but none can gaze upon her, none. Only I can show you—I!'

And from that time, Hirmiz Shāh abandoned all things (*jazz*) and left the world and went into the wilderness and became a *darwīsh*.

(When commenting upon this tale, I said to the narrator, Hirmiz bar Anhar, 'In your story the planets and Ruha are honoured, and yet the Ginza Rabba says that they are the portion of darkness.'

The old man replied, 'Lady, the enmity between Ruha and her children and the world of light does not exist in reality. Between the Darkness and the Light there is no enmity, because both are the creations of One and the

Same. The enmity that you read of is the creation of priests, and those who wrote the *ginzi* (treasures, holy books). Why should there be enmity between us and the powers of darkness, or between the powers of the darkness and those of the light? There is only love! Love holds all things together so that they form a whole.')

NOTES ON XXVIII

1. As later appears, the Sīmurgh is identified with Ruha, the 'Breath of Life', and so is naturally vegetarian. *Ruha* = breath.

2. Also Mandaean for pipes—hollow reeds.

3. See note on divining bowls, p. 318.

4. This is the opening of a song sung at weddings.

5. Or, Knowledge of Life. See p. 11.

6. *Simat Hiia*. See p. 27.

7. *Nimrus Zaina*. Ruha is often called Nimrus in the Mandaean writings. Nimrus Zaina is the armed Ruha, a conception which recalls the Ishtar of Arbela, the armed Ishtar whose weapons appear over her shoulders.

8. Ruha's son is 'Ur, the great earth-dragon. See pp. 253 ff.

9. The reference to Simat Hiia seems out of place here. However, the story is given as taken down. Hirmiz's comment while discussing the story was, 'Simat Héi is the Mother of Life, and our souls are brought by her from Kanna d Nishmatha' (the gathering-place of Souls). 'She gives us high thoughts and gladness: those who love her and the King of Light become like beings of light and are her portion. Darkness cannot approach them.'

GENERAL

Note, p. 232, *Legacy of Islam* (chapter on mysticism by R. A. Nicholson): '. . . "Bird-speech", as the title of 'Aṭṭar's poem may be rendered, is the story of the birds which set out under the leadership of the hoopoe to seek the Sīmurgh, their mysterious king. After traversing the seven valleys of Search, Love, Knowledge, Detachment, Unity, Bewilderment and Self-Noughting, the survivors, thirty in number, are admitted to his presence, and realize that "they themselves are the Sīmurgh, while the Sīmurgh is nothing but those thirty birds (Sī murgh)".

They besought the disclosure of this deep mystery and demanded the
solution of "we-ness" and "thou-ness".
Without speech came the answer from that Presence, saying "This sun-like Presence is like a mirror,
Whoever enters it sees himself therein; body and soul see therein the
same body and soul".'

Hirmiz's imagery is comprehensible: the first seven presences are the planets, but the seven-headed figure is the full moon (see p. 275).

SOME BOOKS MENTIONED OR QUOTED

References are made to, quotations taken from, the following authors, books, or articles:

Al-Bīrūnī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (Abu'l-Raiḥān). Translated by Prof. E. Sachau. *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (W. Allen and Co., 1897).

Anz, Wilhelm. *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus: Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Versuch* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur: Leipzig, 1897).

Bliss, F. Jones, Ph.D. *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine* (Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1912).

Bousset, Wilhelm. *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des alten u. neuen Testaments, Hft. 10: 1907).

Brandt, Dr. A. J. H. Wilhelm. *Die mandäische Religion, ihre Entwickelung und geschichtliche Bedeutung* (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung: Leipzig, 1912).

—— *Die Mandäer: ihre Religion und ihre Geschichte* (Müller: Amsterdam, 1915).

—— *Elchasai: ein Religionsstifter u. sein Werk* (Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung: Leipzig, 1912).

—— *Die jüdischen Baptismen* (Töpelmann: Giessen, 1910).

Burkitt, Dr. F. C., D.D. *Church and Gnosis* (Cambridge Univ. Press: 1932).

Burrows, Father Eric, S. J., *Orientalia*: 'Problems of the Abzu' (Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici: Rome, 1932).

Charles, Dr. R. H., D.D., D.Litt. *The Book of Enoch* (S.P.C.K.: 1917).

Chwolson, Dr. D. *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1856).

Contenau, Dr. G., *La Civilisation Phénicienne* (Payot: Paris, 1926).

Cumont, Franz. *The Mysteries of Mithra* (Kegan Paul: London, 1903). Translated by T. J. McCormack.

—— *Monuments rèlatifs au culte de Mithra, &c.* (Brussels, 1899).

Delattre, A. J. *Le Peuple et l'empire des Mèdes jusqu'à la fin du règne de Cyaxare* (Mémoires couronnés, &c., par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, &c , de Belgique, Tome xlv).

Dimashqī, S̲h̲ams-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ṭālib. *Nuk̲h̲bat ad-D̄ahr fī 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wa'l-Baḥr* (quoted in Ch. S., pp. 380–414).

Doughty, William. *Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. (Boni & Liveright: New York, 1921).

Drower, E. S. (E. S. Stevens). 'The Kaprana' (*Orient and Occident: the Gaster Anniversary Volume*, Taylor's Foreign Press: London, 1936).

—— 'Mandaean Writings' (*Iraq*, vol. i, pt. ii, Nov. 1934).

Ebeling, Erich. Assurtexte I, no. 6: *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft: Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen, &c., Berlin, 1900).

Frankfort, Dr. Henri. *Archeology and the Sumerian Problem*, Chicago Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 4 (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1932).

Frazer, Sir James G. *The Golden Bough*, 12 vols. (Macmillan & Co.: London, 1915).

Gray, Prof. L. H., M.A., Ph.D. *The Foundations of the Iranian Religions* (K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, No. 5).

Herzfeld, Dr. Ernst E., D. Phil., *Archaeological History of Iran* (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1934, Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1935).

Hopkins, Washburn. *Epic Mythology* (Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde: Strassburg, 1915).

Jackson, A. V. Williams. *Researches in Manichaeism* (Columbia Univ., New York, 1932).

Jastrow, Marcus, Ph.D., Litt.D. *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli*, &c. (Authorized Edition: Choreb Press, 1926).

Jeremias, Dr. Alfred. *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern* (Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft, Der alte Orient, &c. Jhrg. 1, Heft 3: Berlin, 1900).

Jesu, Père F. Ignatius a. *Narratio Originis, Ritum, et Errorum Christianorum Sancti Joannis* (Romae Typis Sac. Cong. Prop. Fidei, 1652).

King, Dr. L. W. *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c. in the British Museum*, pt. xiii, 1896.

Lidzbarski, Mark. 'Uthra u. Malakha' in *Orientalische Studien, Theodor Nöldeke zum 70sten Geburtstag gewidmet* (Giessen, 1906).

—— *Das Johannisbuch der Mandäer*, 2 vols. (Töpelmann: Giessen, 1915).

—— *Mandäische Liturgien*, mitgeteilt, übersetzt, &c. (Sitzungsberichte d. Preuss. Akad., Phil.-hist. Kl., Bd. 17, no. 1: Berlin, 1920).

Lidzbarski, Mark (*cotd.*), *Der Ginza* übersetzt und erklärt (Vandenhack u. Ruprecht: Göttingen, 1925).

Lietzmann, Hans. *Ein Beitrag zur Mandäerfrage* (Sitzungsberichte d. Preuss. Akad., Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1930).

Lucius, P. E. *Der Essenismus in seinem Verhältnis zum Judenthum* (Strassburg, 1881).

Macdonell, Arthur A. *Vedic Mythology* (Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie u. Altertumskunde, Bd. III, Heft A: Strassburg, 1897).

Maimonides, Moses. *Mōreh-han-Nebūkīm* (quoted by Chwolson, q.v.).

Mallowan, M. E. L. and J. Cruickshank Rose. 'Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah, 1933', pp. 30–1 (in *Iraq*, vol. ii, part i, 1935).

al-Masʿūdī, ʿAlī ibn Ḥusain. *Murūj-al-Dhahab* (quoted by Chwolson, q.v., vol. ii, pp. 366–79).

Meissner, Dr. Bruno. *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, 1920).

Modi, Sir Jīvanjī Jamshedjī, B.A., C.I.E. *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees* (British India Press: Bombay, 1922).

—— 'The Mandaeans' (*Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute*, 1932).

—— 'Darab Hormazdyar's Rivâyat' (ibid.).

Moulton, J. H. *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* (Camb. Univ. Press, 1911).

—— *Early Zoroastrianism* (Hibbert Lectures, Second Series; Williams and Norgate: London, 1913).

—— 'The Treasure of the Magi, a Study of Modern Zoroastrianism' (*The Religious Quest of India*, ed. Farquhar and Griswold, Oxford Univ. Press, 1917).

An-Nadīm, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq. *Fihrist al-ʿUlūm* (quoted in Chwolson, vol. ii, pp. 1–52, q.v.).

Nöldeke, Theodor. *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle, 1895).

Pallis, Svend Aage, M.A., Ph.D. *Mandaean Studies* (Milford: London, 1926).

—— *Mandaean Bibliography* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1933).

—— *The Babylonian Akitu Festival* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Copenhagen: Andr. Fred. Høst & Son, 1926).

Petermann, J. H. *Reisen im Orient*, 2 vols. (Veit & Co.: Leipzig, 1820).

Pognon, Henri. *Inscriptions mandaïtes des coupes de Khouabir* (Paris, 1898).

Reitzenstein, R. *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* (B. G. Teubner: Leipzig u. Berlin).

Rogers, Robert William. *A History of Ancient Persia* (Chas. Scribner's Sons: New York, 1929).

as̲h̲-S̲h̲ahrastānī, Abu-l-Fatḥ Muḥammad. *Kitāb al-Milal wal-Nihal* (quoted by Chwolson, vol. ii, pp. 415–50, q.v.).

Siouffi, M. N. *Études sur la religion des Soubbas ou Sabéens* (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1880).

Smith, J. Payne, (Mrs. Margoliouth). *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1903).

Smith, William Robertson. *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed. (A. and C. Black: London, 1927).

Stevens, E. S. (Mrs. E. M. Drower). *By Tigris and Euphrates* (Hurst and Blackett, 1923).

—— *Folk-Tales of ʿIraq* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1931).

(*See also under* Drower.)

Strabo. *The Geography of Strabo*, translated by Hamilton and Falconer, 3 vols. (Bohn's Classical Library, 1848 ff.).

Thévenot, Melchisedech. *Rélations de divers voyages curieux* (Paris, 1663).

Thompson, R. Campbell. *Semitic Magic, its Origins and Development* (Luzac & Co.: London, 1908).

Thureau-Dangin, F. *Rituels Accadiens* (Paris, 1921).

Van Buren, Mrs. E. *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams* (Hans Schoetz & Co.: Berlin, 1933).

Wellsted, J. R. *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, 2 vols. (London, 1840).

Winckler, Hugo. *Zur medischen u. altpersischen Geschichte* (Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte: Leipzig, 1889).

—— *Himmels- und Weltenbild der Babylonier* (Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft, Der alte Orient, &c. Jhrg. 3, Heft 213: Leipzig, 1901).

Yāqūt, S̲h̲ihāb-ad-Dīn ibn ʿAbdullāh, al-Ḥamāwī. *Muʿjam al-Buldān* (quoted by Chwolson, q.v.).

Zimmern, Heinrich. *Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu, &c.* (Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion, Bd. 12: Ass. Bibliothek, 1896–1901.)

Also *The Legacy of Islam* and *The Legacy of Israel* published by the Oxford University Press, and various classical authors: Strabo, Josephus (Whiston's Trans. revised by Shillito. 5 vols., Bohn: London 1889), Herodotus, Philo, &c.

INDEX

A, the letter, 240 ff.

Ab (father), at baptism, 45; at marriage, 67 ff.; at consecration of priest, 153; at burial, 180–90; the Father, 241.

Abaga, to, 240; the, *see* Alphabet, 4, 262.

‘*Abahat̲h̲an qadmaiia*’, the, 140, 147, 161, 164, 165, 194–5, 206, 212, 218–22.

Abat̲h̲ur (Awat̲h̲ur), 32, 38, 73, 74, 86, 87, 91, 95, 161, 171, 176, 177, 182, 216, 217, 218, 219, 224, 253, 269, 274, 281, 302, 323, 328, 389, 393; Muzania, 28, 55, 95, 110, 198, 245, 247, 308, 387; Rama, 95, 245, 246, 308; Diwan, xviii, xxiii, 22, 27, 28, 73, 76, 79, 80, 95, 107, 230, 254, 301.

Ablution(s), *see also* Baptism, *Pâdyâb*, &c.; of Ḥarrānians, xvi; cults, xvii, 118; major, 47 (see also *Tamas̲h̲a*); minor, 47 (see also *Ris̲h̲ama*); after childbirth, 43, 44; before food, 47; after slaughter, 49–50, 137; ritual ablution of birds for food, 49; of knife, 49, 137; of clothes and utensils, 50, 105, 137 (*see also* Pots); of food, 50; ritual, 101–2; ablution house, 118; of dying, 85, 170, 179, 201; of *mandi*, 132, 156, 169; of Sam, 259. Muslim ablutions, 57–8, 101, 121. Parsi (Zoroastrian) ablution(s), 119–20, 121, 200, 201, 229, 230, of *barsom* 230 ff., of *haoma*, 233 ff., of sacramental utensils, 230.

Abraham (Bahram), 258, 261, 265–9, 282.

Absu and Abzu, see *Apsu*.

Acolyte, see *S̲h̲ganda*.

Adakas Ziwa, 73.

Adam, xxiv, 10, 47, 73, 74, 91, 92, 95, 197, 199, 211, 240, 245, 247, 257, 258, 268, 289, 366, 384, 385; son of Adam, 257; Adam bar Q̣in, 194, 219; Adam Kasia, 54, 56, 73, 74, 86, 253, 283; Adam Pag̲h̲ra, 82, 253, 259, 267–8, 283; Book of, 24 (*see also* Ginza Rba); books given to, 253; *masiqta* of, see also *Masiqta*; Adam bul Faraj, 221, 224, 292–300.

Adapa, 118.

Adar, 84.

Adatan and Yadatan 245, 246.

Adona, Adonai, xviii, xxiii, 76.

Adonis, 80.

Adultery of priest, 174.

Âfringân, 157, 159, 167, 227 ff.

After-birth, 42.

Agape, the, 223–4.

Agriculture, taught by Hibil Ziwa, 253; agricultural implements, 52, 365.

Ahaba d̲ mania, 90, 209, 211, 214–22, 226.

Ahura-Mazda, xvi, 17, 93, 121, 202, 238; *see also* Hirmiṣ *and* Ormazd.

Ahwāz, 4, 19.

‘*Ain*, 242.

Aina usindarka (well and palm-tree), 231, 239.

Air, personified, *see Ayar*, Ram Khvastra, *and* Vayah; destruction of world by, 93.

Aiwyâoghana, 231, 237.

Akitu festival, 97.

Akkadian ritual meal, xxiii; rite for reconsecrating temple, &c., 142–3; rites at slaughter, 143, 144.

Akrun, *see* Krun.

Alaha, 199, 251, 253; *alahia* (plu.), 27.

Alf Trisar S̲h̲iala, 22, 24, 25, 36, 85, 100, 122, 147.

Alma ḏ Nhura, 78, *see also* Light, World of.

Alma ris̲h̲aia rba, the, 28, 153.

Alma ris̲h̲aia zuṭa, the, 28, 153.

Almonds, sacred food; at *lofani*, 187; at wedding, 67; and raisins eaten with *ṣa*, 68; scattered, 70; at *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, 67, 191.

Alphabet, 4, 24, 26, 75, 240–3, 262; letters of, no numerical value, 82; letters of, used as charms, 240.

Amamit, 8, 271, 272.

al-ʿAmārah̤, 19, 30, 54, 109, 113; silverworkers, 1.

Ames̲h̲âspentas, the, 202.

Amulets and phylacteries, xviii, xxiii, 50; *see also* Alphabet, Magic, *Qmaha*, *Zrazta*, &c.

Anahit, 96.

Anana (cloud, spouse: plu. *anania*), 65, 95, 209; Anan Nṣab, 245, 246.

ʿAnat̲h̲, 242.

Ancestors, xxi, 67, 90, 99, 118; see also *Panja*, Ritual Meals, &c.; impersonation of, 140; invocation of and mention of, 161, 164, 165, 189, **194–5**, 212–13, **218–22**.

Andiruna, 28; at wedding, 63–71; ablution of, 66; at consecration of priest, 149–53; covering on roof of, 63; 149–50.

Angel(s), (*malak*, plu. *malakia*), 27, 94; Moslem and Jewish, 94; death angels of Moslems and Jews, 203; of victory, *see* Bahram; of water, *see* Harudha; Parsi, see *Yazata*.

Anhar (female name), 76; wife of Yahia, 219.

Anhuraita (Nuraita), wife of Noah, 93, 261, 307.

Animals, see Beasts.

Anointing, *see under* Sesame and *Mis̲h̲a*.

Anu, xxi, tablets of, 97; and Adapa, 118.

ʿAnus̲h̲ (Annus̲h̲, Annos̲h̲), **xxiii–xxiv**, 27, 86, 95, 212, 245, 246.

ʿAnus̲h̲ ʿUt̲h̲ra, 4, 7, 18, 27, 100, 245, 246, 258, 262–3; son of Danqa, 8.

Apsu (*abzu*) 142, 256.

Ar and Sivyan, 76.

Arab(s), conquest, 8, 20; court, Ṣābians at, xvi, 1, 14; persecution of Mandaeans by, 14; sources, xv–xvi, 14; kings, 20; character, 52–3; beliefs about *fidwa*, 57; and *meleks*, 94; and hair, 166; marsh-Arabs, 42, 47, 125; and women dead in childbed, 366; Arabic, spoken by Mandaeans, xxii.

ʿArafāt, 92.

Aran drabs̲h̲i, 109.

Ardban (Ardwan) Melka, 6; ancestor of king in Baghdad, 7; rule of his race, 8; kings named, 29; in legend, 261.

Ardvi Sūra (Ardviçura), the river, xxiv–xxv, 229, 238.

Arhum Hiia, *see* Rhum Hiia.

Aria (the Lion; sign of the Zodiac), 37, 74, 82, 84, 89.

Ark, the, 258–60.

Arqu ḏ Tibil (the earthly world), 199, 252.

Arqa ḏ Nhas̲h̲a, *see* 'Copper earth'.

Arqba (Scorpio), 37, 74, 84.

Arsaiia, mountains of the, 8.

Artabanus, 29.

Arwa, the, 31.

Asa (or *as*) meaning, 200; *see also* Myrtle.

Ascension, of soul, see *Masiqta*, Forty Days, &c.; of Jesus, 203.

As̲h̲dum, *see* S̲h̲dum.

As̲h̲ipu priests, xviii, xxiii.

Ashuriyah, 89; and Jews, 98, 265.
Astartes, 27.
Astrologers, *Naṣurai*, 274, 275, 282; pagan, 314.
Astrological name (*malwasha*), 26, 29, 44, 60, **81–2**, 103, 214.
Astrology, priests and, xviii, xxiii, 4–5, 83, 86, 87, 97, Ṣābian, 40; auspicious astrological hours and days, 60, 71.
Asu, 93.
Asuth Malka (the salutation prayer), 23, 236, **245–7**.
Asutha (health, making whole, salutation), 200, 247.
Athtar and ʿ*athari*, 94.
Avalon, 56.
Avesta, 94.
Awathur, *see* Abathur.
Ayar (air or ether), 53, 58, 257, 380; the month, 84; Ayar Ziwa, viii, 58, **249**, 300; Ayar Saghia, 300.
Azrael, 197, 203.

Ba, the, ʿ*ma d bh*ʾ pronounced *ma d ba* by some, 161–2, 167–8; the dove in *lofani*, 167, 187.
Baʿal, 29; Baʿal's land, 94.
Bābā Nānak, *see* Nānak, Guru.
Babylonian(s), influences, xviii–xxx, xxi; *qiblah*, 18; (language, relation of Mandaean to, 13; New Year, 89, 97; intercalation, 97; and world-periods, 96; ritual use of foliage, 122; and *pit pī*, 122; and Sumerian water cults, xxi, 119, 124, 142; and Sumerian rites for dead, xix; sacrifices, 225; and Assyrians, 284; and salt, 348; and women dead in childbed, 366.
Bagh ʿUthra, br (son of Bagh ʿUthra), 245, 246.
Baghdād, xvii, 7, 14, 51, 344; derivation of name, 246; visit of Bābā Nānak to, and his shrine at, 306.
Bahlūl, 306.
Bahram, *see* Abraham.
Bahram Rba, 49, **104**, 105, 112, 129, 216.
Bahram, a Naṣurai, 273 ff.
Bahram Yahya, 130.
Bahram, the *yazata*, **104**.
Bâj, 144, 202, 223, **225–7**, 232, 234, 238, 287.
Bania, the, 46, **183**, 363.
Banner, see *Drabsha*.
Baptism (*Maṣbuta*), John and his, 3, 262; **Chapter VII**; institution of, 257; after childbirth, 43–4, 108, **109–13**; of child, 44–6, 81, 92; of dead child, 46; at marriage, 60, 62, 63; after marriage, 65, 71; of celebrants before performing marriage, 60; forbidden at New Year, 87; baptismal feast, see *Panja*; at *Dihba Hnīna*, 88; of Adam and *Dihba Daima*, 91–2; baptismal sacraments, 102; after pollution by blood, 146; after touching dead, &c., 102; after pollution through women, 148; during consecration of priest, 148 ff.; penalty baptisms, 146, 154, 156, 175–6 (of Shitil); during consecration of *ganzibra*, 169; death of woman in childbirth before, 211; death of newly married without, 211; at *ahaba d mania*, 215–6; Christian, 3, 122–3, 143; ritual prayers, see *Sidra d Nishmatha*; sects, 119, 123; of Shitil, 46, 175–6; of Yahia, 262; of Manda d Hiia, 278 ff.; baptisms after pollution at *Kanshia uZahla*, 331; of Sikhs, 307; by *malkia*, 328.
Bar Khūni (or Konai), xvi, 5.
Bardaiṣan, xviii.
Barefoot, 91, 99, 110, 183, 190.
Bareshnûm, the, 39, **119–20**, 167, 226, 227.
Barsam (*Barsom*), 121, 226, 228,

230, 234, 235, 236, 237; ablution of, 230–1.

Baru priests, xviii, **xxiii**, 39; and river cult, 118; hereditary caste, 165.

al-Baṣraḥ (Basra), 7, 19.

Basran-Sera, see Moon-deficients.

Bath, ritual, Parsi, 56, 119–20, 167, 201, 202.

Bathing in springs, 275.

Beasts, skins of unclean, 23, 91; sex of slaughtered beasts, 49; slaughter of beasts for food forbidden, 91, 92, 317, 318–19; death by attack of, 211; creation of, 47, 253; in Ark, 258, 260; in world of light, 305; at *Kanshia uZahla*, 85–6, 330–1 (*see also* Cattle *and* Slaughter); corpses exposed to wild, 184, 200.

Bee, the Mandaean, *see* Hornet, 86; the Mithraic and Egyptian, 37.

Beef, forbidden, 47–8.

Bel the Babylonian, xxi, 97. *See also* Bil.

Bene-Israel, the, 238.

Bhir and Bhrun, 245, 246.

Bier, see *Kursi*.

Bihram, 27.

Bihrat-Anana, 245, 246.

Bil (Bel, Jupiter), 75, 81, 168, 198, 252, 275, 287, 301.

Bird(s), lawful for food, 47; fish-eating birds and birds of prey forbidden food, 47; omens from, 82; polluting at New Year, 86, 331; slaughter of, 48–50; symbol of *mana*, 242; letter *ṭ* pictograph of, 242; flesh eaten at *lofani*, 180, 187; as *fidwa*, 166; exposing dead to birds of prey, 200; praising God, 53, 263, 279–80; marsh, 357; of prey and Yahia's corpse, 280; white, 286, 288, 391–2; listen to Miriai, 288; snares, 353–4; bird-maidens, 386 ff.; transformation into, 388; dance, 396; and the Sīmurgh, 399. *See also* Chicken, Dove, Sīmurgh, &c.

al-Bīrūnī, xvi–xvii, 89, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 119, 263, 268, 269.

Black, wearing, by Yazīdīs, 167; forbidden to Mandaeans, 167; dress of soul, 197, 222; waters, *see under* Water; races, 9, 261.

Bliss, F. J., 224.

Blood, 42, 47, 50, **57**, 83, 139, 145, 146–7; bloodshed a sin, 15, 265.

Blue, placed on *andiruna*, 149–50; in holy books, 150; above door, 50; forbidden, 167; mourning, 167; a protection against Evil Eye, 167; colour of Ruha's robe, 149–50, 395.

Boat-building, 51–2, 365.

Boats, planetary, xviii, 75, 79, 80, 100, 252, 273.

Book of Adam, *see* Ginza Rba.

Book of Souls, *see Sidra d̲ Nishmatha*.

Books, sacred, *see* Chap. II, 20 ff.; accounts of creation in, 73; given to Adam, 253; miraculously preserved, 22–3; personified, 24, 300; at baptism, 117; Mandaean, xx–xxi, 20–9; at baptism, 117; at consecration of *shwalia*, 153; at burial, 182, 211; at *lofani*, 196; *zidqa brikha* after writing, 209; sacred, and Dana Nuk, 300–3; Manichaean, 21.

Bowls, magic, 25, 314–16, 318, 348, 356, 396.

Brandt, Dr. A. J. H. W., 17, 93, 119.

Bread, sacramental Mandaean, *see Faṭira, Pihtha, Ṣa*.

Bread sacramental of *baru* priest, xxiii; at Christian commemoration of dead, 223, 224; at Jewish commemoration of dead, 224;

substitute for flesh, 57; of Life, 118; sacramental bread of Parsis, (see also *Darun* and *Myazd*), 226, 232–3, 235 (see also *Darun* and *Myazd*); sacramental, Babylonian, 348; household, 101, 196; considered sacred, 201; priests, 154, 155, 174; at *lofani*, 180, 187–8, 196.

Breath, pollution by, 31, 39.

Bride (*see also* Marriage); 50,70–2; baptism of, 60–2; dowry of, 51, 60; dress, 61–2, bed, 63; canopy, *see* Canopy; clothes blessed, 65, 69; unclean, 41; death of, 211.

Bridegroom (*see also* Marriage, *Naṣifa*, and *Qabin*); 33–4; baptism of, 60, 62, 65; invested with *skandola*, 65; death of, 211, 363.

Brihi (Fire-saucer, or basin), *see under* Fire.

Buddha, xx, 268; Buddhism, 48.

Buffalo, water-, 48.

Buhair and Bahrun (*see* Bhir and Bhrun), 76, 245, 246.

Bull, Mithraic, 37–8; symbolical of sky and sun, 48, 241; sacrifice, 143; hair of bull in Parsi ritual, 234–6, head in alphabet, 240–1. *See also* Taura.

Burial, **179–90**, 363; of child, 46; at New Year, 85–6, 87; *lofani* of Sam Raiia at, 186–90; *zidqa brik̲h̲a* of Sam Raiia after, 172, 190–6, 205, 211; of dove *see* Dove, and *Faṭira*. *See also* Grave.

Burkitt, Professor F. C., 13.

Burzinqa (*see under* Turban, ritual).

But̲h̲a, *see* Prayer.

Butter, at childbirth, 43; ritual use of by Parsis, 226, 233, 234, 235.

Calendar, Mandaean, *see* Seasons.

Camel, 47.

Candles at wedding, 61, 64.

Canopy, wedding, 63–70; or equivalent, of Jews and Parsis, 72; snake on, 37.

Carmel, *see* Karimla.

Caspian Sea, xxiv, 11, 12, 126, 229, 239.

Cat, 47; Sin like, 78.

Cattle, shut up at *Kans̲h̲ia uZahla*, 85, 330; dung and urine, 48, see also *Nirang*; shed for lying-in, 41, 56; sheds round house-yard, 54, 117. *See also* Bull *and* Cow.

Celibacy, Christian, 3, 17; Mandaeans and, 3, 17, 41, 275, 282; various religions and, 17; temporary, 173.

Cellars, haunted by *jānn*, 350, 353.

Ceylon, *see* Serandīb.

Chaldaeans, xxiii, 6, 7, 286, 287.

Chicken (fowl), not ritual food, 48; slaughter of, 48–50, 85; shut up at *Kans̲h̲ia uZahla*, 85, 330.

Child, time in womb, 41, 92; illegitimate, 44; education of Mandaean children, 47, 50–2; fate of, who dies before *maṣbuta*, 44; baptism of, 44–6, 81, 92; baptism of dead, 46; children and rites for the dead, 41, 59.

Childbirth, 37, 41–3, 80, 148, 176; baptism after, 43–4, 108, **109–13**; baptism of utensils after, 43, 112; *ṭamas̲h̲a* after, 43, 44, 101–2; death after, **211**, 214, 363, 366; Parsis and, 56–7; talisman for women in, 353; presiding genius for, *see* Zahariʿil.

C̲h̲īn, King of, 370 ff.

China, xix–xx, children of Adam Pag̲h̲ra in, 267–8; weighing of soul, &c., 95; ritual meals for dead, 99.

C̲h̲invat Bridge, 95, 200, 203.

Christ, *see* Ms̲h̲iha *and* Jesus.

Christians, xviii, xxiii, 3–4, 14, 17, 19, 21, 53, 55, 57, 96, 97, 99, 103, 107–8, 119, 122, 143, 165, 201, 223–4, 345; and *fidwa*, 166;

and mourning, 167, 180; ritual meal of 99, 143, 223–4 239; of St. John, 1–3, 15. *See also* Nestorians.

Christianity and Mithraism, 119.

Chwolson, Dr. D., xvii, 14, 96 *et passim*.

Circle, magic, 293, 299.

Circumcision, xvii, 147, 266–9.

Clairvoyance, 82, 336, 356–7, 358–9, 367–8.

Cloth, white, see *Gdada* and White cloth.

Clothes, ritual, *see Rasta*; lay, 32; wedding, 60–1, 65, 69; offering of to dead, see *Ahaba d mania*; Parsis offer to dead, 226; for Sam, son of Noah, 187.

Clouds, portents from, 5, 82; Nirig, lord of, 80–1 (*see also Anania*); and constellations in book of Enoch, 94; spouses, 65, 95, 209.

Cock, 50; *see also* Chicken.

Coco-nut, 133, 157, 158, 161, 187, 191.

Coition, 34, 65, 71, 101–2; and Parsis, 121; forbidden in dark of moon, 326 ff.

Comb, at wedding, 69.

Communion, 213, 231. *See Laufa*.

Communism, 309, 323, 325, 385, 389.

Compass, four points of the, form sign of cross, 108, 236; at *zidqa brikha*, 191.

Confusion of speech, 323.

Consecration, rituals for, 25.

Contenau, Dr. G., 242.

'Copper earth', the, 252, 254, 255, 256.

Copts, 345.

Corpses, evil spirits in, 359, 362.

Cosmogony, Mandaean, 73 ff., 251 ff.

Cosmography, 52.

Cow, sacred, 48; excrements sacred to Parsis, 48 (see *Nirang*); products eaten ritually by Parsis, 225, 234; *see* Milk and butter.

Cowries, 50.

Crafts, Mandaean, 2, 51–2, 365.

Creation, of worlds and spirits of light, 251–2; of man, 10, 92, 253, 257; of animals and natural world, 47, 253; accounts of in holy books, 73; New Year commemorates, 86, 98; legends about, 251 ff.; Persian and Magian conceptions about creation of man, 263.

Creator, Pthahil as, 95, 257, 289.

Crescent, *see* Moon, Sin, *Mâhrui*.

Cross, on wedding *ṭariania*, 64, 97; on *kleycha*, 85, 97; 'quartered', 97; on *pihtha*, 107; sign of Life, 97, 108; Christian, 107–8; in Parsi ritual, 108, 236; in Nestorian ritual, 108, 201, 236; the *drabsha* not a, 108.

Crow, or raven (*ghurāb*), 5, 47, 259, 260.

Crown, symbol of priestly power, see *Tagha*.

Cumont, F., 37, 106, 119.

Cup, Jewish nuptial, *see under* Jews.

Cyrus, tomb of, 142.

D and d the particle, 80.

Daiwa (plural *daiwia*) (pron. *deyva*), 198.

Dana Nuk (Dana Nukht, Dana Nuh), 300–8.

Dancing, forbidden, 52; at weddings, 64, 70; at *Dihba Hnina*, 89; at death, 180; -women, 394–6.

Daniel, 282, 288.

darāwīsh, xx, 53.

Dar-i-Meher, the, 229.

Darkness, king of, *see* Malka d Hshukha; spirits of, xviii, 308; the five lords of, 251; days dedicated to, 89; and left, 242, 251; worlds of, 9, 252, 254, 325; visit of Hibil Ziwa to worlds of, 269–72; visit of Dana Nuk to, 303–4, 308; and disease, 266; of God, 281; and purified souls, 386–7; and light, *see* Light and darkness.

Darun (Parsi ritual bread), 120, 226, 227, **232**, 237; and *fatiri*, 228, 232; Sraosh, 237; *chashni*, 237.

Darwīsh, *see under* plural, *darāwīsh*.

Dasha (or *deysha*), the, 30, 32, 39; use of, 170–1.

Date(s), ritual food, 67; juice in *hamra*, 68; juice in *misha*, 133–4, 157–8, 160, 170, 233.

Date-palm, 347; branches used at slaughter of sheep, 136; branches used for *bania* and *kursi*, 181–3, 363; death by falling from 211, 214; fibre, 156; leaf, 231; branch in exorcism, 345; used for tying *barsom*, 231; Parsi temple, 231, 239; see also *Aina uSindarka* and *Aiwyâonghana*.

Daula, the Camel (or bucket), a sign of the Zodiac, 74, 84.

Day of Lacking 85–7.

Days of the week, **74–75**, 81, 82; how divided, 87; *mbattal* (inauspicious days), 60, **88**, 89, 90, 92, 211; minor and major *mbattal*, **211**; last five days of the year, Parsi and Magian, 98; intercalary, *see Panja* and Intercalation; Holy, *see under* Holy.

Dead, ritual meals for, xix, xxi, 122 (*see also under* Ritual Meals, *Dukhrana*, *Lofani*, *Zidqa Brikha*, and Chapter XIII); food of ritual meals for Christians and Jews, 223–4; offered to by Parsis, 98, 226; by Yazīdīs, 99; by Chinese and Japanese, 99; clothes offered to by Parsis, 226 (see also *Ahaba d mania*); return of, 98–9, 362, 363–5; haunting by, *see* Ghost; exposure of to birds and beasts of prey, 184–5, 200, cf. 280; pollution caused by touching, xvii, 41, 46, 101–2, 201, 202; names of dead persons read at *Zidqa Brikha*, &c., 140 (see *Dukhrana*); impersonation of, *see* Proxy; *klila* for, 178–9; washed with *gaomez* by Parsis, 200; washed with infusion of *nabqa* leaves, by Shīʿas, 348; description of appearance, 197, 222, 362, 365; body and evil spirits, 359, 362; weeping for, *see* Weeping; wearing mourning, 167.

Death, ceremonies, 41, 51, 59, 90, **Chapter XI**; rites, 363, how instituted, 187; those who die without death rites, 41, 210, 211, 213–4; *rasta*, 33, 41, 85, 85, 150, 169, 170, 178–9, 216, 334, 365, 366; at New Year, 85–6; and resurrection, 88–9; at *Panja*, 90–1; *tamasha* after contact with, 105, 190; angels, Mandaean, 197, Moslem and Jewish, 203; of bridal pair, 211; of priests, 33, 174, 178, 195; of woman in childbirth, 211, 214, 363, 366; accidental, 211, 214; washing the dying, 85, 170, 179; of priests, 174, 178; death-rites of Parsis, *see under* Parsis.

Debevoise, N. C., 29.

Defiled priests, ceremonies for reinstating, *see* Priests.

Deformity, 79, 326, 329, 330.

Dehwa Daimana, &c., see under *Dihba*.

Delattre, the Rev. P., 12.

Demons, children of celibates, 17; food of, 57, 353; bridal pair and, 65; disease-demons, *see* Disease; hairy, 166; linguists, 349, 350; and iron, see Iron; see also *Daiwa*, *Malak*, *Shibiahia*.

De Morgan, Collection, 24.

Dihba Rba, 85 (*see* Year, New); *Zoṭa*, *see* Year, Little New, and below, *Hnina*; meaning of word, 85; *Daimana* (or *Daima*), 46, 91, 92, 211; *Hnina* or *Ṭurma*, 88, 89, 108; *Dihba d Shishlam Rba*, 87, 367.

Dil-bat, *see* Libat.

al-Dimishqi, 366.

Dinanukht, *see* Dana Nuk.

Diogenes of Laerte, 225.

Diṣai, 300.

Disease *see* Health, Plague, *and* Sickness.

Disease and Astrology, xxiii, 83.

Disease-demons, 25, 26, 81, 348; *see* Plague, *Shibiahi*, *Mikrobāt.*

Dishes, *see* Pots, Bowls, &c.

Divorce, 59, 262.

Diuta (ink), *see* Ink.

Diwan Abathur, *see* Abathur.

Diwan Alf Trisar Shiala, *see under* Alf.

Diwan Alma ʿlaya, 28.

Diwan Alma Rishaia Rba, 28, 153.

Diwan Haran Gawaitha, *see* Haran Gawaitha.

Diwan Malkutha ʿlaitha, 28, 153, 301.

Diwan d Nahrawatha, 24, 28.

Diwans, 25, 27–9, 294.

Dlibat, *see* Libat.

Dmutha (or double), 41, 54–6, 78, 95, 330; of Shamish, 78.

Dmuth Hiia, 219.

Dmutha Kushṭa, 28–9.

Dog(s), 38, 47, 86, 91, 198, 200, 202, 211.

Double, Light-, see *Dmutha* and *Fravashi*, union between light-double and human male, 92–3.

Dough, image of, 46; see also under *Pihtha.*

Dove, symbol of Ishtar, 40; symbol of soul, 93; ritual slaughter of as *fidwa*, 50; at *masiqta*, 91, 134 ff., 156–8, 161, 165, 167, 210, 212, 225; at *lofani*, 187; and Flood, 259, 260.

Dowry, 51, 60.

Drabsha (*dravsha*, *drafsha*), banner, 36, 106, **108–9**, 114, 115, 117, 125, 129, 140, 150, 185, 190–6, 209, 215, 271, 288, 289; of planets, 76–9.

Dragon, the earth-, 37, **253–6**; *see also* ʿUr.

Dragons, Central Asian, compared, 253, 255, 256; of Gaf and Gafan, 272.

Drasha d Yahya, xviii, xxiii, 21, 22, 23, 24, 46, 57, 94, 119, 224, 263, 269, 281, 287, 301, 330, 348.

Dravsha, *see* Drabsha.

Dreams, 57, 240, 249.

Drowning, 211, 214; proof against, 263, 275, 278, 281.

Dukhayil, Shaikh, 14, 46, 48–50, 54, 78 *et passim.*

Dukhrana, 3, 90, 99, 140, **212–3**, 216 ff., 223; and *yâd*, 223, 228; Nestorian, 144, 224; Christian, 224; Jewish, 224.

Du Perron, Anquetil, 99.

Ea, xxi, 118, 124, 142, 143, 143, 345.

Earth(s), copper, *see* ‘Copper earth’; creation of, *see under* Creation; -mother, *see* Ruha; seven, 254, 256.

Eating, grace before, *see* Grace; ablutions before, *see under* Ablutions; food of demons, 57, 353.

Ecbatana (Hamadan), 12.

Eclipse, 5, 76, 82.

Education, 15, 47, 50–2, 58.

Egg(s), 48, 174, 225, 305.

Egypt, xix, 7, 10, 260, 261.

Egyptian(s), the, 10, 39, 40, 89, 95, 96; use of ridge-pole and supports, 142; Egyptian Hermes, xvi; and Moses, 264–5; calumny about Jews, 268.

Elburz, 232–3.

Elijah (Khidhr Elias), 212.

Elkasiites, 123.

Enbo, *see* Nbu.

En-lil, 299, 348.

En-me-dur-an-ki, xxiii; identified with Enoch, *ibid.*

Enoch, xxiii–xxiv; Book of, 94.

Epochs, world, 92–3, 96.

Eridanus, xxii.

Eridu, ablution pools at, 142.

Essenes, the, 56, 57, 94, 123, 282, 288, 332, 345, 384; and celibacy, 17; *Qiblaḥ* of, 19; white garments of, 39; vegetarians, 57, 319.

Ether, *see Ayar.*

Eunuch, 147.

Euphrates (Frat), xix, 101, 287–8, 348, 353; sacred, 118; heavenly, 44.

Evacuation of bowels, 101.

Eve, *see* Hawa.

Exorcism, xxiii, 5, 25, 37, 81, 334, 335, 336, 344, 345–6, 348, 349; by letters, 240; rolls; 81; by naming, 292.

Eye, Evil, 25, 50, 167.

Farwadajân, *see* Fravardegân.

Fasting, 17, 92.

Fat, sheep's, &c., *see* Sheep; in Parsi ritual, 228.

Faṭīr, Jewish, 224.

Faṭira (plu. *faṭiria*) at marriage *zidqa brikha*, 67 ff., 205; at *masiqta*, 134 ff., **157 ff.**, 210–11; at *zidqa brikha* of Sam Raiia, 191, **193 ff.**; at *zidqa brikha* of books, 209; at *ahaba d mania*, 215–17; and *darun*, 228, 232; burial of *faṭiria*, 135, 142, 225.

Feasts, *see* Holy-days.

'Feeding of the multitude', the, 223.

Fees, priest's, xviii, 53–4, 60, 88, 91, 115–16, 174, 177, 212.

Fertility (symbols, rites, &c.) (see also *Ṣa*, Pomegranate, Myrtle, *Hamra*, &c.), xxi, 27, 58, 66, 72, 88, 95, 96, 98, 108, 122, 144, 193, *et passim*; rites, 121–2.

Fidwa (ransom), 50, 57, 148, **166–7.**

Field, Henry, 19.

Fire, purification by, 49; extinguished at *Dihba d Shishlam Rba*, 87; basin, or saucer (*brihi*), 62, **106**, 107, 109, 110, 133, 154, 156–8, 159, 162, 185, 191, 193, 226–7; world destroyed by, 93, 259; worship denied, 103, 117; worshipper, 294 ff., 300; walking round, 62, 114; to warm 'souls', 114; temple, 144, 167, 226, 229, 239; at *masiqta*, 158, 160, 164; by corpse, 181; death through, 211, 214; sacred fire of Parsis, 225, 226, 228, 234, 235, 239; Parsi fire-table compared with *brihi*, 226, 233; Parsi fire-priest, 157, 228, 236; -vase, &c., of Parsis, 157, 234, 235; in belly of 'Ur, 253, 254, 256; in belly of Vṛtra, 256; as a meaning for 'Ur, 254; and oil, scenery of underworld, 255; immunity to, 263, 266, 275, 276, 278, 281, 282; holy books immune to, 22–3.

Firukh Malka, 261; *see* Para Malka.

Fish (*see* Nuna), 23, 48; as sacred food, 68, 140, 187, 188, 191; as sacred food of Christians, 223; at 'Feeding of multitude', 223; created, 253; praise the Life, 263; pray, 279; listen to Miriai, 288; not eaten by the pious, 305; lawful food, 319; river, 351; net, 353.

Five (see under *Panja*, *Panj tû*, Faṭira, &c.); Five lords of Light, 251; loaves and five oblations of Christians, **223–4.**

Flies (*see* Vermin), 139.

Flood, *Panja* at flood season, 89, 92; the Flood, 93, 258–61.

Flour for sacraments, 106, 109, 110, 130, 133, 143.

Flower(s), 53, 63, 157, 183, 190, 253, 257, 258, 305; petals, at wedding, 69.

Font, and *yardna*, 122.

Food, *see under* Ritual meals, Ritual foods, Slaughter (ritual), &c.; lawful and unlawful, 47–50; immersion of food by S̲h̲īʿas, 57; novice's, 154; *ganzibra*'s 172–4; priests', 174; vegetarian, *see* Vegetarianism; eaten at *lofani*, *zid̲qa brik̲h̲a*, &c., *see* Ritual foods.

Forty or Forty-five days' journey of the soul, 173, 198; of *ganzibra's* 'purity', 173; and ascension of Jesus, 203; and Moslems, 203, 224.

Fowls, *see* Chicken.

Frankincense, *see* Incense.

Fras̲h̲ Ziwa, *see* Frat Ziwa.

Frat (Euphrates), q.v.

Frat Ziwa (or Fras̲h̲ Ziwa), xxv, 28, 101, 198, 262; Miriai's flight to the, 288.

Fravardegân (Farwardajân), 98, 99.

Fravas̲h̲i, 55, 67, 118, 144, 225, 226, 228, 330.

Fruit, *see* Ritual foods, and Vegetarianism; at Jewish commemoration of dead, 224; at Parsi ritual meals, 157, 226, 227, 228.

Funeral ceremonies, *see* Burial; Parsi, 201–2.

Gabled roof sacred, 142.

Gabriʿil (Gabriel) 18, 73, 203; *see also* Gauriil Is̲h̲liha.

Gabuʿa, see *Naṣifa*.

Gadia, the Kid, a Sign of the Zodiac, 74, 84, 92.

Gaf and Gafan, 89, 251, 254, 256, 269, 271, 272.

Gall-nuts, 23, 50.

Ganzibra, 45, 46, 54, 59 *et passim*; visit to, 87; elevation of priest to, 169–74 (*see ʿngirt̲h̲a*); woman, 147; defiled, 148, 173, 175–6; functions, 173, 205; marriage of, 173–4; death of, 174; diet of, 173, 174; consecrated by *malkia*, 328.

Gaomez, 120, 200.

Garden of Eden, 348.

Gaṣbaḥ (*Qaṣbaḥ*), *see* Reed.

Gat̲h̲a, Ahunavaiti, 202; days, 97, 98–9.

Gauriil Is̲h̲liha, 180, 203, 232, 241. *See also* Gabriʿil.

Gdada (a white cloth to isolate pollution), at wedding, 64, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71–2; for *mis̲h̲a*, 170; at *ahaba d̲ mania*, 217; and Parsi strainer, 233, 236.

Gentile. touch of, 86; parents of Gentile race, 92–3, 94, 253.

George, St., 384.

Ghost, 361, 336 ff.; of woman dead in childbed, 366; Holy Ghost, *see* Ruha d̲ Quds̲h̲a.

Gilgames̲h̲, 384.

Gimra Bellur Dakia, 76.

Ginza Rba, the, or Sidra Rba, xviii, 4, 5, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 48, 57, 73, 75, 80, 95, 96, 99, 185, 196, 199, 224, 242, 253, 254, 255, 263, 271, 282, 283, 293, 294, 301, 305, 306, 307, 309, 318, 319, 329, 330, 361, 366, 398.

Girdle, sacred, see *Himiana*, and *Kusti*; of Ḥarrānians, 165–6.

Gireh-Bân, compared to *das̲h̲a*, 39.

Giu Rba, 272.

Gnosis and Gnostics, xviii, 11, 108.

Gold, 36, 65, 85, 366; on *naṣifa*, 33, 178, 216, 365–6; on novice's *naṣifa*, 150; working, *see under* Crafts.

Golden Bough, 177.

Good Shepherd. 259, **299**.

Grace before meals, Mandaean, 47, 174, **188**, 225; Parsi, 225–6.

Grape(s), in *hamra*, 68; used in *masiqta*, 133; at *lofani*, 188; at *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, 191; vine a symbol, 11.

Grave, sealed, 37, 172, **186**, 201, 359, 363; release from on third day, 172, 196–7, 201; graveyard, 184, digging, 185–6; food eaten beside, 225.

Greek Orthodox Church, 165, 224; words in Mandaean writings, 21.

Green and red rings used at marriage, 60, 66; veil worn by bride, 61, 69; and red in bride's canopy, 63; dress part of bride's *trousseau*, 69; rags tied to lote-trees, 348.

Grindstones at wedding, *see* Millstones.

Guardian spirits, see *Naṭra*, *naṭria*; *s̲h̲iviahia* as, 368.

Guru Nānak, *see* Nānak.

Gypsies, 125, 261.

Habs̲h̲aba (Hos̲h̲aba), the personified, Sunday, 44, 74–5, 84, **96**, 163, 190; 198, 218, 219, 245, 246, 281, 387; Trin Habs̲h̲aba, T̲h̲lat̲h̲a Habs̲h̲aba, Arba Habs̲h̲aba, Hams̲h̲a Habs̲h̲aba, 75.

Hag and Mag (Hag̲h̲ and Mag̲h̲), 37, 89, 251, 254, 256, 269, 272, 281.

Hair, -cutting, 15, 146, 165, 166; Ṣābians (Ḥarrānians) and, 121, 165–6; Greek church and long, 165; Yazīdīs and, 166; Nazarites and, 166; Iraqis and, 166; Parsis and, 166; Sikhs and, 166, 307; Samson's (S̲h̲ams̲h̲um's), 165–6; tearing of, 180; of bull, 234–6; Hairy people, 321 ff.; Vegetation, of Adona, xxiii.

al-Ḥallāj, Manṣūr, 100.

Hallali(a), 44, 46, 48, 136; functions of at burial, 180–90, 205, 363; function of at *lofani*, 196; at *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, 190.

Ham, Yam, and Yafat, 261.

Hamâzor, Parsi kiss of Peace, 238.

Hames̲h̲ta-gahân, 203.

Hamra, 68, 70, **72**, 108, 135, 140; at *masiqta*, 160–2, 210; at *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, *'ngirt̲h̲a*, and *taraṣa d̲ Mandi*, 205–8; at *zidqa brik̲h̲a* of Books, 209; at *ahaba d̲ mania*, q.v.; at Cana, 72; at Last Supper, 223; and *haoma*, 233, 236–7.

Ḥanafī sect, 101.

Hand-clasping and kissing ceremony, 45 (see *Kushṭa*, Kiss, *Hamâzor*); Snapping of fingers and hand-clapping, at weddings, 61, 64, 70; hands of bride washed, 66; hands washed in river before meals, 47.

Haoma, 120, **232–7**.

Haran bar Terah, 268.

Haran Gawait̲h̲a, the, xxiii, 4, 5, 10, 24, 28, 263, 264, 282, 287, 288, 301, 384.

Hardabaiia, the, 8.

Hare, 47, 354–5.

Ḥarrān, 6, 8, 10, 239, 268, 280, 281, 287; the Jebel, 6, 259.

Ḥarrānians, the (*see also* Ṣābians), xvi, xvii, 14, 96, 121, 165–6, 268–9, 280, 281, 325–6, 366.

Harudha, angel of water, 119.

Has̲h̲kaba, the, 224.

Haṭia, the Mare, a sign of the Zodiac, 74, 84, 91.

Haurvatât, 119.

Hawa (Hawwa) Eve, 219, 257, 258, 289, 366; Hawa Kasia, 54, 253, 259; Hawa Pag̲h̲ra, 253.

Hazaban, 35.

Healing by Magic, 83, *see* Magic.

Health, **xxi**, 88, 200; health and healing a vital part of religion, 266, 345 *et passim*.

Hemerobaptists, 123.

Herakles, 384.
Heresy, of Qiqel, 8.
Hermes, xiv, 299.
Herodotus, xxiv, 57, 119, 225, 384 *et passim.*
Hibil (Hiwel), 27, 86, 95, 207, 245, 246, 247.
Hibil Ziwa (Hiwel Ziwa), 6, 18, 27, 38, 47, 56, 60, 73, 80, 81, 82, 86, 88, 95, 119, 137, 187, 197, 199, 207, 208–9, 240, 245, 246, **252**, **253**, 256, **257**, 258, 259, 261, 268, **269–73**, 287, 301, 303–5, 307–8, 322, 323, 366, 390, 392; *Zrazta* of, 24.
Hiia rbia (the Great Life), *see* Life, the Great.
Himiana (girdle), **31**, **34**, 39, 65, **102**, 111, 154, 179, 288, 310, 322.
Hindu, *see* Indian.
Hippolytus, Canons of, 224.
Hirmiṣ, Hirmiz, the name, **xvi**, xxiii.
Hirmiz bar Anhar, viii, 56, 78, 82, 93, 95, **249–50**, 258, 271, 281, 282, 287, 300, 307, 309, 319, 326, 333, 341, 345, 349, 353, 362, 366, 369, 384, 393, 398, 399.
Hirmiz S̲h̲āh, xx, 96, 385–9.
Holy-days and Holidays, 52, **84–92**.
Honey at *lofani*, 198; Christian ritual, 223.
Hormuzd (Ormuzd), xvi, xxiii, 96, (*see also* Hirmiṣ, Ahura Mazda); the Kuh Hormuzd, 385.
Hornet, **37–8**, 86, 269, 315, 320; 269, *see Skandola.*
Horoscopes, xxi, 71; *see* Astrology.
Horse, 47; sea, 370, 384; sun, 384; sacrifice of, 384.
Hos̲h̲aba, *see* Habs̲h̲aba.
Hours, and planets, 75; light, 76; and Zodiac, 81; lucky and unlucky, 71, 75.
House, Mandaean, 332; new, 50; of Life, *see under* Life; see also *Manda*, Reed hut, &c.
Hs̲h̲uk̲h̲a, *see* Darkness; Malka d̲ Hs̲h̲uk̲h̲a, see under *Malka.*
Humata, hukhta, hvarshta, 234.

Ibn ʿA'is̲h̲ūn, 326.
Ibn Sankila, 268–9.
Ibrīq at wedding, 64 ff.
Idrīs, Sayyid, xxiv.
Ignatius a Jesu, P. F., 19.
ʿIlana d̲ mrabia yanqia, 44, 230, 262.
Illness, 83, 266, 267–8. *See* also Disease-demons, &c.
Images of gods, 323–4; Ḥarrānian images of gods mentioned by Masʿūdī, 325–6; of planets, 275, 281
Immersion; (ritual) Indian, 119; self, see *T̲amas̲h̲a*; of writings on metal sheets, 23, 132; sects in Central Asia and the Near East, 119.
Immunity to burning, drowning, &c., *see* Invulnerability, Fire, immunity to.
ʿIn-Hiia (Ēn-Haiy), 251, 303, 305.
Incantation, *see* Magic, Prayer, &c.
Incense (*riha*) at wedding, 62, 70; apparatus, **106**, 107; (*see also* Fire-basin *and Qauqa*), at childbirth and baptism after same, 110 ff.; at *masiqta*, 158, 159; Parsi use of, 157, 226, 227, 228, 234, 235.
Incontinence at *maṣbuta*, 45.
India, 187.
Indian influences, xix–xx; beliefs about world epochs, 96; cults, 119, 359; beliefs about ghosts of women dead in childbed, 366; *see also* Rāmrām.
Indra, 256.
Infant(s), *see* Child and Childbirth; baptism of, *see* Baptism.
ʿIniania d̲ Rahmia. See *Rahmia.*
Ink, 23.

ʿInoshbai (ʿNishbai, ʿInoshvey), 100, 219, 258, 262–3.
Insignia of priest, 30–9.
Intercalation, 83, 89; Babylonians and, 97; Parsis and, 97, 98, 99; Days of, holy to Parsis, *and* Magians, 97, 99; see *Panja.*
Invulnerability, 263, 275, 278, 281.
Iraq under various influences, xix–xx; where Mandaeans are found in Iraq, 2; conscription and education in, 15, 51–4, 58; census of Ṣubba in, 16, 19; Iraqi Moslems and unchastity, 59; Iraqi Shīʿa Moslems eat cakes in name of dead, 97; Iraqis and hair, 166; Iraqis and *fidwa*, 166; Iraqi mourning at death, 167, 180; Iraqis and blue, 167.
Iron, slaughter with, 319; forbidden to slaughter with only, 137; (see also *Skandola*); keeps demons away, 300, 345, 350, 355; not used in *manda*, 128; to trace *miṣra*, 191; working, *see* Crafts; wedge used for marriage-hut, 63; earth, 254; mortar, 170; wall, 272.
ʿ*Isaqta* (*see* Ring, priestly, of Mandaeans), 32.
Ishān, 355, 358.
Ishtar, 26, 40, 46, 56, 271; of Arbela, 399.
Islām and Muslims, 47, 101, 203, 224; Muslim festivals, 92, 211; Muslim ablutions, 57, 58, 101, 121; Muslim Paradise, 53; food for Muslim dead, 97, 224; Muslim name given to Mandaeans, 81; Nirig, patron of, 81. *See also* Shīʿa.
ʿIzlat (Izlat), spouse of Shishlam, 72, 245, 246; Kanat, 76.

Jama-pichodi, 39.
Jānn (sing. *jinnī*), 94, 249, 254, 350–3, 355.
Jashan, Parsi, 227; compared with *lofani*, 227.
Jazīrat-al-Khadhra, 56.
Jemāli, the, 126, 152.
Jerusalem, *see* ʿUrshalam.
Jesus, 2, 3–4, 6, 16; *see* Mshiha; nativity of Jesus in a stable, 56; resurrection of, 19, 96, 201, 202, 203; seal of tomb of, 201, 203; ascension of, 203; uncircumcised, 268; and Last Supper, 223.
Jew(s), xvii, 1, 6, 7, 10, 14, 47, 50, 51, 53, 57, 72, 96, 97, 98, 103, 165, 166, 180, 203, 224, 225, 257, 258, 261, 282 and celibacy, 17; Jewish *Qiblah*, 19; robes of Jewish priests, 39; wedding, 72 (cup and canopy); and menstruation, 121; Jewish influence in Babylonia, xix; ritual meal of, 203, 224, 239; and Yahia, 263; and Moses, 264–5; legend as to origin of, 265–9; and Miriai, 284–7; at Persian court, 288.
Jewellery, 51; at weddings, 60, 62, 89.
Jiddah (Midwife), 42–3, 326–7.
Jōda, Shaikh, 54, 110 *et passim.*
John the Baptist (*see also* Yahia, Yahia Yuhana, and Christians of St. John); 1–3, 15, 24, 27, 100, 122.
Jordan, xxiv–xxv, 28, 258, 262, 278, 279, 280.
Josephus, 17, 56, 94, 268, 287, 319, 384 *et passim.*
Jupiter (*see* Bil), 96.
Jūri roses, at wedding, 63; at burial, 183, 190; perfume of, 305.

Kaʿba, the, 261.
Kaftār, the, 349.
Kalu, Rituel de, 143, 299.
Kana d Zidqa, 219, 245, 246.

Kanat ʿzlat (or Izlat), 76.
Kanat Niṭuftatha, 245, 246.
Kangana (clay stand or seat) 66, 69, 70, 71, **106**, 107, 154, 191.
Kanshia uZahla, **85–6**, 92, 99, 330–3.
Kaprana, the, **193**, 224.
kaptha (pronounced *keptha*), 68, 70, **106**, 107, 109, 111, 112, 113, 116, 133, 140, 157, 158–62, 170–1, 191, 193 ff., 206, 207.
Karimla, the Ṭura, xxv, 28, 29.
karkusha, the, 31.
kasha or *karsha*, the, 129, **144**, 201, 202.
Keptha, see *kaptha*.
Khosrau, 20.
Khūr, *see* Yazdān Pāk.
Khurram-Roz, 99.
Khwan(s) or stone tables in Parsi ritual, 233 ff.; compared with *ṭoriani*, 233.
Kinzala, the, 31, 65, 66, 70, 71, 186.
Kiss, the, in ritual, 45, 168, 170–1, 238; see also *Kushṭa*.
Kiwan (Saturn), 75, 81, 91, 252, 258, 302.
Kleycha, 85, 97.
Klila (wreath), 32, **35–6**, 45, 105, 109, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 117, 131, 136, 145, 153, **159–61**, 170, 175, 242, 307, 392; wedding, 69, 70; for dying, **178–9**, 210, 211; at *zidqa brikha* of Sam, 194–5; at *ahaba d mania*, 216–22.
Knife 42; with *sḳandola*, 37, 43, 65 (see under *Skandola*); ablution of, 49; furrow traced with, 191; for slaughter, 49, 134, 137; at *taraṣa d mandi*, 129; in Parsi ritual, 231, 234, 235.
Knots, 31, 32, 179.
Krun (Akrun), 37, 89, 251, 254, 256, 269–72, 281.
Ksuya, 30, 240; see *Sadra*.
Kundi, 233–5, 237, 238.
Kursi, the, at *masiqta*, 159; or bier, **183**; in grave, 186.
Kushṭa, the (clasp of right hand in ritual), 33, 45, 102, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 131, 164, **168**, 170–1, 176–7, 179, **200**, 216–17, 238, 242, 281; Mshunia Kushṭa, *see* Mshunia.
Kusti, 39, 201, 231, 238.

Lagash, ablution pools at, 142.
Lamp, or lantern, at Mandaean childbirth, 43; at Parsi birth, 57; at marriage, 61, 62, 64; in death-chamber, 181, 363; soul compared to a, 196–7.
ʿlana d mrabia yanqia, see ʿIlana.
Language, Mandaean, xxii, 13–14, 20–1; Colloquial, see *Raṭna*.
Last Supper, 223.
Laufa (binding together, communion) (see *Lofani*), **180**, 182, 185, 204, 217, 222 *et passim*.
Laufa of Sam Raiia, see *Lofani*.
Lead, writings on, 132.
Left, the, 110, 112, 189; spitting to the, 104; *mambuha* emptied over shoulder, 113, 116; symbolism of, 242, 251.
Leprous, the, and Abraham, 266; Jews descended from the, 268, 269.
Levitation, 292–3, 295, 388.
Libat (Liwet, Dilbat, Dlibat, Venus, Ishtar), 26, 75, 76, 79–80, 252, 257, 275, 281, 303, 304, 311–12, 318.
Lidzbarski, Mark, xxii, 4, 13, 17, 24, 29, 39, 85, 94, 108, 113, 194, 254, 259, 269, 288, 299, 307.
Lietzmann, Hans, theory of, about Mandaeans, 122.
Life, the Great, *Hiia rbia*, xxi; cult not celibate, 17; name of pronounced before co-habita-

tion, 34; at *ris̲h̲ama*, 102–4; at ablution of *mandi*, 132, *et passim*; the Creator, 73; the First, 73, 159; the second, 73; water symbolical of, xxi, 100; cross symbolical of, 97; bread symbolical of, 118; letter 'h' symbol of, 241; House of, 95, 104, 257, 260, 261, 262; Malka Ziwa source of, 251.

Light(s), cult, xxi, 73; extinguished at *Dihba d̲ S̲h̲is̲h̲lam Rba*, 87; and water, xxi, xxiv, 100; by corpse, 181, 363; ship of, 199; dress of, 83, 105, 222; five primal beings of, 251; king of, *see* Malka d̲ Nhura; spirits of, xviii, xxi, 76–9 *et passim*; World(s) of, 53, 55–6, 73, 74, 78, 94, 95, 104, 190, 199, 257, 258, 298, 303–4, 305–6, 308, 330; worlds of light created, 251–2; symbol of, 108; and darkness, 79, 95, 251, 265, 398–9.

Lilit̲h̲(s), 17, 46, 65, 272, 366; *see* Zahariʿil.

Lion(s), 37–8, 91, 198, 269, 315, 320; sun appears as a, 289; sign of Zodiac, 37, 74, 82, 84, 89.

Liṭlāṭa, 54 *et passim*.

Liwet, (*see* Libat), Qades̲h̲ta, 174; ʿIlm Liwet, 80.

Lofa, see *Laufa*.

Lofani, 46, 47, 88, 89, 90, 106, 130, 211, 213, 274, 361; slaughter of sheep or birds for, 136, 180, 187, 213; word explained, 180; compared with Parsi rites, 227, 231; of Sam Raiia, 171, 185–90, 196, 211; of the *ʿngirt̲h̲a*, 172–3; for third, and seventh day after death, 197–8; for forty-fifth day after death, 18, 203; for *ganzibra*, 174; household 204–5, 213; at As̲h̲uriyah, 89, 265.

Longevity, 346, 348.

Louse, 254 (ʿUr), 256 (Krun), 270.

Love-charms, *see* Libat.

Love-feast, 223–4.

Lucius, P. E., 319.

Lynch Bros., Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Co., 265.

Macdonell, Professor A. A., 93.

Mada, 12, 13.

Madai or Maddai, 5–12, 18.

Maʿdān Arabs, 125.

Maddai, Ṭura d̲, or Ṭura d̲ Mandai, 5, 6–8, 10, 261, 284–6, 288, 309–18, 319–25.

Madness, 79, 81, 147.

Magian(s), xvi, xvii, xviii, 39, 40, 96, 97, 98, 99, 103, 165; feast of '90 days', 99; and myrtle, 122, 144, 145; slaughter, 144–5; sacrifice of victims, 225; and horse-sacrifice, 384; and Creation of man, 263; stories in Bible, 282; and animal food, 319.

Magic, xviii, xxiii, 4–5, 80–1; writing a magic art, 23–4; writings, 25–7 (see *Qmaha* and *Zrazta*); Libat and, 80, 311–12; bowls, 25 (see Bowls); use of letters, 240; circle, 293, 299 (see *Miṣra*); contest of magicians, see Moses, Adam bul Faraj; wand, *see* Staff; and healing, 340–1; of words, 5; moon-, 389 ff.; and hair, 166; *see* Hair.

Magnets, 300.

Mâhrui, the, 230–1, 234, 235, 236.

Maimonides, Moses, 57.

Malāk, 94.

Malak̲h̲(*ia*) (*see* Angel(s)), 27, 94.

Malka (plu. *malkia*) pronounced, *melka*, *melki*), xxi, 27, 45, 56, 74, 76, 78, 79, 80, 94–5, 208, 245–7, 251, 252, 253, 281, 283, 284, 303, 304, 305, 308, 328, 329, 330, 336, 350–3, 354, 355, 356, 378, 391, 395, 396, 398; Bridegroom treated as a, 62; marriage of, 60, 65–6; creation of, 251; visit of *malkia* and *ʿuṯẖria* to Light-King, 86–7, 269–70, 330; of darkness, 308; (see also under *ʿUṯẖra*).

Malka, Asuṯẖ, see *Asuṯẖ Malka.*

Malka ḏ Hs̱ẖuḵẖa (or *eHs̱ẖuḵẖa*, King of Darkness), 75, 76, 78, 79, 308, 319, 326, 350.

Malka ḏ Nhura (King of Light), xviii, xxi, 73, 78, 240, 258, 267, 289, 303, 326, 328, 366, 395, 396, 398.

Malka Ziwa (King of Radiance), 75, 76, 77, 81, 251, 258, 267, 270, 271, 303, 366, 378, 381, 390, 398.

Malwas̱ẖa (zodiac), *see* Zodiac; meaning name, *see* Astrological name.

Mambuha (*mambug̱ẖa*), 33, 107, 108, **113**, 114, **116**, 131, 155, 164 *et passim.*

Man, epochs of history of, 92 (see *Kalpa*); destruction of mankind, and means of repopulating the world, 92–3, 259; first, *see also* Adam *and* Creation.

Man, house, 93.

Mana, the, 73, the word, 93; *Mana Kasia*, 73; *Mana Rba*, 73, 86, 93, 242; the dove, 93, 259; the soul, 93, 306.

Mana(h), Vohu, 93, 95; *Akem Mana*, 93.

Manas, 93.

Manda, 35, 159; the word, **10–13**; the hut, see *Mandi.*

Manda, the *Umman*, 11–12, 239.

Manda ḏ Hiia, 7, 9, 11, 13, 27, 34, 53, 65, 68, 73, 95, 103, 104, 105, 112, 132, 137, 138, 142, 159, 160–1, 174, 188, 190, 194, 215, 219, 245, 246, 271, 299, 305, 321, 366, 397; and Yahia, 278–80.

Mandaean(s) at Arab court, xvi, 1, **14**; history and origin of, **6–16**, 275, 288; in legend, 259 ff.; persecutions of, 14–15, 286–7, 288; founders of race, **92–3**, 259, 261; language, xxii, 13–14, 20–1; writing, *see* Alphabet; literature, xx–xxii, **20–9** (*see* Books, *Qmaha, Zrazta*); the Mandaeans in general, xv ff., Chapter I; habitat, xxii–xxiii, 1–2; origin, 5–14, 92–3, 288; census of, 16, 19; and celibacy, 3, 17, 41, 275, 282; lay life of, Chapter IV; in Jerusalem, 7, 282–3; and Miriai, 282 ff.; crafts, 2, **51–2**, 365; cosmogony, 52, 73 ff., 251 ff.; religion of, xx–xxi, 27, 53 *et passim*; ethics of, xxi; character of, 52–4, 59; physical characteristics of, 2, 54; family life of, 41–54; education, 47, 50 ff.; feasts of the, *see* Holy-days; and vegetarianism, *see* Vegetarianism.

Mandai, see *Madai* (*Maddai*) and Mandaeans; *Ṯura ḏ Mandai*, see under *Maddai.*

Mandelta or *Mandelṯẖa* (*mandilta*), 11; construction and use of, **181–4**, 186.

Mandi, the (or *Manda*), 5, 10–11, 25, 61, 89, 91, 107, 113, 114, 118, **124–45** *et passim*; at Liṭlāṭa, 122; reconsecration of the 89, **128–45**, 156, 158 ff.; plan of the area at re-consecration, 141; lustration of the, 132, 156, 169; at consecration of *ganzibra*, 169 ff.; *zidqa briḵẖa* at consecration of, see under *Zidqa Briḵẖa*; *masiqta* at consecration of, 132 ff., 210, 150 ff.; enclosure, 113, 122, **125**, 128–9, 212, 215, 229 *et passim.*

Manduiia, the family, 130.

Manetho's version of Legend II, 268.

Mānī, 1, 21.

Manichaean(s) and celibacy, 17; books, 21.

Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj, 100.

Manuscripts, Mandaean, *see* Chapter II; Copying, 22, 23.

Mara d̲ Rabut̲h̲a, 73, 240, 245, 246, 252, 266, 392.

Marcionites, xviii.

Marduk, 97, 118, 143, 256, 345.

Margna, the, 32, 33, 34–5, 39–40, 46, 49, 175, 178, 367 (and elsewhere); at wedding, 65, 71; at baptism, 110–13,; at consecration of *s̲h̲walia*, 153, 154, 158, 163, 164, 165; of Pharaoh, 265; of Miriai, 288; at *taraṣa d̲ mandi*, 131, 136, 139.

Margoliouth, Professor D. S., vii.

Marmahuz, 36.

Marriage, 1, 37, 41, 53, 54, 59–72; procession, 61; in Ms̲h̲unia Kus̲h̲ṭa, 55; of spirits, 65–6; songs, 61, 70–1, 89; prayers, 72; hut, see *Andiruna*; *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, 64 ff.; after marriage, 71, 205; celebrated by *ganzibra* only, 173, 205; of women not virgins, 59, 173, 175; of cousins, 59; Cana marriage feast, 72; forbidden in Aria, 89; *hamra* at, 68, 70, 108; woman *ganzibra* may perform one, 147; of priests, 173; of *ganzibra*, 173–4; of Hibil Ziwa, 272; with the impure, 360.

Mars, *see* Nirig.

Maṣbuta (*Maṣwetta*), 102; *see* Baptism, Mandaean, *Maṣbuta d̲ Zaharait̲h̲a*, 155.

Mas̲h̲k̲h̲ūf (boat), 51–2.

Mas̲h̲k̲h̲ana, 10, 124.

Masiqta, 25, 34, 53, 59, 86, 90, 108, **132 ff.**, 143, 152, **156 ff.**, 174, 176, 193, 200, 203, **210–12**, 219 ff., 225, 239, 389; of the *ʿngirt̲h̲a*, 171, 172, 210; of the *s̲h̲walia* (novice), **156 ff.**, 210; of the *mandi*, **132 ff.**, 210; of Zahrun Raza Kasia, 211, 236; of S̲h̲itil, 210, 211, 212; of Adam, 211; of Samandriil, 211, 212, 236; at *Panja*, 213; compared with the *yasna*, 225, 229 ff.

Massacre of Mandaeans, 14.

al- Masʿūdī, 325.

Maṭarta (plu. *maṭarat̲h̲a*), 28, 41, 46, 74–5, 80, 90, 95, 169, 173, 181, 190, 197, 198–99, 213, 253, 254, *et passim*.

Mazdaism, xvi, xviii, xx, 10, 96, 119.

Mbaṭṭal days, *see* Days, *mbaṭṭal*.

Meals for the dead, xix–xxi; *see under* Ritual meals, *Lofani*, *Zidqa Brik̲h̲a*, *Panja*, *Duk̲h̲rana*, *Yasna*, &c.; allowed during consecration of *s̲h̲walia*, 154–5; allowed during forty-five days of purity, 173; grace before, *see* Grace; ablution before, *see* Ablution.

Meat, xx, 47–8, 88, 91, 155, 172, 188; *see also* Vegetarianism, Ritual meals.

Medes, 11, 12, 18.

Media, xix.

Medicine, 83.

Meher (Mit̲h̲ra), the *Yazata*, 203, 229; compared with Yawar Ziwa, 229; Davar, 95, 203; Dar-i-Meher, 229.

Melek, 94; Melek Ziwa, *see* Malka Ziwa.

Melka (plu. *melki*), see *Malka*.

Menstruation, 60, 101, 148, 149, 154, 176, 262; Parsis and Old Persian customs at, 120–1; Jews and Ṣābians and, 121.

Mercury, *see* ʿNbu.

Merīk̲h̲, 56, 396.

Metal, 49; used for holy writings, 23, 132; plate used at childbirth, 43; jar at weddings, 64–5; planet metals, 365–6; *see* Gold, Silver, Iron.

Midwife, 42–3, 326–7.

Mikrobāt, 344, 346, 348.

Milk and milking, 48, 349, 396; Christian sacramental, 143, 223; and butter offered as ritual food, 143, 157, 225, 226, 228, 234, 235; women forbidden to sell breast, 47; products eaten by Mandaeans at *lofani*, 198.

Millennium, the, 308–9.

Millstones, in marriage, 66, 70; at *taraṣa d mandi*, 129; at *masiqta*, 158.

Miriai, 55, **282–8**; daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, 282; account of, in Drasha d Yahia, 287–8.

Mirror carried in bridal procession, 61; given by Ruha to 'Ur, 252, 272.

Misha (unction), 34, 103 (*see* Moses); for *masiqta*, 133–4, 157, 160–1, 170; *dakia* at *'ngirtha*, 170–1; and *haoma*, 232, 233, 237.

Miṣra (plu. *miṣria*), of *ṭariana*, 106, 157, 191; of *qintha*, 106, 107, 191; round grave, 186; at *ahaba d mania*, 215; *Miṣra d glalia*, *see* Pebbles; of *mandi*, 127, 129, 131 ff., 169 ff., 176, 229; at slaughter, 136, 148; Nestorian, 144; compared with *pâvi*, 129, 144, 229.

Mithra, religion of, &c., 96; Mithraic sacraments, 119; Mithraic symbols, 37–8, 47; Mithraic bowls, 106; *see also* Meher.

Modi, Sir Jīvanjī Jamshedjī, 18 *et passim*.

Months of year, 82–5.

Moon, *see also* Sin and Sira; moon-ship, *see* Sin; denied, 117; crescent and *mâhrui*, 230; and *'lana d mrabia yanqia*, 230–1; worship, 302; moon-deficients, 266, **326–30**; metal, 366.

Mortar and pestle (*hāwan* and *'īd al-hāwan*), 129, 133, 170; Parsi, 232, 234, 235, 237, 238; Parsi and Mandaean cult-, 232.

Moses (Mūsā, Misha), 103, 258, 261, **264–5**, 268; and magicians, 300.

Mother's name, use of (*see* Astrological name), 26–7, 81–2.

Moulton, Professor J. H., 96, 118, 145.

Mourning for dead, 180–1.

Mouth, opening of the, 122.

Mshiha, Yshu, (the Messiah Jesus), 2–3, 4–6, 8, 16, 18, 103.

Mshunia Kushta, 9, 41, **54–6**, 86, 199, 252, 253, 255, 271, 283, 287, 322, 325.

Mughtasila, the, 1, 16.

Muḥammad, 2, 8.

Mulberry, 137.

Munkir and Nakīr, 203.

Murdered person, 211.

Mūsā, *see* Moses.

Mushroom, 47.

Music, 89, 394; forbidden, 52; of spheres, 276.

Muslim, *see under* Islām.

Mutilation a bar to priesthood, 147, 266, 327.

Myazda, 157, 227, 228, 232, 237; parallel to *ṭabutha* of Mandaeans, 227, 232.

Myrtle, 88, 392; ritual use of, **121–2**; at slaughter, 50, 144; on *drabsha*, 109; for *margna*, 112; with offering, 115; at *masiqta*, 134, 159–61; at *taraṣa d mandi*, 130; at *zidqa brikha*, 140–2, **205–9**; powdered on navel, 43; at wedding, 61, 63, 64, 70; at baptism, 105, 109, 111; and willow wreath, 88; wreath, see *Klila*; Magian use of, 144–5; held by *shwalia*, 150; symbolism of, **179**; and *barsom*, 230.

Nabataeans, 13, 19, 241.
Nabonidus, 11–12.
Nabqa (*Nabq*, *sidra*, lote-tree), 345, 347–8, 386.
Nâhn, 119–20.
Name(s) (astrological, *see under* Astrological), 81; mother's, 26–7; magic power of, 264–5, 290, 292, 299; secret, 94, 270, 292.
Named and unnamed breads in Parsi sacraments, 232.
Naming child, 44, 82.
Namrus Zaina (also Nimrus Zaina), 264, 389, 399.
Nân, 56.
Nānak, Guru (or Bābā Nānak), xx, 300–7.
Naṣifa (or *gabʿua:* the stole), 31, 32–4, 131, 140, 150, 154, 178, 179, 216, 222 *et passim*; at marriage, 65, 70, 71; at baptism, 110–17.
Nassâsâlâr, *see* Parsi funeral.
Naṣurai (sing. and coll.) plu. *Naṣuraiia*, 3–5; in Ḥarrān, 6; Ardban king of, 6; migration of after persecution, 7; heresy of at Ṭīb, 8; celibacy and, 17, 275; vegetarians, 48; Jesus a, 3; Abraham a, 266–7; community of in the desert, 274–8; in Jerusalem, 282; and Miriai, 282 ff.; general references to in legend, 291, 300, 301, 302, 304, 312, 314, 320, 322, 324, 325, 327, 328, 334, 335, 337, 345.
Naṭra (plu. *naṭria*), a guard, guardian spirit (in colloquial *naṭri* is sing.); *Naṭria* allies to Madai, 7; (spirits) 87, 289, 308, 328, 330, 367.
Nature, love of, 53; personifications of 94.
Nauroz, *see* Year, new, Persian, and Nauroz Zoṭa under Year.
Nâvar (Parsi initiation into priesthood), 167.
Navel, tied with wool, 42; sealed, 37, 43–4.
Nazareth, 4, 6.
Nazarites, 166.
Nbaṭ, 19, 224.
ʿNbu (Enbo, Enwo, Mercury), 75, 81, 240, 252, 307.
Nebuchadnezzar, 6, 282, 283, 286, 287, 288.
Necromancy, 337 ff.
Needle, 129, 153.
Nejm, S̲h̲aik̲h̲, 54, 61 *et passim*.
Neoplatonism, xvi, 55.
Nergal (Nirgal), 96–7, 81; *see* Nirig.
Nestorians, xviii, xxiii, 99, 108, 144, 201, 224, 232, 236, 238, 330.
ʿngirt̲h̲a, the ceremony, 34, 169–73, 176–77; *masiqta* of the, 172, 205–9, 210; personified, 257.
Nhur Nhura, 36; Nhur Hiia, 305.
Nhura, 36, 242, 271; *Malka d̲ Nhura*, (*Melka d̲ Anhura*), *see under* Malka; *Alma d̲ Nhura*, *see under* Light, world of.
Nhuraita, *see* Nuh.
Niara (bowl used at *lofani*), 196; at *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, 206; at *ahaba d̲ mania*, 217.
Nicholson, Professor R. A., 399.
Nidbai and S̲h̲ilmai (Nedvay and S̲h̲elmay), the guardians of running water, 86, 245, 246, 297, 300.
Night of Power, 87, 90, 367.
Nightmare, 390.
Nile, xxiv.
Nimrus Zaina, *see* Namrus Zaina.
Nirig (Nirig̲h̲, Mars), 75, 80–1, 91, 198, 252, 275, 301, 304–5.
Nisan, 84, 89, 97, 98.
Niṭufta (drop) (plu. *niṭuftat̲h̲a*), 95; Kanat Niṭuftat̲h̲a, *see under* Kanat.
Nîyat, 144.
Noah, *see* Nuh.

Nocturnal Pollution, 101, 154, 167, 172.
Noh, *see* Nuh; Dana Noh, *see* Dana Nuk.
Nöldeke, Theodor, 13, 20–1, 29, 93, 241.
Norberg, Matthew, 24.
North, 9, **18–19**, 45, 49, 50, 56, 64, 70, 106, 116, 126, 184, 185, 186, 275, 315; Parsis and, 18, 202; Star (Pole Star), 18, 76, 95, 110, 126, 179, 182, 199, 216, 249, 325, 358, 393, 398; the four *malkia* of the North star, 251, 303, 305.
Nose-bleeding, 83.
'Nishbai Q̣inta, *see* 'Inoshbai.
Nṣab (Anṣab) and Anan Nṣab, 245, 246.
Nshimta (the soul) enters child, 41; *see* Soul.
Nṣibtun, 245, 246.
Nuh (Noh, Nu, Nau, Noah) and Nhuraitha or Nuraita, his wife, 93, 219, **258–61**, 307; Shum br Nuh *see* Sam br Nu.
Nuna the Fish, a sign of the Zodiac, 74, 84, 88, 93.
Nuraita, *see* Nuh.

Oil, *see* Sesame and *Misha*; identical with *mia siawia*, 254; oil-bearing districts and Mandaean legend, 10, 255.
Olive-oil at childbirth, 43.
Olive-tree, 260.
Olive-wood, 34, 40, 109, 127, 137.
Omens, reading a priestly function, 5, 82, 86.
Orange-peel at *zidqa brikha*, 140.
Onions at *zidqa brikha*, 67, 191; at *lofani*, 188.
Ormazd, 96; *see* Ahura-mazda.
Ox-head in the alphabet, 241.

Padân, the, 39, 201, 202.
Pâdyâb, the (*pâdyâb-kusti*), 39, 119–20, **121**, 202, 228.
Paisaq, the, 59, 61, 71, 173, 177.
Paiwand, the, 39, 71, 201, 202.
Pallas, Dr. Svend Aage, 11, 16, 79–80, 81, 93, 97.
Palm, *see* Date-palm.
Pandama, the, 31, 32, 33, 111–13, 130, 131, 159, 162, 164, 170, 183, 190.
Panj-tû, 228.
Panja, 50, 60, 83, 86, 87, 88–91, 92, 98, 99, 102, 108, 113, 124–5, 128, 136, 181, **204 ff.**, 211, **212–22**, 328; five days before, 124, 128, 211; the Magian, 99.
Para Melka (Firukh or Pirun Malka); *see* Pharaoh.
Paradise, the Mandaean, 53, 95; *see also* Light, world of; the Moslem, 53.
Paragna, 236.
Paranaia (*Paranoia*), see *Parwanaia*.
Parchment, forbidden, 23.
Parsha Harshia, the, 24.
Parsi(s), 48, 97, 98, 104, 166, 186 *et passim*; New Year, 98–9; *qiblah*, 18; and *fravashis*, 55; and childbirth, 56–7; and Meher's scales, 95; ritual dress and girdle, 39, 167; wedding, 72; and menstruation, 120–1; and cross, 108, 236; ritual ablutions, 119–20; ritual ablutions after sexual intercourse, 122; ritual ablutions after touching dead, 201 (see also *Pâdyâb* and *Nâhn*); and *barsom*, 121, 230 ff.; dedications, see *Nîyat*; priesthood, 167; ritual meals, xviii, 98, 99, 108, 223–4; Chapter XIII, Âfringân, 157; wash dead, 200; expose dead, 200; funeral, 201–2 and *yâd*, 223, 228; and third day after death, 202; and thirtieth day after death, 203; offering clothes to dead, 226; and death rites for

the living, 222–3; grace, 225–6. *See also* Zoroastrians.
Parthians, 8, 20, 29.
Parwan, Mount, 6.
Parwanaia, 83, 86, 89, 283, 287, 328 (see *Panja*); the Sharh d Parwanaia, 10, 122, 138, 225.
Passover, 224.
Pâv (pure) water, 231.
Pâvi, the, 226, **229**; compared with the *miṣra*, 129, 144, 229.
Peacock Angel or King (Ṭāwūs Malka), 94, 258.
Pebbles, use of at childbirth, 42–3.
Pehlewān, the (or 'strong, manly ones'), 372, 373, 375, 376, 378, 380, 383, 393, 396.
Pehtha, see *Pihtha*.
Pen, reed, 23.
Perfume, *see under* Smell.
Persia, sacred foods imported from, 187–8.
Persian(s), 18, 20, 56–7, 89, 96, 98, 119, 120–1, 142, 263, 288.
Petermann, J. H., xv, 19, 92, 250, 289, 292, 300, 384.
Phallus, the, at Mandaean ritual meals, 67–8, 193 ff. (see *Ṣa*); at Nestorian ritual meals, 193, 224.
Pharaoh, (Para Melka, Firukh Melka, and Pirun Malka), 98, 261, 264–5.
Philo, 17.
Philosophers, travelling, xx.
Phoenicia, xix.
Phylacteries, see *Qmaha*, *Zrazta*, &c.
Pig, 47.
Pihla, *see* Phallus and *Ṣa*.
Pihtha, (*pehtha*), the, **106–7**, 110–11, 113, 114, 116, 130–1, 155, 160–4, 348; *pit pī* and, 122.
Pira, 242.
Pira Rba (the Great Fruit), 83.
Piria, 305.
Piriawis Melka, 102.
Pirun Malka, 264–5. *See* Pharaoh.
Pishra d Ainia, 24, 81.
Plague, destruction of world by, 92, 259; in Baghdad, 344; Mandaean method of dealing with, 342 ff.; Hebrew method of dealing with, 344–5.
Planets, 18, 26, 104, 187, 198, 257, 261, 273, 275–6, 304–5, 366, 396–7, 398, 399; help in creation, 73; and Magians, 96; birth of, 252; worship of, xvii–xviii, 301–2; light of, 251; images of, 275, 281; planetary influences, 40, 74–5; metals, 366; planetary boats, xviii, 75–9, 80, 100, 252, 273.
Pleiades as rain-givers, 95.
Pliny the Younger, 223–4.
Pole Star, *see* North Star.
Pollution, xvii, 32, 45–6; by breath, 31, 39; by death, &c., 41, 46 *et passim*; of river, *see* Blood, Urine, Washing; by standing water, 50; at *Kanshia uZahla*, 86–7, 331; by menstruation, *see under* Menstruation; of *miṣra* (see under *Miṣra*), 129, 136; of novice-priest, 155; of *ganzibra*, 148, 173, 175–6; and *baru* priest, xviii, xxiii; death while in state of, 214; nocturnal, *see* Nocturnal; contagious, 101; see also under *Ṣorta*, Death, Marriage, Childbirth, &c.
Poltergeist, (*Ṭantal*), 336–8 345–8.
Polygamy, 54, 59.
Pomegranate twigs, 61; seeds, 133, 140, 157, 158, 161, 188, 191; Parsi use of in ritual meals, 223, 227, 233, 234, 235, 236.
Porphyry, 319.
Portuguese and Mandaeans, 15.
Pot, breaking of at wedding, 66, 70, 72.
Pots and dishes, &c., ritual ablution of, 43, 50, 104, 112, 115, 129, 131, 230.
Prayer (see also *Abahathan qadmaia*, *Asuth Malka*, *Butha*, *Qulasṭa*

Rahmia, and Shalshutha), 50, 66, 69, 72, 76, 88 *et passim*; of Ḥarrānians, xvii; attitude in, 114, 324; barefoot for, 91, 99, 110, 190; magic, 5; of sun and stars, 53, 76, 276; of birds and fish, 53, 263, 279–80; at night, 90; for the dead, see *Masiqta, Zidqa Brikha*, &c., 159 ff.; for *hamra*, 70, 90; whispered or silent, 62, 134, **144**, 215–22, 234 (see *Bâj*).

Pregnancy caused by water, 100, 258, 262.

Priesthood, Mandaean, *see* **Chapters IX and X**, 15, 53–4, 59, 91, 99; hereditary, 146, 165; Parsi, *see under* Parsi.

Priest(s), insignia of, 30–9; purgatory for, 174, 198; consecration of, 147 ff.; consecration of head, (*ganzibra*), see *Ganzibra*; death of, 33, 174, 178, 195; as astrologers, 4–5, 82–3, 86, 87, 97; fees, *see* Fees; food of, 154, 155, 174; sinful, 174; marriage of, 59, 173; disqualified, 147, 266, 327; ceremonies for reinstating defiled, 46, 175–6; the three hundred and sixty-five, 219, 224; the twenty-four, 219, 224; priestesses, 147; Mandaean compared with *ashipu* and *baru* priests, xviii, xxiii, 39; Yahia made a, 262; Shishlam Rba type of priesthood, 271; Jewish, 39.

Privies, tabu on house, 332.

Proxy for dead, 81, 90, 129–30, 140, **214–22**; for child, bride, &c., see *Ab*.

Pthaḥ, 95.

Pthahil, 27, 44, 47, 73, **95**, 122, 137, 197, 198, 219, 247, 252, 253, 257, 271, 277, 289, 303, 305, 312–13, 319, 342, 343, 344, 364–5; *zrazta* of, 24.

Purgatories, see *Maṭarta*; Chinese, 95; Parsi, 203; Shīʿa, 224.

Purification, xvii; Ablution, Baptism, *Ṭamasha, Rishama*; by fire, 49.

Pythagoras, 345.

Qabin (bridegroom), 65, 68.

Qadaha Rba, 28.

Qāf, mountains of, 315.

Qaḥṭān, the Banū, 200.

Qaina, the Reed, a sign of the Zodiac, 74; the month, 84.

Qalʿat Ṣāliḥ, 30, 51, 54, 113, 128 *et passim*.

Qamamir Ziwa, 197.

Qanina, **68**, 70, 107, 111, 113, 116, 130, 134, 138, 139, 175, 194, 205, 206; in *masiqta*, 157–64.

Qarṭus Daiwa, 299, 300.

Qauqa, the, **106**, 107, 112, 156, 157, 159, 191.

Qiblah, the, of Mandaeans, **18**, 233; of Babylonians, Parsis, &c., 18–19, 229, 233.

Qin, 8, 272.

Qintha (or *qimtha*), **106**, 107, 150, 185, **190–1**, 193.

Qiqel, the *rish ʿama*, 8, 282; a *yalufa*, 273 ff.

Qmaha (plu. *qmahia*), **25–7**, 81, 83; at New Year, 87.

Qordūn, Jebel, 315.

Quince, 133, 157, 158, 188, 191.

Qulasṭa, the, 70, 301.

Qum, Nazareth identified with, 6.

Qur'ān, Ṣābians mentioned in the, 14.

Rabbey, 153 ff.

Rabbit and rat, 47.

Rabia (Rawia) and Talia, 76.

Radiance (*ziwa*), q.v.

Rahaṭia (*yardnia urahaṭia*; 'flowing waters and torrents'), 28; *yuma d Rahaṭia* (Friday), 75, 84.

Rahmia, (*ʿIniania d*), 25, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 45, 46, 49, **110–11**, **113–14**, 139, 150, 152, 155, 167, 169, 170, 178, 182, 185, 199, 214, 238, 301, 390.

Rain, Nirig lord of, 80–1; and *'uthria*, 94–5; as semen, 100; Pleiades and, 95; and ablution of *barsom*, 231.
Raisins, 66, 67, 68, 133, 140, 157, 158, 159–60, 161, 188, 191.
Rakhash, 369–74.
Ram and Rud, 92, 219, 259.
Ram Khvastra, 58.
Rāmrām, people of, 305, 307, 359.
Ransom, see *Fidwa*.
Raspi (fire-priest), 157, 228, 236.
Rasta, the, 30–9, 41, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 62, 65, 66, 85, 92, 102, 105, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 122, 130, 131, 132, 134, 136, 138, 139, 142, 146, 148, 152, 153–4, 155, 156, 158, 159, 165, 169, 170, 175, 178, 179, 180, 182, 209, 215, 216, 222, 293, 295, 310, 322, 328, 334, 346, 365–6, 367, 375, 378, 390.
Raṭna, xxii, 71, 214.
Râvan, *Anosheh-râvan* and *Zindeh-Râvan*, 222–3.
Raven, 5, 47.
Rawia and Talia, *see* Rabia.
Reconsecration ceremonies, see *Mandi*; of temple, 142–3.
Red at marriage, *see* Ring, Canopy.
Red or Reed Sea, crossing of, 89, 261, 263, 264–5.
Reed(s), 28; sheaf of, sacred, 42, 56 (see *Shebbah*); use of, at death, see *Bania* and *Kursia*, *Mandeltha*; bed of, 135–6, 138, 142–3, 148, 187; botanical names of, 200; in the oven, 259–60; fuel, 68, 130, 132, 135 *et passim*; -stool, 159; Sea of, *see* Red (or Reed) Sea.
Reed hut(s), 22, 50, 125–8, 142, 369 (see *Manda*); childbirth in, 41–2; at wedding, 63, 64 (see also *Andiruna*); at consecration of priest, see also *Mashkhana*; at *Kanshia uZahla*, 86.
Reed-mat(s), 125, 127, 187, 196; sacred, 64.
Re-incarnation, 41.
'Remembrance', see *Dukhrana* and *Yâd*.
Resurrection, of Jesus, 19, 96, 201, 202, 203 ; sun and, 96, 108; of Tammuz, 97; cross and, 108; water and, 231; cults, 239; death and, 88–9.
Rice, 140, 198, 205.
Rifā'i dervishes, 3.
Right (see *Kushta*); hand extended over or in dish, or food, 189, 196, 213, 227; symbolism of, 242, 251.
Ring(s), priestly, see *Shom Yawar*; magic, 40, see *Skandola*; the wedding-rings, 60, 66; use of in *masiqta*, 160; Parsi ritual, 234–6; Mandaean and Parsi ritual rings compared, 234.
Rish of *hallalia*, 180–90.
Rishama, 25, 47, 49, 101, 102–4, 110, 121, 136, 138, 150, 153, 158, 178, 182, 185, 187, 215, 238.
Rish 'ama (*rish 'amma*), 130, 139, 148, 173, 206; Abraham's brother a, 266; and Ruha, 267; the *Rish 'amia* in the *Abahathan qadmaiia*, 221.
Ritual(s), xv; ablution *see under* Ablution, Baptism (*Maṣbuta*), *Rishama*, *Ṭamasha*, &c; of consecration, *see under* Priest, *Mandi*, &c.; dress, xxiii, 30 ff.; Parsi, 39.
Ritual foods, Eggs and chickens not, 48, 225; at *masiqta*, 133, 210; at *lofani* of Sam, 187–8; at third-day *lofani*, 196–8; at private *lofani*, 204; at *dukhrana*, 213, 224; at *zidqa brikha* of Sam, 191, 211; at *zidqa brikha* of marriage, 67–8; at consecration of *ganzibra* and *mandi*, &c., 140, 205, 209–10; at *ahaba d mania*, 215–17.

Ritual meals, xviii–xix, 197 ff., 204–22 (see *Lofani*, *Masiqta*, *Zidqa Brikha*); of Akkadians, xxiii; of Chinese and Japanese, 99; of early Christians, 153, 223–4; of churches, Oriental, 224; of Jews, 203, 224, 239; of Magians, 99; of Parsis, 98, 99, 108, 222–3, 225–39; of Moslems, 97, 224; of Nestorians, 99, 224, 232; of Yazīdīs, 98, 99; compared, 239; salt and ritual meals, 348; meat at ritual meals, 91.
Ritual texts, 24, 25; for slaughter, *see* Slaughter; text on metal, 23, 132.
Rivâyât of Darab Hormazdyar, 228.
River(s), words for, xxiv (see *Yardna*); chart, 28; washing in, 50; defiled by urine and faeces, &c., 42, 56–7; untouchable at *Kanshia uZahla*, 87; sacred, 101; and streams, Persians and, 57, 119; hair thrown into, 166; sacred food thrown into, 189, 196, 209, 239; *zidqa brikha* near, 190; slaughter by, *see under* Slaughter. (*See also under geographical names.*)
Rogers, Professor R. W., 12.
Romans, 18.
Rook and crow, 47.
Rughza, 30, 32, 113.
Ruha, mother of the planets, 6, 8, 18, 76, 149–50, 252, 253, 254, 256, 257, 258, 261, 263–4, 267, 268, 289, 290, 303, 366, 395, 398–9; and the Jews, 264; and Hibil Ziwa, 269–73.
ruha, the spirit, 149, 264.
Ruha d Qudsha, 263–4, 307.
Ruhayya, 252; *see* Ruha.
Rustam, 369–85, 393.

Ṣa, the 67–9, 191, 193 ff., 205–6, 215–17, 224.
Ṣabbi (plu. *Ṣabba*), see *Ṣubbi*.
Ṣābian(s) (Ḥarrānians), xvi–xvii, 96, 268; at court of ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, xvi, 1, 14; *Qiblaḥ*, 19; use of talismanic rings, 40; and blood, 57; and menstruation, 121; Ibn Sankilaʿs, story of and Abraham 268–9; priests and hair, 121, 165–6; underground temples of, 325–6; and planet-metals, 366; temple to First Cause, 280–1; and images, 281, 325–6.
Sacrament(s) at *Maṣbuta* (baptism), 45, 102 *et passim*; sacramental oil, 102 (*see* Sesame, *Misha*, *ʿngirtha*); sacramental bread, 102 (see also *Pihtha*, and *Darun*); sacramental water, 102 (see *Mambuha*); sacramental wine, see *Hamra*; Mandaean not derived from Christian, 122–3; of *baru* priests, xxiii; Mithraic, 119.
Sacrificial victims, 225, 384. *See* Sheep, &c.
Sadra (*Ksuya*), the, 30, 34, 39, 112, 240.
Saffron, 60, 69, 70.
Sag-did, the, 200, 202.
Saghda, the, or bow, 114.
Salt, xxiii; for infant, 43; at wedding, 66, 68, 69; in *pihtha*, 106, 107, 110, 130, 164; at *taraṣa d mandi*, 133, 135, 139, 140; at *zidqa brikha*, 140, 191, 193 ff., 205, 209; at *masiqta*, 156, 158, 160, 164, 210; at *lofani*, 188, 204; at *ahaba d mania*, 217; in exorcism, 344, 345–6, 348–9.
Sam br Nuh (Shum br Nu, or Sam Raiia), 163, 219, 258–61; *Thuwāb* of, 187; legend of, 186–7; *lofani* of, 171, 185–90; *zidqa brikha* of, 172, 190–6.
Sam Hiia, *see* Shom Hiia.
Sam Raiia, *see* Sam br Nuh.
Sam Mana, 76.
Sam, Rbai (Rabbey Sam), 369.

Sam Ziwa, 76, 245, 246.
Samandriʿil, 76, 223; *masiqta* of, 211, 212,
Sampsaeans, the, 96, 119.
Samra d Izpar, 76.
Samson (Shamshum) 165, 384.
Sandalwood, *see* Incense.
Sand-divining, 370–1.
Sapor, 292.
Sar and Sarwan, 76, 245, 246.
Sara, 330.
Sargi-Sargani, *see* Zartai Zartana.
Ṣarṭana, the Crab, a sign of the Zodiac, 74, 82, 84, 89.
Sasanians, *see* Persians.
Satûm, Parsi, 227; compared with *lofani*, 227.
Saturn, *see* Kiwan.
Ṣauriʿil (Ṣowriil, Azrael) the death angel, 197.
Scales, sign of Zodiac, *see* Silmia.
'Scales for weighing souls', 28, 55, 95, 198–9, 203; Egyptian and Chinese, 95.
Schools, *see* Education.
Scorpion, 37–8, 48, 211, 269, 271, 315, 320; scorpions, 322; sign of Zodiac, 37, 74, 84.
Sea-horses, 370, 384.
Seal, on grave, *see* Grave; breaking the seal on tomb of Jesus, 201; 203; rings, 40, see also *Skandola* and *Shom Yawar*; on navel, 37, 43-4
Seasons, dislocation of names of, 84–5, 92; year divided into, 84; personified, 246.
Secret knowledge, 94, 155, 262, 264, 265, 275, 276, 282–3, 284, 285, 286, 322–3, 372–3.
Secret names, 94, 270, 292.
Secret religions, xx.
Seed, 47, 304; sown in dark of moon, 326.
Serandīb, 10, 259.
Serpent (snake), 37–8, 40, 50, 211, 254, 256, 315, 320, 382.
Seṣa, 256.
Sesame, anointing with sesame oil, 45, 102, 112, 114, 116, 130, 176–7; at wedding, 66, at *masiqta*, 133, 156, 157, 158, 160, 169–70; in *misha*, see *Misha*.
Seth, 384, *see* Shitil.
Sexual intercourse, *see* Coition.
Sfar Malwasha, 22, 25, 82, 86, 294, 301.
Shabat, 84.
Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, 282.
Shāfiʿī ablutions, 58.
Shafta, yuma d, 75; Shafta Pishra d Ainia, *see* Pishra.
Shāh Nāmeh, 369.
Shahabriʿil Ziwa, 197, 203.
al-Shahrastānī, 96.
Shaikh ʿAdī, temple of, 37.
Shalhafta d Mahra, 83.
Shal shutha, the, 25, 164, 165.
Shamash, the Babylonian, xxiii, 96–7, 118, 143.
Shamish, xvi, 18, 27, 74, 75–8, 80, 81, 117, 229, 243, 249, 251, 252, 258, 262–3, 269, 274, 275, 281, 287, 288–9, 301–5, 308, 320, 342–4, 378, 382, 391; boat of and its crew, xvi, xviii, xxiii, 75, 76–8, 264, 289, 378, 391; *maṭarta* of, 254; mountain of, 80.
Sharat Niṭufta, 245, 246.
Sharh d Parwanaiia see *Parwanaiia*.
Sharh d traṣa d tagha d Shishlam Rba, 24, 158.
Sharhabiʿil, *see under* Shurbai.
Sharwala, the 30, 32, 105, 137, 138, 139, 154, 155, 158.
Shdum, (Ashdum), 89, 251, 252, 254, 269, 271, 272.
Shebbaḥ, the (plu. (*shebāb*), sheaf of reeds, in childbirth, 42, 56; in *mandi*, 127; in *andiruna*, 63.
Sheep, slaughter of, 85, 91, **135 ff.**,

197, 213, 257; at consecration of priest, 148, 156; at *masiqta*, 225; sheep's fat, 138, 140, 187, 205, 228; as *fidwa*, 50, 166–7; slaughter of for Tammuz, 80, 318; slaughter of for *Kanshia uZahla*, 85; Sam and his, 258, 260.

Shepherd, the Good, 259, 299; Sam the, 186, 259, 260.

Shganda (plu. *shgandia*), acolyte, 45; at wedding, 64–6; at baptism, 111 ff.; at *tarasa d mandi*, 129 ff., 210; at *shwalia*'s *masiqta*, 146 ff.; at consecration of *ganzibra*, 169 ff. *et passim*.

Shīʿa(s), 19; lion on tombstones, 38; custom of immersing food, 57; eat cakes for the dead, 97, 224; wash dead with *nabqa* infusion, 348.

Shiala, the, 31.

Shibiahia (*Shiviahi*), 78, 83, 95, 117, 249, 253, **254**, 312–15, 319–20, 326–7, 332, 335–7, 341, 342, 343, 344, 348, 356, 360, 362, 363, 365, 368–9, 390.

Shilmai, *see under* Nidbai and Shilmai.

Shingilan ʿUthra, 245, 246.

Shinto, ritual meal for dead, 99; shrine, 142.

Shishlam Rba, 24, 56, 65, 68, 72, 86, 87, 90, 158, 239, 245, 246, 270, **271**; *Dihba d Shishlam* 87, 367.

Shitil (Shitel), 27, 86, 95, **199**, 212, 219, 245, 246, 247, 253; *masiqta* of, 210, 211, 212; baptism of, 46, 175–6.

Shiviahi, see *Shibiahia*.

Shkhinta, the, 152–3, 222, 304.

Shom (or Shum) Hiia (Sam Hiia), 251, 303, 305.

Shom Yawar, the, **31**, **34–5**, 36, 38, 111, 153, 154, 160, 170, 175, 178, 234.

Shum br Nu, *see under* Sam.

Shumbulta, Ear of Corn, a Sign of the Zodiac, 74; month of, 83, 84, 89; bread called, 187.

Shurbai and Shurhabiel (Sharhabiʿil), 93, 219, 259.

Shushian, Dihba d, 87.

Shuster, the bridge at, 289–91, 292.

Shwalia, the, **148 ff.**, 210.

Sickness, and health, 83; pure immune from, 266; the gift of Ruha and her children, 267–8. *See also* Disease-demons.

Sidārah̤, the, 15, 19.

*Ṣiddiq*s, 17.

Sidra Rba, *see* Ginza.

Sidra d Nishmatha, 23, 24, 25, 150–2, 153, 262, 301.

Signing, with water, 103, 104, 112; with oil, see *Misha* and Sesame.

Sikhs, 166, 305–7.

Silmia, the Scales, a sign of the Zodiac and the month, 74, 84, 89.

Silver, on death-*naṣifa*, 33, 150, 179, 365–6; on novice's *naṣifa*, 150; 'mystery of the Mother', 36; at wedding, 69; a moon-metal, 366; working, 1, 51.

Simat Hiia, **27**, 46, 76, 78, 188, 194, 199, 242, 245, 246, 381, **397–8**, 399.

Sīmurgh, the, 379–82, 384–5, 393–9.

Sīn, the Moon (*see* Moon, Sira, Moon-deficients), 18, 75, 76, **78–9**; denied 117, 250, 252, 274, 275, 281, 301–2, 305, **329–30**, 342, 344, 389–93; ship of, 79; seven-headed, 275, 392, 367, 399.

Sin, and baptism, 100, 102; washed away, 100, 119; forgiven, 66; of priest, 174; ritual, 101.

Sinai, Mt., 3.

Sindarka, the, 214, **231**, 239.

Siniawis, 308.

Siouffi, xv, 3, 17, 19, 259, 307.
Sippar (Šurpu), xxiii, 40, 118, 165.
Sira (Sera), 117, 252, 303, 305, 329, 330 (*see* Sin); *baṣran, see* Moon-deficients.
'Sister' (afterbirth), 42.
Siwan, the month, 84.
Sixty days of purity, 155–6.
Skandola, the, 34, 36–8, 43, 65, 180, 186, 201, 251, 256, 315, 319, 320, 334, 346, 349, 359, 362, 363, 366, 392.
Skan-dola, 37, 180, 186, 362.
Slaughter, ritual, 47, 48–50, 57, 85, 88, 135–7, 319; taught by Hibil Ziwa, 257; of beasts for food, 91, 92, 317, 318–19; forbidden at New Year, 87–88; of dove, *see* Dove; of sheep, *see* Sheep; purification after, 49–50, 137; sex of slaughtered victim, 144; Akkadian rites for, 143, 144; Magian rites for, 144–5, 225; forbidden to *s̲h̲walia*, 155; forbidden to the circumcised or deficient, 266.
Sleep, position in, 358.
Smeaton, Miss Winifred, 97.
Smell, perfume, smelling, 35, 53, 58, 69, 206, 208, 209, 305; 'the branch to the nose', 121, 209; see also *Barsom* and Myrtle.
Smira (Ismira), 76.
Smith, Dr. W. Robertson, 94.
Snake, *see* Serpent.
Sneezing, 382.
Soap, 32, 42–3, 69.
Soap-plant, *s̲h̲nān*, 43, 69.
Sohrab, 384.
Solomon, 197.
Soma, 119.
Ṣorṭa, the, 43.
Soul (*ns̲h̲imta*), beliefs concerning the, xxi, 306; entry into womb, 41; after death, 28, 44, 46, 53, 55, 90, 95, 104, 186, 196–9, 203, 271; brought to Man, 73, 257, 258, 306; and *ruha*, 264; a name given to Mandaeans at baptism, &c., 106; appearance of the, 197, 222, 362, 365; redemption of the, 386–7; Book of, see Sidra d̲ Nis̲h̲mat̲h̲a.
South, 9–10, 70; place of earth-dragons, 256; place of darkness, 9, 325; as *qiblaḥ*, 18–19, 229, 233.
Spirit-house, 186.
Spirit-rapping, 336–9, 341.
Spittle, 31.
Sraos̲h̲a, 202, 203, 223, 228–9, 232, 238; ceremony, 203, 223; *bâj* of, 201, 202, 232; *darun*, 237.
Staff, ritual, see *Margna*; symbol of water, 34, 40; magic power of, 40; Magian use of, 40; used by sun-priests, 40; used by Jews and Egyptians, 40; of Moses, 40, 264–5; of Pharaoh, 265; magic, 321 ff., 357.
Star(s), of the morning, 56, 396; *ʿut̲h̲ria* of, 274; talk Mandaean, 276; pray and sing, 53, 76, 276; worship, xvii–xviii; *see also* Planets, Pleiades, *and* North Star.
Steel, 254, 320, 350.
Stick, for slaughter, 49, 50, 134, 137, 139; did Magians use slaughter-stick?, 145; *see* Staff.
Stole (see *Gabuʿa*, *Kinzala*, *Naṣifa*, and *Rasta*) ganzibra's held by bridegroom, 65, 66, 70, 71; in mouth of the corpse, 185–6
Stone(s) placed by corpse, 181; stones at childbirth, *see* Pebbles; Parsi dead placed on, 202; throwing, 345–6, 347, 348; placed on corpse, 185–6; tables, see *Khwan*.
Storm, 80–1, 330–1.
Strabo, 225.
Ṣubbi (*Ṣabbi*) (plu. *Ṣubba*, *Ṣabba*), meaning of word, 1; principal

centres of, 1–2; in general, *see* Mandaean(s).
Suf Zaba, 7.
Sufan Lulaitha, 262.
Ṣūfī philosophers, 306.
Sugar, at weddings, 70.
Sultan Jīk, 388, 389.
Sumerian(s), water cult, 124, 142; cult of dead, xix; ethics, xxi; incantation, 5; *ma-da*, 'settlement', 12.
Sun (*see* Shamash, Shamish), priests, xxiii; numbers, year, and solar metaphors, 75–6, 96, 165; rising sun symbolizes resurrection, 19, 96; setting sun symbolizes death, 96; cross a sun symbol, 108; bull a sun symbol, 48, 241; cult, xxiii, 40, 48, 372, 378, sun-cult of Yazīdīs, 166; boat, *see under* Shamish; the sun prays, 53, 76, 276; facing the rising sun when weaving bier, 183; heroes and spirits, 96, 229, 384; denied, 117; disk in letters, 75, 240, 241; light of the, 251; and Yurba, 264, 269; temple, 273; *'uthria*, 300, 330 (*see* Shamish, boat of); sleeping 'across the path of the sun', 358; metal, 366; horses, 384; and redemption, 386–7; holy in Mithraic and Christian religions, 96; knowledge, 389.
Sunday (*see also* Habshaba), xxiv, 96; baptisms on, 102; Sundays and Thursdays days of assembly for Naṣurai, 282.
Sur (Ṣur?), the great white mountain, 197.
Sword and plague, *see* Plague.

Ṭ, pictograph of bird, 242.
Ṭab, ṭaba lṭabia, 188.
Ṭabith, *see* Gadia.
Table, the cult-, see *Ṭariana* and *Khwan*.
Ṭabta (see *Ṭabutha*), 47, 188, 194.
Ṭabutha (sing. *ṭabta*), 66, 135, 140, 158 ff., 187, 188, 193, 197, 209, 210, 212, 219, 222, 227; *see also* Ritual foods, Ritual meals, *Lofani*, *Masiqta*, *Zidqa Brikha*, *Faṭira*.
Tafsir Paghra, 22, 24, 25, 100, 196, 199, 213, 264.
Tagha, the, 31, 32, 34, 35, 46, 49, 50, 153, 159, 165, 169, 170, 178, 190, 193–4, 195, 216, 222, 322; making of the, **150–2**; at baptism, 110 ff. *et passim*.
Tahma, 100.
Takka or *takta*, 30.
Talisman, Hibil Ziwa's, 38, 256, 271, 272; Marduk's, 256; talismanic rings, 40; talismanic writings, 373, 385; *skandola* a, 319–20; for woman in childbed, 353, talismans at aṭ-Ṭib, 384.
Talmudic language, and Mandaean, 13.
Tamarisk, 137.
Ṭamasha (major ablution), 43, 44, 47, 85, 101, **105**, 120, 155, 156, 190, 257.
Tammuz, the month, 84; the god, 80, 97, 98, 121, 318.
Ṭantal, the, 344, 347, 348–9, 351–2.
Tar and Tarwan, 76, 245, 246.
Ṭaraṣa d, Consecration of, see under *Mandi*, Priest, &c.
Ṭariana, the, (*ṭoriana*), 45, **106**, 109, 110, 111, 115, 154; at wedding, 62, 64–9, 97; at *masiqta*, 154–64, 210–11; at *'ngirtha*, 170, 205–9; at *zidqa brikha* of Sam, 191–6; at *ahaba d mania*, 215–18; compared to *khwan*, 233 ff.
Tarmida (plu. *tarmidia*), 6, 7, 46; *see* Priest.
Taura, a sign of the Zodiac, the Bull, 74, 84, 88.
Ṭāwūs Malka, *see* Peacock Angel.

Temple, of Bahram, 273–4; to the First Cause, 280–1; Jewish, 286, 287; fire-temples, 144, 167, 226, 229, 239; temples, subterranean, 324, 325–6; reconsecration of Akkadian, 142–3.
Tertullian, 223.
Therapeutae, 345.
Thévenot, M. M., 19.
Third day and the three days after death, 172, 181, 184–5, 186, 196–8, 200, 201, 202, 224; *Bâj* after, 226.
Thirtieth day after death, 203.
Thompson, Dr. R. Campbell, 17.
Thora, the, xvii, 258.
Threshold, bowls buried at the, 25, 348; protection of the, 50.
Thureau-Dangin, F., 97, 142.
Tiamat, 256.
aṭ-Ṭīb, 8, 282, 381, 382, 384.
Tibetan exposure of dead, 200.
Tigris, xix, xxi, 101, 118, 348, 353.
Todas, 12.
Torat, *see* Thora.
Tower of Silence, 144, 200, 202.
Tree(s) life-symbol, 11, 122; of Life (see *ʿlana d mrabia yanqia*, *Nabqa*, Date-palm, *Sindarka*, &c.), 242, 348; has *fravashi*, 55; harmful on the Day of Lacking, 87; of world of light, 257, 258, 304, 305; of water, 386, 394.
Trisar Alfa Shiala, 25, 301.
Ṭura Karimla, Ṭura d Maddai, &c., *see* Karimla, Maddai, &c.
Turban, ritual, of Mandaeans (*Burzinqa*), 30–1, 110, 111, 113, 131, 145, 154, 175, 179; myrtle placed in, 140, 145, 206; of Magians, 144–5; of Parsis, 167.
Turks and Mandaeans, 15.
Turkestan, 369–70.

Ubreyha, 396, 397.
Umbara, the Lamb, a sign of the Zodiac, 74, 84, 88.
Umbilical cord, 42.
Umman-Manda, the, *see* Manda.
ʿUr, 37, 38, 198, 246, 252, **253–5**, 256, 258, 261, 269, **272–3**, 274, 320; the city, 332.
ʿUrfiʿil and Marfiʿil, 245, 246.
Urine, 42, 48, 56–7, 101. See *Nirang*.
ʿUrshalam (Jerusalem), 7, 10, 124, 219, 224, 258, 261, 262, 281; Miriai in, 282 ff.; destruction of, 7, 286, 287, 288.
Uruk, 97.
Urvân, 55. See *Ravân*.
Urvarâm, *see* Pomegranate.
ʿUṣar, 160.
ʿUṣṭun Rba, 245, 246.
ʿ*Uthra* (plu. ʿ*uthria*), 56, 262, 274, 276, 289, 298, 300, 306, 330–1; creation of, 73; the ten in the sun-boat, *see* Shamish, boat of; the ʿ*uthria* of the Polar Star, 76; marriage of, 65; and *malkia*, 94–5, 190, 194, 253, 283, 303, 304, 328, 330–1, 395, 396, 398; visit of the and *malkia* to the Light-king, 86–7, 269–70, 330; the twenty-four ʿ*uthria*, 219, 224, 245, 246.
ʿUthra, ʿAnush, *see under* ʿAnush.
Ut-Napishtim, 307.

Valerian, the emperor, 292.
Varas or *varaç*, the Parsi ritual ring, 234–6.
Varuna Praghasa, the feast of, 119.
Vâyah (air), 58.
Vedas, 93.
Vegetables, *see* Ritual foods.
Vegetarian(s), Manichaean *ṣiddiqs*, 17; Naṣorai, 48; Essene, 57, 319; Magian, 319; Mandaeans at certain times, 92, 155, 172, 173, 318–19; were formerly, xx, 188; Jewish, 288; Daniel and

Nebuchadnezzar, 282, 288; vegetarianism, 305, 317, vegetarianism and Sīmurg̲h̲, 394, 399.

Vendidâd, 57; ceremony, 232.

Venus, *see* Libat, Is̲h̲tar, Zahariʿil, &c., 96, 271.

Vermin, 48, 54, 86, 117; places free from 322, 325, 381; destroyed by salt, 345.

Vine, 11, 288, *see* Grapes.

'Virgin birth', 147.

Virginity, 59, 61, 147, 173, 175.

Visparad, the, 232.

Vṛtra, 256.

Walnuts, 66, 67, 133, 157, 158, 161, 188, 191.

War, forbidden, 15, 265, 267, 318; Nirig lord of, 81, 97.

Washing, 50; Persians and, 56–7, 119; corpse, Parsis, 200; corpse, S̲h̲īʿas, 348.

Wasp, *see* Hornet.

Water, ritual use of, xxi, 225 (see *Mambuha*, Ablution, Baptism, *Padyâb*, &c.); angel of, 119; represented by snake, 37; symbolizes life, xxi, 37, 95, 100–1 *et passim*; first creation, 73; at baptism, Chapter VII *et passim*; and light, xxi, xxiv, 100; produces pregnancy, &c., 100, 258, 262; Bowl of at marriage, 61–2; bowl by corpse, 181; hot, chlorinated, and 'cut-off' water forbidden, 83, 125; dangerous at New Year, 87; staff and, 34, 40; magic powers of, &c., 100–1; of Life, 100–1, 118, 119, 159; and ancestors, 118; and immortality, 118, 231; cult aboriginal, 104, 118, 124; cult, Babylonian and Sumerian, xxi, 118–19, 124, 142; as a purification, 119 *et passim*; only beverage of priests, 174; in Parsi rites, 157, 226, 228, 229, 231, 233–9; black waters (*miă siawia*), 254, 255, 256, 289; at a wedding, 61, 62, 64, 66, 68, 69; Tree of water, *see* Tree; *see also* Rivers, *Yardna*, &c.

Weeping for the dead, 180–1, 363, 366.

Weighing, the soul, *see* Scales; the good and evil deeds of the soul (Parsi) 95, 203; (Chinese), 95.

Well and Palm, Parsi, 231, 238–9.

West, 49; *see* Compass, four points of.

Wheat, xxiii, 132, 156, 187, 224.

White, xxiii, 17, 23, 30, 36, 39, 56, 64, 70, 91; Magians and, 145; shroud for dove, 165; cloth, 187, 196, 203, 217 (see *Gdada*, *Paiwand*); spreading of white cloths, 143, 187; Ṣābians and, 165; Yazīdīs and, 166; Parsis and, 39, 167, 226; eagle and Miriai, 288; birds, 286, 391–2.

Widow, remarriage of, 59, 147, 214.

Willow, 34, 49, 88, 109, 137, 139.

Winckler, Hugo, 11–12, 97.

Wind, destruction of world by, 93; *see* South, North.

Wine, as blood, 57; at Cana, 72; at Parsi weddings, 72; at Parsi ritual meals, 157, 228, see *Hamra*.

Wolf, 355, 358.

Women, in Semitic and Iranian religions, 17; regulations about, xvii; Mandaean, 54, 59 (*see* Childbirth, Marriage, Lay Life, &c.); in state of impurity (*see* Childbirth, Menstruation, Marriage, Coition), 148, 176, &c.; not allowed to go to funerals, 184; weep, 180–1, 363, 366; as priestesses, 147.

Wood, 'clean or pure', 109, 137; fuel at *masiqta*, 132, 138, 193; log of as seat, 114, 159; as substitute for *s̲h̲ebbaḥ*, 42.

Wool, 42; for sacred girdle, 31, 39.

World (*see* Cosmogony, Creation); of Light, *see* Light, world of; Age of, 74; epochs, 74, 92–3, 96, 267; destruction of the, 78, 93, 259, 308; earthly, 199, 252; the seven worlds, 78, 254; the underworlds, 255, 303 (*see* Darkness, worlds of).

Wreaths, on houses, 88, 99. See also *Klila*.

Writing(s), art of, 51; taught by Hibil Ziwa, 253; Mandaean, *see* Mandaean literature; ʿNbu, lord of, 81; magic, 23–7 (see *Qmaha*, *Zrazta*), personified, 24, 300; *tāʾrīkh* at end of, 300.

Yâd, the Parsi, 223, 228.

Yahia (Yahia Yuhana, John the Baptist, q.v.), 2–4, 6–7, 16–17, 24, 219, 258, **261–3**, **278–80**; baptism and ordination of, 262; death of, 280, 282; tomb of, 280.

Yahuṭaiia, a name applied to Jews and Chaldaeans, 6, 7, 287.

Yalufa (plu. *yalufia*), 76, **146**, 273, 327.

Yama, garden of, 55–6, 119.

Yamma d Sūf, Sea of Reeds (*see* Red or Reed Sea).

Yāqūt, Shihāb-ad-Dīn, 384.

Yardna, xxi, **xxiv–xxv**, 45, 58, 83, **100–1**, 107, 119; Chapter VIII *et passim*; of *mandi* re-dug, and described, 122, 128; heavenly, 119, 198, 257, 304, 305 *et passim* (*see* Frat Ziwa); taken to witness, 113, 117, 131; and font, **122**; taking permission of the, 215; compared with Parsi ritual water, 229, 233, 238–9; guardians of the, *see* Nidbai and Shilmai.

Yasna, the, 120, 167, 223, 225, 226, 227, 229 ff.

Yawar, 207, 269, 273; Yawar Rba, 270; Yawar Ziwa, 27, **29**, 31, 75–6, 81, 160, 178, 188, 194, 229, 232, 256 *et passim*; Yawar Tugmur, 245, 246.

Yazashna-gâh, the, 167, 226, 229, 231, 235, 237.

Yazata(s), 94, 225; of light and justice, 229; of victory, 104.

Yazd, son of Rustam, 373 ff.

Yazdān Pāk, 372, 375, 376, 378, 386.

*Yazdata*s, 96.

Yazīdī(s), 1, 37, 94, 98, 99, 165–6, 167, 332.

Yazuqaiia, 300.

Year, the division of the, 83 ff.; named after first day, 84; length of, 92; Parsi, Magian, and Babylonian, 97; New Year ceremonies, **84–7**, 88, 89, 98, 330–1 (*see* Nau Roz, Dihba Rba); Little New Year ceremonies, Nau Roz Zuṭa) 87; Babylonian New Year ceremonies, 89, 97; Persian New Year ceremonies, 89, 98, 99, 119; sixth and seventh days of the New Year, 87, 211.

Yuhana, *see* Yahia.

Yukabar Ziwa (Yukhawar Ziwa), 96, 279, **281**, 386, 387, 389.

Yukashar, 162.

Yur, 269.

Yurba, and Abraham, 265–8; identified with the sun, 264, **269**.

Yushamin, 27, 199, 219, **224**, 244, 245, 246.

Zahari'il, (Zahariel), **46–7**, 57, 60, 80, 95, 219, 245, 247, 268, **271–2**.

Zahrun, xvi; and Zhir 76, 245, 246, 328; *masiqta* of, 211, 236.

Zakhria and Inoshvey, 100, **262–3**.

Zāl, 375–85, 393.

Zangaiia (*Zanghaiia*, *Zangoyi*), the barkers, or roarers, 90–1.

Zaoti, see *Zoti*.

Zaothra, symbolizes rain, 231; in ritual, 234, 236, **238–9**.

Zartai-Zartana, 89, 251, 254, 269, 271, 272.
Zeffat, 61.
Zidqa Brik̲h̲a, 32, 46, 81, 86, 88, 90, 128, 132, 203, 205, 209–10, 211; at *taraṣa d̲ mandi*, 133, 135, 139 ff., **205–9**, 210; after pollution, 175; compared with *bâj*, 226 ff.; at marriage, **64 ff.**; after marriage, 71, 205; of Sam Raiia, 172, **190–6**, 205, 211; of *'ngirt̲h̲a*, 172, **205–10**; of books, 209; of *gmas̲h̲i*, see *Ahaba d̲ mania*; at *Panja*, 213.
Zihrun Raza Kasia, 28.
Ziv Hiia (or Ziwa Hiia), 251, 303, 305.
Ziwa, 36, 73, 271, *see* Malka d̲ Ziwa.
'zlat, *see* 'Izlat.
Zodiac, 26, 37; signs of the, 74, **81–2**, 83, 96, 104, 261; numerical value of, 74, 82; birth of the signs of the, 252, 253, **256**, 273; zodiacal names of months, 84.
Zôr-melavvi, 238.
Zoroaster, xvii, 300.
Zoroastrian(s), xxi, 10, 72, 123; and celibacy, 17; *qiblaḥ*, 18; and *fravas̲h̲i*, 55, 67; ablutions, 119–20; death-lamentations, 180; exposure of dead, 200; prayers in *bâj*, see *Bâj*. *See also under* Parsi.
Zoti (*Zaoti*), 228, 229, 236, 237, 238.
Zrazta, **25–7**, 87, 369, 392; of Hibil Ziwa, 24.
Zuheyr (Zuhair), 76, *see* Zahrun and Zhir.
Zurgi (a marsh-bird), 47, 331–2.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE AUTHOR OF *"THE MANDAEANS OF IRAQ AND IRAN"*

The Middle East

Folktales of ʿIraq. (Under name of E. S. Stevens). Oxford University Press, 1931.

Peacock Angel, an Account of Votaries of a Secret Cult and their Sanctuaries. (The Yazidis). John Murray, 1941.

Water into Wine, a Study of Ritual Idiom in the Middle East. John Murray, 1956.

The Secret Adam: a Study of Naṣoraean Gnosis. An analysis of cult and gnosis). Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1960.

Translations from the Mandaic, with text either in facsimile or transliteration, with explanation and commentary

Šafta ḏ-Pišra ḏ-Ainia. Exorcism of the Evil and diseased eyes. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Oct. 1937 and Jan. 1938.

Three Mandaean Phylacteries. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1939, pp. 397-406.

A Mandaean Book of Black Magic. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1943, pp. 149-181.

The Book of the Zodiac. The Royal Asiatic Society, 1949. Luzac, London, 1949.

Pišra ḏ-Šambra, a Phylactery of Rue. Biblica et Orientalia, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, OR (46) pp. 324-346, Rome, 1946.

Šarḥ ḏ-Qabin ḏ-Šišlam-Rba. Biblica et Orientalia. Pontificio Istituto Biblico, no. 12, Rome, 1950.

Diwan Abatur, or Progress through the Purgatories. Studi e Testi, no. 151. Citta del Vaticano, Rome, 1950.

Haran Gawaita and *Maṣbuta ḏ-Hibil-Ziwa.* Studi e Testi, no. 176. Citta del Vaticano, Rome, 1953.

A thousand and Twelve Questions; facsimile and transliteration and translation with commentary, notes and index. Seven books. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1960.

The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans. Brill, Leiden, 1960.

Coronation; the Coronation of Šišlam-Rba. Brill, Leiden, 1962.

In the Press

A Mandaic Dictionary. In collaboration with Dr. R. Macuch. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

A Pair of Naṣoraean Commentaries. Brill, Leiden.

The Mandaean New Year Festival. Man, Nov. 1936.

Hibil-Ziwa and the Parthian Prince. The Mandaean Song of the Pearl. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Oct. 1954.

The Sacramental Bread of the Mandaeans. Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Bd. 105, Heft. 1.

Scenes and Sacraments in a Mandaean Sanctuary. Numen, vol. III, fasc. 1, 1956.

Adamas—humanity; Adam—Mankind. Theologische Literaturzeuting, nr. 3, 1961.

Mandaean Polemic. Journal of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, October 1962.

GORGIAS REPRINT SERIES

1. J. B. Segal, *Edessa 'The Blessed City'* (2001, based on the 1970 edition).
2. J. Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ: The Diatessaron of Tatian* (2001, based on the 1910 2nd abridged edition).
3. Joseph Knanishu, *About Persia and Its People* (2001, based on the 1899 edition).
4. Robert Curzon, *Ancient Monasteries of the East, Or The Monasteries of the Levant* (2001, based on the 1849 edition).
5. William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (2001, based on the 1894 edition).
6. Frits Holm, *My Nestorian Adventure in China, A Popular Account of the Holm-Nestorian Expedition to Sian-Fu and Its Results* (2001, based on the 1924 edition).
7. Austen Henry Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains: an account of a visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or devil-worshipers; and an inquiry into the manners and arts of the ancient Assyrians*, Vol. 1 (2001, based on the 1850 5th edition).
8. Austen Henry Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains*, Vol. 2 (2001, based on the 1850 5th edition).
9. Margaret Gibson, *How the Codex Was Found, A Narrative of Two Visits to Sinai From Mrs. Lewis's Journals 1892-1893* (2001, based on the 1893 edition).
10. Richard Davey, *The Sultan and His Subjects* (2001, based on the 1907 edition).
11. Adrian Fortescue, *Eastern Churches Trilogy: The Orthodox Eastern Church* (2001, based on the 1929 edition).
12. Adrian Fortescue, *Eastern Churches Trilogy: The Lesser*

Eastern Churches (2001, based on the 1913 edition).

13. Adrian Fortescue, *Eastern Churches Trilogy: The Uniate Eastern Churches: the Byzantine Rite in Italy, Sicily, Syria and Egypt* (2001, based on the 1923 edition).
14. A. V. Williams Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam: Travels in Transcaucasia and Northern Persia for Historic and Literary Research* (2001, based on the 1911 edition).
15. Demetra Vaka, *The Unveiled Ladies of Stamboul* (2001, based on the 1923 edition).
16. Oswald H. Parry, *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery: Being the Record of a Visit to the Head Quarters of the Syrian Church in Mesopotamia with Some Account of the Yazidis or Devil Worshipers of Mosul and El Jilwah, Their Sacred Book* (2001, based on the 1895 edition).
17. B. T. A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries, Attribted to Abû Sâlih the Armenian* (2001, based on the 1895 edition).
18. James Murdock, *The New Testament, Or the Book of the Holy Gospel of Our Lord and Our God Jesus the Messiah, A Literal Translation from the Syriac Peshita Version* (2001, based on the 1851 edition).
19. Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *Amurath to Amurath: A Five Month Journey Along the Banks of the Euphrates* (2001, based on the 1924 second edition).
20. Smith, George. *Assyrian Discoveries: An Account of Explorations and Discoveries on the Site of Nineveh, During 1873 and 1874* (2002, based on the 1876 edition).
21. Dalley, *Stephanie. Mari and Karana, Two Old Babylonian Cities* (2002, first US paperback edition).
22. Grant, *Asahel. The Nestorians or the Lost Tribe* (2002, based on the 1841 edition).
23. O'Leary, De Lacy. *The Syriac Church and Fathers* (2002, based on the 1909 edition).
24. Burkitt, F. C. *Early Christianity Outside the Roman Empire* (2002, based on the 1909 edition).
25. Wigram, W. A. *The Assyrians and Their Neighbours*

(2002, based on the 1929 edition).

26. Kiraz, George. *Lexical Tools to the Syriac New Testament* (2002, first US edition).
27. Margoliouth, G. *Descriptive List of Syriac and Karshuni Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since 1873* (2002, based on the 1899 edition).
28. Wright, William. *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, With a General Survey of the Semitic Languages and Their Diffusion and of the Semitic Alphabet, Origin and Writing.* Edited with a Preface and Additional Notes by William Robertson Smith (2002, based on the 1890 edition).
29. Assemanus, J. S. *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, volumes 1-4 (2002, based on the 1719-1728 edition).
30. Wright, William. *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, volumes 1-3 (2002, based on the 1870-1872 edition).
31. Wright, William. *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, volumes 1-2 (2002, based on the 1901 edition).
32. Pusey and Gwilliam. *Tetraeuangelium Sanctum, The Fourfold Holy Gospel in the Peshitta Syriac Version* (2002, based on the 1901 edition).
33. A. Henry Rhind, *Thebes, Its Tombs and Their Tenants, Ancient and Present, including a record of excavations in the Necropolis* (2002, based on the 1862 edition).
34. George Rawlinson, *The Seven Great Monarchies of the Eastern World, or The History, Geography, and Antiquities of Chaldaea, Assyria, Babylon, Media, Persia, Parthia, and Sassania, or New Persian Empire*, volumes 1-4 (2002, based on the 1885 edition).
35. E. S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran, Their Cults, Customs, Magic, Legends and Folklore* (2002, based on the 1937 edition). With a New Introduction by Jorunn Jacobsen Buckley.

Order on-line at www.gorgiaspress.com